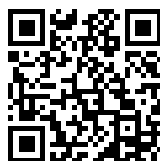
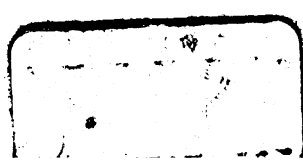

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal,

UNDER EPISCOPAL SANCTION

THIRD SERIES.

VOLUME IX.—1888.

.. Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9

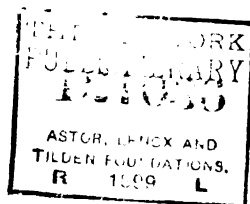
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1888.

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Archtep. Dublin., Hiberniae Primas.

BROWNE & MOLAR, STEAM PRINTERS, DUBLIN.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1888.

WAS ST. CUTHBERT AN IRISHMAN?

THIS is a very interesting question in itself, and there are moreover, some special reasons why we should refer to it at the present time. Last year was celebrated, on the 20th of March, the twelfth centenary festival of the great apostle of Northumbria. The occasion was also rendered still more remarkable by a great Catholic pilgrimage to Holy Island, which did much to revive the memory of St. Cuthbert in the minds of the northern Catholics. During the year too, we find that there were published or republished no less than three different lives of St. Cuthbert from Catholic sources. First of all we have had a third edition of Archbishop Eyre's *History of St. Cuthbert*. It was first published in 1849, whilst the author was still a young Northumbrian priest, and is in every respect a truly excellent work, and if we venture to differ from some of the learned prelate's conclusions, we do not the less admire the loving care and laborious research which are manifested throughout the entire book.

The Right Rev. Provost Consitt, of the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, also published during the past year a smaller, and for that reason, a more popular life of St. Cuthbert. The author has had some special facilities for the task, which he undertook at the request of the late Bishop Bewick, and with him also writing the history of St. Cuthbert seems to have been a labour of love.

Then the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, S.J., gives us an excellent translation of Bede's prose life of St. Cuthbert.

The life by Bede, so far as it goes, must always continue to be the most authoritative account of St. Cuthbert's history, for its author was not only a man of great learning and holiness, he had also excellent opportunities of procuring the most accurate information regarding the life and virtues and miracles of the great Northumbrian apostle. Bede was about fourteen years old when Cuthbert died, so that he was a neighbour and almost a contemporary of the Bishop of Lindisfarne. Then he had his information from men, who knew St. Cuthbert well, especially from the priest Herefrith,¹ who had been for many years the intimate friend and companion of the saint. Hence we think Father Stevenson has done well in giving to the public this excellent translation of Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, for it would be impossible to find a more admirable specimen of religious biography.

We have, however, we are sorry to say, one complaint to make against all these learned writers. In our opinion none of them has fully and fairly discussed the question whether Cuthbert was of Irish birth or not. We have had so many saints of yore in Ireland, that we could very well afford to lend one to Northumbria without saying much about it. But Cuthbert is far too celebrated a saint to part with, especially if we are to get no credit for our generosity, and so I propose to state our claim and our complaint as clearly and as fairly as I can.

We complain then that these modern writers do not fairly discuss the question at the head of our article. On the contrary they rather quietly assume, and, as it appears to us, against the weight of evidence, that St. Cuthbert was of Northumbrian birth, and almost entirely ignore the arguments in favour of the Irish origin of the saint. In this respect Skene, the learned author of *Celtic Scotland*, offers a very striking contrast even to our Catholic writers, and gives in his admirable sketch of St. Cuthbert abundant proofs of a judicial and impartial mind. He not only furnishes a most accurate though necessarily a brief analysis of the "Irish

¹ Father O'Hanlon in his *Life of St. Cuthbert* represents Bede as present at the death of Cuthbert. We know that Herefrith was present at the death scene, but we have no evidence that Bede then a boy of only thirteen or fourteen was present at that beautiful death on Farne Island.

Life," of St. Cuthbert, as it is called, but he also calls the reader's attention to the principal arguments, both for and against the authenticity of that most important document.

We regret that the learned Archbishop Eyre has not tried to investigate the authenticity of the Irish Life in the same patient and impartial spirit instead of referring his readers to Cardinal Moran and Mr. Skene. After what we cannot but think a brief and unsatisfactory reference to the question of Cuthbert's Irish birth, he sums up his own opinion by saying that "there can be no doubt that Cuthbert was born in Northumbria of Saxon parentage." In the previous paragraph the learned writer disposes of the "Irish Life" by observing that in all probability its author confounded Saint Cuthbert with Saint Columba. "Columba," says Archbishop Eyre, "was born of noble descent at *Kells in Meath*, where his house is still shown and where no tradition of any kind connected with Cuthbert is known to exist." This statement was a great relief to our mind. Columba born in Kells! Every Irish scholar knows that he was the great grandson of Conal Gulban, that he was born at Gartan, in the heart of the tribe-land of his royal ancestors in old Tirconnell, that he was baptized at Temple Douglas in the neighbourhood, and that he spent his early boyhood at Kilmacnenain, now called Kilmacreanan, in the same county Donegal.¹ This is not only the living tradition of the entire country, but the birth-place is expressly named in the old Irish Life of St. Columba, and indeed so far as we know has never before been questioned. St. Columba had indeed a "house" at Kells, but in accordance with a well-known Irish usage when speaking of saints, the *Teach* or "house" means the oratory and cell of the saint, not the place of his birth or the habitation of his family. We know too from the same old Irish Life of Columba, as well as from our Irish Annals, that the site of the "house" at Kells was given to Columba by King Diarmaid with the consent of his son Aedh Slane, about the year 560, when Columba was 40 years old, and that it was given to him for the place

¹ See Reeve's *Adamnan*, page lxviii., and the *Irish Life* in Skene, vol ii., p. 468.

of an oratory in atonement for an insult which the monarch had offered to Columba in the royal rath of Tara.

Monsignore Consitt dismisses the question of Cuthbert's birth-place in a still more summary, but at the same time in a more satisfactory fashion. "*We know nothing for certain,*" he says, of the birth and parentage of St. Cuthbert. Though many centuries later attempts were made to claim him as a native of Ireland, and to invest his infancy with a halo of romance, yet from the silence of his early biographers and contemporary writers we cannot attach much credence to the story." So far, this is fair enough, and the author adds that it is "probable," but as he says above, not at all certain, that he was born in Lauderdale.

The author of the article on Cuthbert in the new *Dictionary of Christian Biography* is still more confident in his assertions. He begins by saying that "Cuthbert the great northern saint and bishop was born in the first half of the seventh century in that district of ancient Northumbria, which lies beyond the Tweed." The writer of this article is the Rev. James Raine, Canon of York, and yet in the library of the Dean and Canons of York is the oldest manuscript copy of that very "*Irish Life,*" of Cuthbert, which cannot be rejected or ignored, without at the same time throwing doubt on several of the most authentic memorials of the ancient church of Durham. When we read these lives of Cuthbert, and the still shallower notices of the lives in some of our Catholic reviews, we thought it high time to state the evidence, such as it is, in favour of the Irish birth and parentage of the great St. Cuthbert.

And, first of all, in reply to the confident assertion of certain writers, that Cuthbert was of Northumbrian birth, it is well to say at once, leaving the "*Irish Life*" out of the question altogether, that any such statement is, as Monsignore Consitt admits, entirely unsupported by evidence. It is said the name is Saxon; but it is the Saxon equivalent of his Irish name; and though Bede says in one poetic passage that Britain produced (*genuit*) that radiant day-star to illuminate the Angles, that statement is perfectly true no matter where he was born, for at all events he received his religious training

in Northumbria. Yet that is all that can be said in favour of his Northumbrian birth. Let us now hear the other side of the question.

It is remarkable that although, even from his own times, we have several different biographies of St. Cuthbert, yet except the authors of the *Irish Life*, they are all silent about his birth-place and parentage!

The earliest account of the saint is what is known as the "*Anonymous Life*." It was written about the year 700, that is about thirteen years after the death of Cuthbert. Bede embodied the substance of this treatise in his own larger work.

Bede wrote two different lives of Cuthbert besides the account which he gives of the saint in his *Ecclesiastical History*. One, which seems to have been the earlier, was written in heroic metre. The language is choice and elegant, and in some passages reminds the reader of the grace and tenderness of Virgil. It is in this *Life* that the passage occurs by which it is sought to prove that Cuthbert was of British origin—

“Nec jam orbis contenta sinu trans aequora lampas
Spargitur effulgens, hujusque Britannia consors
Temporibus genuit fulgur venerabile nostris,
Aurea qua Cuthbertus agens per sidera vitam
Scandere celsa suis docuit jam passibus Anglos.”

There is here no reference to his birth at all, but as both text and context clearly show, it refers merely to the sacred light of that effulgent lamp which rose in Britain's skies and taught the Angles to tread their lofty way to the golden stars. If Bede wished to make any reference to Cuthbert's birth-place he would certainly have done so in the second or prose *Life*, which gives a much fuller and more complete account of the history and miracles of the saint. This prose *Life* is a beautiful specimen both as to style and matter of religious biography, yet this strange fact stares us in the face, that although Bede's informants were the intimate associates of Cuthbert himself, both at Mailros and Lindisfarne, he makes no reference whatsoever to the birth, or parentage, or nationality of the saint. He does not undertake to tell us

like modern writers, that he was born either in Northumbria or Lauderdale or anywhere else. He makes not even the slightest reference to his parents or to his family. But, after recording some miraculous stories of his youth, unconnected with any specified locality, he first introduces him to our notice as a youth (*adolescens*) tending his father's flocks on the banks of the river Leader, a river flowing into the Tweed, in the western part of Berwickshire.

"He [Bede]" says Skene, "must surely have known whether Cuthbert was of Irish descent or not. He is himself far too candid and honest a historian not to have stated the fact if it was so, and it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that this part of his narrative was one of the portions which he had expunged at the instance of the critics to whom he had submitted his manuscript."¹ This is honest and judicious criticism, and it appears to us to suggest the only satisfactory explanation of Bede's strange silence regarding the parentage and nationality of St. Cuthbert. His birth, as we shall see, was illegitimate. His mother, indeed, was blameless, but, all the same, the great saint of Northumbria was the child of shame. It would, they thought, disedify simple souls to know the whole truth. The story of Cuthbert's birth in Ireland and the circumstances connected with it were known to comparatively few persons in Northumbria. Was it not better that it should continue so, than to run the risk of perhaps disedifying the faithful by a full narrative of the whole story? So reasoned the good priest Herefrith, and likely some others also, and, as Bede himself not obscurely hints in his preface, they succeeded in persuading him to omit the precious chapter. "Moreover, when this book [the *Life of Cuthbert*] was completed, but not yet published, I frequently gave it to be perused both by the Very Rev. Priest Herefrith, when sojourning with us, and by others also who had lived for a long time with the man of God, and knew his life intimately, and I opportunely allowed what I wrote to be retouched [or perhaps expurgated, *retractanda*], and some things, in deference to their suggestions, I carefully corrected,

¹ *Celtic Scotland*, vol. II., page 205.

and thus having cut down to the naked facts [*ad purum*] all digressions likely to cause scruples, I have caused this undoubted narrative of the truth, expressed in simple language, to be committed to parchment, and carried into the presence of your brotherhood."¹

This is a very significant passage and clearly shows that Bede had inserted in his narrative certain stories gathered, no doubt, from somewhat uncertain rumours regarding the early life of St. Cuthbert. But as these stories might be regarded, not only as somewhat doubtful, but also as rather disedifying, he was induced to omit them by Herefrith and some other associates of the saint, who were more zealous for the fair fame of their master than for the completeness of the narrative of his early life. The thing is done still by certain well-meaning persons who would surely make long excisions if they were ever authorized to prepare a new and improved edition of the Bible.

We now come to the "Irish Life" of St. Cuthbert, and as in the case of Bede's Lives we have it both in poetry and prose. The poetic life is evidently a versified reproduction of the Irish prose life, but it is equally emphatic in asserting the Irish birth and parentage of St. Cuthbert.

"Si cupis audire, Cuthberti miraue scire
Virtutis miræ, potes hunc sanctum reperire,
Sanctus Cuthbertus Anglorum tutor apertus
Regis erat natus et Hybernicus est generatus."

There is a copy of this poetic life in Leonine metre in the British Museum (Titus A. II. 2), which unfortunately wants five leaves, to the great grief of some admirer of the saint,

¹"At digesto opusculo, sed adhuc in schedulis retento, frequenter et Reverendissimo fratri nostro Herefrido presbytero huc adventanti, et aliis, qui diutius cum viro Dei conversati vitam illius optime noverant, quæ scripsi legenda, atque ex tempore præstiti retractanda, ac nonnulla ad arbitrium prout videbantur, sedulo emendavi, sicque ablatis omnibus scrupulorum ambagibus ad purum, certam veritatis indaginem simplicibus explicatam sermonibus commendare membranis, atque ad vestrae quoque fraternitatis præsentiam adsportare curavi." Praefatio ad vitam S. Cuthberti.

We have given the original of this important passage in full, in order that our readers may judge for themselves as to the interpretation which we have given to the text of Bede.

who has inserted the following note in the manuscript—"Here wants fyve leaves, for which I wold gev five ould angells," How they loved God's saints in those glorious "ould" Catholic days in England!

The prose "Irish Life," it must be remembered, is so called, not because it is written in the Irish language, but because it professes to give from Irish sources the history of the birth and parentage of St. Cuthbert. Its author calls it *Libellus de ortu S. Cuthberti de Historiis Hybernensium excerptus et translatus*. Colgan gives a version of this Life in his *Acta Sanctorum*, but it was taken from Capgrave, and Capgrave seems to have derived his version from John of Tinmouth, both being in all probability inaccurate copies of the same original. The fairest copy of that life is now preserved in the library of the Dean and Chapter of York, and was first accurately published by the Surtees Society in 1835' (*Biogr. Misc.* pp. 63, 87.)

Some modern writers have rejected the authenticity of this Irish Life mainly, we suspect, because it relates the Irish origin of St. Cuthbert. The Bollandist writer (*Vita S. Cuth., 20 Martii*) also regards it as untrustworthy, on the ground of certain alleged anachronisms and inconsistencies in the narrative. "Let the Irish," he says, "keep their squalling Nulluhoc to themselves, and leave Cuthbert to the Anglo-Saxons." Later on, however, the Bollandists seemed to have changed their minds, for at the life of St. Wiro, they merely regard the Irish origin of Cuthbert as doubtful. The Surtees editor, however, admits that "the Irish Life is a regular biography, written in a good style, and not deficient in incidental information on the subjects connected with the periods in which it was written."

This "Irish Life" of St. Cuthbert has been printed from a codex containing several tracts, dealing chiefly with the history of the Church of Durham and its holy patron, and all copied, though mostly in different hands, during the course

¹ There is another manuscript copy in the British Museum (Titus A. II. 3), but it was evidently made from the York manuscript or from the same original.

of the 14th century. The "Irish Life" is No. 8 in this collection, and was in all probability written by Reginald, prior of Coldingham, who is the admitted author of treatise No. 6 in the same collection, *Libellus de miraculis S. Cuthberti secundum Reginaldum de Coldingham*. The entire codex was compiled by the Benedictines of Durham and of Coldingham in the 12th and 13th centuries, and next to the body of St. Cuthbert himself, it seems to have been regarded as the greatest treasure of their church and monastery. The copy now at York was probably made for Mathew of Durham, and was carried to York by that prelate when he was translated to the archiepiscopal See. In this way, although the original Durham codices are probably lost for ever, the present copy came to be preserved at York.

Now it is very singular that our modern critics should admit the authenticity of all the other treatises in this collection and reject the authority of the "Irish Life" alone, especially as the author of the "Irish Life" seems beyond any reasonable doubt to be that very Reginald of Coldingham, who composed treatise No. 6 on the miracles of St. Cuthbert contained in this very manuscript. Reginald was not an Irishman, and that is just what we should infer from the uncouth fashion in which he latinizes several proper names in the "Irish Life." And in the preface the writer of that Life identifies himself pretty clearly as the author of the treatise on the miracles of St. Cuthbert. He tells us that "after revolving in my mind for many years what my pen might hand down to posterity in honour of St.

¹ The York MS. XVI. I. 12 contains the following treatises:—

1. De Statu et Episcopis Ecclesiae Hagustaldensis (Hexham).
2. Eatae Episcopi Hagustaldensis vita.
3. Reliquiae quae in Ecclesiae Dunelmensi servantur.
4. De avibus Cuthberti in Insula Farne.
5. De Remissione Peccatorum.
6. Libellus de miraculis S. Cuthberti secundum Reginaldum de Coldingham.
7. De Episcopis Lindisfarnensis Ecclesiae usque ad Eanbertum.
8. Libellus de ortu S. Cuthberti de Historiis Hybernensium excerptus et translatus.
9. De translatione Corporis S. Cuthberti.
- 10, 11, 12. The histories of Coldingham, Graystones, and Chambre.

Cuthbert, and diligently investigating the many wondrous miracles hitherto unrecorded, which the saint had wrought, I composed a 'Libellus' on the subject," which was exhibited to his friends, and which is, no doubt, that very *Libellus de miraculis S. Cuthberti secundum Reginaldum de Coldingham*, which we find in the York manuscript.

The writer then goes on to say in the preface to the Irish Life—"It was whilst engaged in these studies that a certain pamphlet [*quaterniuncula*] fell into my hands, which stated that St. Cuthbert was born in Ireland, of a kingly race, and clearly showed how it was that he came to the borders of Anglia. Just then it came to pass that St. Cuthbert himself, aiding our pious purpose, sent to our house [*nobis*] a holy and learned Irishman, Eugenius Episcopus Harundinensis (elsewhere Hardionensis), whose testimony corroborated what we had already learned from the pamphlet regarding the birth of St. Cuthbert. Moreover, he told us many other wondrous things, of which we had previously known nothing, for he not only asserted that he [Cuthbert] was undoubtedly [*verissime*] born in Ireland of a royal race, but he also more clearly than anyone else explained to us the name of the place and the name of the city, of which we had previously known nothing. And, amongst other things, he said that King Muriadach was his father, a prince who had justly reduced all Ireland under his sovereign sway, and that his mother was Sabina, a woman remarkable for sanctity, whose memory was honoured, and whose relics were preserved in the churches of her own country." The writer then adds that this account was confirmed by the testimony (*attestationem*) of Archbishop Matthias, and of the bishops, Saint Malachy, Gilbert and Allan, and also of some other aged priests and monks, disciples of the aforesaid Malachy, so that in all security he composed this "Irish Life," relying on the testimony of these men.

Such is the preface to the Irish Life, and it is surely difficult to find a clearer or more straightforward statement. Of course there is some difficulty in identifying the Irish names in the Latin dress of a foreign writer. Still, there can hardly be any mistake made about them by those who are familiar with Irish history.

Eugenius, mentioned in this preface, was bishop of Ardmore, and is said to have written a life of St. Cuthbert. He flourished about the period of Strongbow's invasion, and was the last prelate of St. Declan's ancient see, which was shortly afterwards united to Waterford. Matthias was probably Mathew O'Heney, Archbishop of Cashel, who flourished towards the end of the twelfth century. He was a Cistercian monk, and, no doubt, was personally acquainted with the Benedictines of Durham. He also wrote a life of St. Cuthbert, and we may be pretty sure that he sent a copy to the famous monastery where the body of the saint was then enclosed in the splendid shrine that was afterwards destroyed by the agents of Henry VIII. Alan is supposed¹ to have been Albinus O'Mulloy, abbot of Baltinglass and afterwards bishop of Ferns, and, like O'Heney, was a great Irish scholar. It is likely that the testimony (*attestationem*) of St. Malachy and of Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, of which the author speaks, was a written statement of these saints, or, perhaps, orally communicated to him by the *aged* priests, their disciples, whom he mentions; for the saints themselves must have been dead some thirty or forty years previously. It is not impossible, however, that Reginald, supposing him to have written the Irish Life even so late as 1180, might have himself seen and conversed with Christian and Malachy in his youth.

In this preface the author says that a certain Muriadach, king of Ireland, was father of St. Cuthbert. This statement has caused some chronological difficulties. It is evident, however, *from the Life itself*, that the word "father" here must be understood in a wide sense, and is simply equivalent to saying that Cuthbert was a MacMuriadach, which was probably the expression used, or intended by his informants, and which he translated after his own fashion in the Latin. For, in the second chapter of the Life, it is not Muriadach, the just king of Ireland, but the cruel king of Connathe, who is represented as the father of Cuthbert. The statement in the preface, therefore, simply means that Cuthbert, through

¹ See Cardinal Moran's *Irish Saints in Great Britain*, page 272.

his mother Sabina was of the Hy-Muriadach race, and we shall show that this expression has been actually used about that period in our annals in reference to the descendants of this same Muriadach.

Muiredhach, grandson of Niall of the Hostages, married Erca, the beautiful daughter of Loarn, a prince of Scottish Dalriada, and through this union he became the father of the senior line of the Hy-Niall kings. His son Muircertach, to whom probably our author refers, was for many years supreme king of Ireland, and the Hector of the Hy-Niall race, until he was treacherously "slain, burned, and drowned" in a vat of wine whilst trying to save himself from the flames of his burning house, which was fired over his head on November night, in the year 533.¹ His son Baedan and his nephew, Eochaidh Finn, succeeded to the throne as joint kings in 570, but were both slain in 572 or 573, and it is remarkable that the accurate *Chronicon Scotorum*, in recording their death, describes them as "two of the Hy-Muiredach," which shows that even then that branch of the Hy-Nialls was so described. If, as Colgan thinks, Sabina was a daughter of this Baedan and a grand-daughter of Muircertach, the renowned king of Ireland, and was very young at the time of her father's murder, she could have been mother of St. Cuthbert, at least if the saint were born in the early years of the seventh century. And what lends some plausibility to this view is that the slayer of Baedan was king of *Ciannacht*, which is remarkably like the king of *Connathe*, who was father of Cuthbert, according to the "Irish Life."

There is, however, a subsequent entry in the annals which in our opinion throws a flood of light on the facts recorded in the "Irish Life." It is given thus in the *Chronicon Scotorum* at the year corresponding with 620 A.D.—"Murder of the family of Baedan in Magh Lecet [*recte* Magh Slecht] in the territory of Connaught—viz., Aillil, son of Baedan; Maelduin, son of Fergus, son of Baedan, and of Dicuil," so that

¹ The Four Masters have 527, but the *Annals of Ulster* have 533—the true date.

the race of Baedan Mac Hy Muiredhach was nearly extirpated on this occasion.

Let us now see how this remarkable entry corroborates the statements in the Irish Life of St. Cuthbert, which expressly appeals to the authority of the most ancient annals of Ireland. It is in substance as follows:—

“There was a king who reigned in the city of Lainestri. This king was treacherously attacked by a neighbouring prince who ruled over Connathe and who slew him *and all his family*, except one tender virgin (*tenerrima puellula*), whom for shame sake he spared, but whom he carried off as a prisoner to his own territory. She became an attendant on his queen, but rejecting the king's unlawful love, the latter at length forcibly gratified his passion. The maiden was then sent to the king's mother, who dwelt with her at a religious house near Kenanus under the protection of a certain bishop, who at the king's request took charge of the child when he was born, and had him baptized under the name of Mullucc at a place called Hartlbrechins (Ardraccan).¹ This city of Kenanus is in the region called Media, a district rich in fertile pastures and in cattle, and in flowing streams and rivers, one of which called the Mana flows by that city of Kenanus, and abounds in all kinds of fish.”

This is a natural and consistent narrative, and contains many incidental touches that go far of themselves to prove that it is genuine. If a forger wished to invent a royal parentage for St. Cuthbert, he would never have done it in this fashion, and if he did, it never would have been accepted as authentic by the monks of Durham, except it were confirmed by the living tradition of that great monastery. Neither is it difficult to reconcile this narrative with the admitted facts of Irish chronology and history.

St. Cuthbert died in 687 in *senili aetate* according to Bede. He was an *adolescens* in 651, when according to the same authority he entered the monastery of Mailros. In that case we may fairly fix his birth about 625—four or five years after that slaughter of the race of Baedan Hy Muiredhach described in our Annals. Baedan's son Aillil was probably that King of Lainestri, to whom the life refers, and his daughter Sabina having been spared at the murder of her family was carried off in the manner described. That murder took place in Magh Slecht, near Fenagh, in Connaught, and

¹ The bishop's name is not given here, but elsewhere he is called Eugenius.

although it is not expressly stated, no doubt, Aedh Finn, King of North Connaught at that time, was the real author of the crime. Kells (Kenanus), too, was within his jurisdiction, or on the borders of his territory, for the princes of Breiffney ruled almost from sea to sea. Lainestri is an attempt at writing Leinster, that is the Irish *Laighen* with the Danish suffix *ster* signifying a place. Connathe is, of course, Connaught, and Media is Meath, the fertile district with its fish-abounding rivers.

The Irish Life then describes how after the death of the holy bishop who protected them, Sabina fearing, doubtless, for the life of her son fled secretly with the child, and reaching the sea-shore took passage and succeeded at first in landing "at Galweia in the region called Renii," which, as Skene points out, was doubtless Portpatrick, in the Rinns of Galloway—the nearest Scottish land to Ireland. But Sabina was anxious, it would seem, to reach her countrymen in the Scottish Dahriada, so with a few companions she sailed northwards and "landed at a harbour called Letherpen in Erregaithle, a land of the Scots." "This harbour was," the writer adds, "between Erregaithle and Incegal, near a lake called Loicafan." This minute description borne out, too, by actual facts, does not look like an attempt at forging a story five hundred years after the alleged events took place. The harbour referred to was probably the northern angle of Lough Crinan, in Argyle, close to Lough Awe, not far from Dunadd, a strong fortress built on a rock, in the middle of the great Moss of Crinan. It was then the capital of the Scottish Dalriada. Here, however, on landing, Sabina and her child narrowly escaped being robbed and murdered. So they made their way we know not how to the borders of "Scotia," which did not then include Argyle, and were kindly received by Columba, first bishop of Dunkeld. St. Columba of Iona was then dead, and moreover was not a bishop, so that this Columba, or Columbanus, must be one of the numerous prelates who bore that name, several of whom may have preached in Scotland. The boy was educated for some time together with an Irish girl called Bridget, under the care of this holy bishop—who told Cuthbert

that Providence destined him to preach amongst the Angles, but that Bridget was reserved by God for the western Irish. It has been said that this refers to St. Bridget of Kildare, and is a manifest anachronism seeing that she died more than 100 years before. We know, however, that no less than seven or eight saints who bore this name are mentioned in our martyrologies,¹ so that it is a quite gratuitous assumption to suppose that the reference is to Saint Bridget of Kildare.

We are then told that Sabina and her son paid a visit to the monastery of Iona, where no doubt they were kindly received by the abbot who was descended like Sabina herself from the great mother of their race Erca, the daughter of Loarn Mor. After remaining some time in Iona, both mother and son left the island, and Sabina succeeded in finding her two brothers Maeldan and Aetan, "who," we are told, "were both bishops having Episcopal Sees in the land of the Scots." This is an interesting statement, for we know from our martyrologies that there were two saints, one called Maeldan or Mellan, and the other Aetan or Aedan, who are both described as belonging to the island of Inchiquin, in Lough Corrib,² and were most likely brothers. It seems the island took its name from these two saints—Inch-Hy-Cuinn—and that they derived this name from their great ancestor Conn the Hundred-Fighter. There is hardly a doubt that they belonged to the family of that Baedan to whom we have already referred, and it may be that they left Inchiquin after the slaughter of their kindred, and retired to the more friendly land of the Scots, to preach the Gospel to the heathen. We know, too, from the life of St. Fursey, that Maeldan of Inchiquin, was his soul's friend or spiritual director, and that he and no doubt his brother also, were raised to the episcopal dignity. At this time, however, these prelates were probably old men, but they readily took charge of Cuthbert and placed the boy under the special tuition of a holy man in Lothian, where a church, called Childeschirche, was according to the life afterwards founded in honour of St. Cuthbert. That name, says

¹ Colgan names fourteen.

² St. Maeldan's natalis is the 7th of Feb. ; St. Aetan's the 9th of Oct. See Colgan *Acta SS.*, and the Martyrology of Donegal.

Skene, is now corrupted into Channelkirk, which is to this day the name of a parish in the north western corner of Berwickshire, near the head waters of the river Leader. And so the Irish Life brings young Cuthbert to the very place where Bede takes up the narrative of his life, when he was a young shepherd tending his flocks on the banks of the Leader, among the southern slopes of the Lammermoor hills. Sabina herself freed from any further anxiety in reference to her son, for whom she had dared and suffered so much, went, it is said, on a pilgrimage to Rome, but she afterwards returned to Ireland, where after some years' sojourn in a religious house she died a most holy death. Her name is said to be commemorated in some martyrologies on the 5th November.¹

We must reserve for another paper the examination of the collateral evidence that goes to confirm this account of the birth and parentage of St. Cuthbert contained in the "Irish Life" of the Saint.

✠ JOHN HEALY.

THE IRISH IN BELGIUM.

THE TRIBES AT LOUVAIN—JUDGMENT.

"Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?"

ÆNEID, *Lib. I.*, 460.

DE BÜRGO in his *Hibernia Dominicana*² refers to the Wardenship of Galway as an ecclesiastical institution of which there was no second example in Ireland: "neque quid simile reperitur in universa Hibernia." On the 8th of February, anno 1484, Pope Innocent VIII. established it by the Bull *Super gregem dominicum*, which states that the citizens were "modest and civil people, and that they lived in the said town, surrounded with walls, not following the customs of the mountainous and wild people of these parts."³

¹ See Colgan *Notes to the Vita Secunda*.

² p. 323. *Vide I. E. RECORD*, vol. vii., p. 1100, *sqq.*

³ *Vide Hardiman's History of Galway*, App. p. II.; or *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 440.

Owing to considerable changes in the circumstances of the Cité, as well as to difficulties continually arising in connection with the election or institution of vicars or wardens, Pope Clement XII. issued the Bull *Redemptoris*, on the 23rd April, 1733.¹

On the 16th of July, 1830, Pope Pius VIII. addressed the Brief *Quod est vel maxime*, to the Right Rev. Thomas Kelly, Bishop of Dromore, and coadjutor Archbishop of Armagh. In virtue of this authority Dr. Kelly came to Galway to inquire into the circumstances of its ecclesiastical government, for the Brief states "in florentissimâ Galviae Civitate, quae in provincia Connacenci in Hibernia sita saepenumero non omnia ex ordine fiant quae Guardiani et Vicariorum electionem respiciunt."² On the receipt of Dr. Kelly's reports at the Propaganda, Pope Gregory XVI., on the 26th April, 1831, issued the Bull *Sedium Episcopatum*, which advanced the Collegiate Church to the rank of a cathedral, and constituted the Warden's district a diocese.³ The last Warden of Galway, Right Rev. Edmund French, was Bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora since 1824. On the suppression of the Wardenship, which was partly effected through his own efforts, he withdrew to his dioceses. He died at Gort, on the 14th of July, 1852. The first Bishop of Galway was the Right Rev. George Joseph Plunkett Browne, who was consecrated on October 23rd, 1831.

From a glance at the outline of Papal legislation given above, the student of Ecclesiastical history will easily understand how many lesser procedures must have taken place. Pope Gregory XVI. states that letters in reference to the Wardenship were received at the Propaganda not only from the Bishops of Connaught, but also from the Bishops of the other provinces: "Tales profecto litterae, non solum a Connaciensis Provinciae, sed etiam a reliquarum Hiberniae Provinciarum Episcopis, scriptae ac probatae ad hanc S. Congregationem de Propaganda Fide fuerunt

¹ *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 442.

² *Episcopal Succession* of W. Maziere Brady, Vol. II., p. 223, *sqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 225 *sqq.*

missae.”¹ The Archives of the Diocese of Galway contain innumerable letters, citations, and documents; and from references in them, we know that many such documents existed elsewhere. But as all Irish business with the Holy See was formerly transacted through the Internuncio at Brussels, our attention is directed to Belgium.

The following document sets forth the origin of five years’ litigation :—²

“Whereas violence in this day’s election (being candidates for the wardianship, the Rev. Dr. Marcus Kirwan and the Rev. Mr. Hyacinth Bodkin) such as forcing the pole from the Gentlemen that received the voices of the patrons, who complain’d that some of the patrons, or pretended such, have been refus’d to receive their voices without assigning any reason than a *sic volo* w^{ch} has hinder’d a great many more of the patrons to give their voices these and other reasons w^{ch} will appear in proper time oblige us to petition for an adjournment of this election untill the eight of August Instant, at ten of the clock in the morning. Whereunto we sign our hands this first day of August, 1737.

“MARTIN KIRWAN.

“PATRICK KIRWAN.”

The fulness of time developed the case. In November of the same year, the Archbishop of Tuam, Bernard O’Gara, heard the case in the parish chapel at Galway. There was an appeal to the Internuncio at Brussels, and *pendante lite* the tribes were not idle. They wrote to a kinsman at Louvain to watch their interests. The publication of this letter may be excused :

“To Mr. Mark Kirwan, Merchant in Gallway.

“Sr—Your’s arrived here the 24th instant, and no body at present to take care of it. I took it in hand and am glad it came in my way to serve you and maintain ye right of ye town, otherwise you woud (*sic*) have no answer these two or three months to come. I went to Brussels and spoke to Mr. Tempi (the Internuntio) who gave me a full and satisfactory answer. I laid before him ye customs I saw practiced in my time, the privilege of ye town; ye need not fear even if ye gentlemen appointed and ye doe not agree, for then ye will get others to decide ye matter; and their writing to Rome (as I believe they only pretend) will have no effect without ye informations

¹ *Episcopal Succession* of W. M. Brady, Vol. II., p. 227.

² Archives of Diocese, anno 1737. Other documents given in this case are from the same source.

of Mr. Tempì, who will proceed as his predecessors have done. Mr. Arch-Deacon is appointed at their demand, Mr. Duffy at yours, Mr. Kelly of Athlone *ex officio* to whom he wrote last week, before yours came to hand, to give their opinions. The chief point, as I understand, is to prove ye election, which I suppose you can easily doe, for they pretend it null. Mr. Fouley's proceedings you'l hear hereafter, and his sharp answer tho' well recommended by Mr. O'Gara. I spoke to him about appointing Mr. Robert Kirwan and any of rest, to w^{ch} he answered he could not untill he would hear ye fore-said's opinions, then if not agreed he'll appoint others, but always in an unequal number. You may depend I spoke to him as feeling concerning your affairs as I could, and doe not doubt but you'l succeed, only I am in haste in sending ye the enclosed, and just come to town from Mr. Tempì, I would acquaint you at large of what passed on ye other side, for I have seen ye most of it. Interim I remain your most loving and affectionate friend to command,

"ROBERT BROWNE FITZJAMES."

"I beg you'l not let my name goe farther, but command me your's as above, with your address if you think it proper, and dont use allways ye same address for some letters are in ye way from here to Ireland. Lovain, 7^{bre} ye 30, 1733."

In the year following the Internuncio's Commission sat in the Augustinian convent at Ballyhaunis. The members were Rev. John Duff, Vicar-General of Achonry; Walter Kelly; S. Th. D., Parish Priest of Athlone; and Rev. Patrick Gaffry, Vicar-General of Elphin. In the meantime the case was referred to the University of Louvain by the lay patrons. The decision is dated and signed:—

"Ita responsum, Lovanii hac 18 Aprilis 1739.

"L. J. STREITHAGEN, J. U. Doctor.

"Idem censeo K. A. PORINGO, J. U. Doctor et Sacrorum

"Canonum Professor Ordinarius.

"C. MAJAYE, J. U. Doctor, et SS. Prof. Ordin."

It may be necessary to state that the verdict of a University in those days was of the greatest importance. Pages could be written recording questions referred from Ireland to the several Continental universities, but one important example will show the bearing of the case. In the

¹ The tribe of Browne, to which the writer of this letter belonged, was of English origin. The head of it came to Galway not later than the middle of the 13th century. Motto: *Fortiter et Fideliter*. Arms: An eagle displayed, with two heads, sable. Crest: An eagle's head, erased.

year 1603, an important decision was given by the Universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, in favour of the struggle of Hugh O'Neill against Elizabeth; and to establish the authenticity of the Brief of Pope Clement VIII. sent to O'Neill. Some priests of the Pale raised a question as to the justice of O'Neill's cause, and the authenticity of the Brief. The declaration of the universities settled the questions. The text and signatures of the declaration are to be found in O'Sullivan Bear's *Compendium*, Lib. viii., cap. vii.; and a translation of it in *Pacata Hibernia*, Vol. ii., p. 430. The Galway case went to the university again in 1740, as is evident from the following documents:—

“To Mr. Nicholas Lynch fitzJohn att Anthony Bodkin's, Merchant in Galway, Ireland.

“Dear Cousin—I am sorry you have been so long disappointed in not having an answer ere now, which was occasioned by Cousin Joyce's absence and mine until four days agoe we arrived. I proposed your case yesterday as stated in ye enclosed to ye chief doctors of our University here, and is signed by ye principal and first of them. I should be very glad it were in my power to serve you or any of ye gentlemen there, but if you have any commands for ye future I'll take care to dispatch y^m as soon as possible, and be pleased to state ye case in Latin for fear of any error in ye translation. You'l be pleased to salute my poor desolate mother, her family, and all other friends there, and believe me to be,

“Sr.

“Your affectionate kinsman to command,

“ROBERT BROWNE.

“P.S.—In your next you'l be pleased to enquire of Mrs. Rose Kelly, or her sister at ye boarding school, whether they had any account of their brother Dominick who went to the Indies, we heard here that he dyed, but no certainty. In so doing you'l oblige your's as above.

“Lovain, 8^{br} ye 7th, 1740.”

The following document was enclosed:—

“Quaeritur: An Patroni seculares qui habent jus nominandi ad beneficium die et loco secundum consuetum statutis, possint propter indispositionem corporis, vel alia legitima impedimenta committere procuratori, ut vices suas agat, et personaliter cum nominatione ipsorum compareat in ordine ad effectum dictae nominationis.”

RESOLUTIO:—

“Infrascriptus, visâ et examinâtâ quaestione supra positâ, censet: Patrones legitime impositos posse presentare vel nominare personas

sive clericos idoneos per procuratores; ratio est, quod quaecumque persona alioquin non prohibita, capax et habilis sit ad praesentandum; dein negotium sive actus praesentationis quocumque die et hora expedire potest, neque ullibi numeratur inter actus legitimos. Igitur recte sequitur quod Patroni non valentes praesentationem personaliter facere, illud committere possint aliis personis, quae facient praesentationem nomine Patroni.

“Ita resolutum, Lovanii hac 6 Octobris, 1740.

“ARN. V. BUGGENHOUT, J. U. Doct.; et SS. Canonum
“Antecess. Primarius.”

But all this procedure could not flourish without the usual *adjumenta*. So we find Monsignor Tempi writing to Galway in 1741; and in virtue of his mandate, the following order was issued.

Shakespeare tells us that—

“Tavern bells are often the sadness of parting.”

But the following note was the sadness of the lawsuit:—

“Galway ye 20^o April, 1741.

“To Mr. NICHOLAS LYNCH.

“SIR,—The above is a true copy of ye Nuncio’s latest letter to us; wherein you see our power is sufficiently furnish’d and extended to order you to pay Mr. Hyacinth Bodkin ye sum of money we order’d you before to pay, and the expenses and trouble of us Arbiters. We therefore, by virtue of ye Apostolical Commission and power lodged in us, command you by ye 27^o of April, this Inst. month, to pay ye aforesaid Expences we condemned you in; otherwise—depend of a consequence within our capacity of worse moment w^{ch} must necessarily be put in execution on said 27^o April. We desir your separate answers hereto before ye aforesaid limited day 27^o April, and are,

“Rd. Sr. respectfully,

“Your humble servants,

“AMBROSE FFRENCH,

“ANDW. KIRWAN,

“ROBU: MARTIN.”

The lawsuit traced in this paper serves to show the ecclesiastical relations that existed between Belgium and Ireland.

JOSEPH P. SPELMAN.

THE BIBLE—ITS FRIENDS AND FOES.

MANY years ago, whilst turning over the pages of Dr. Brownson's *Quarterly Review*, I came across, in one of the articles, an expression of opinion the remembrance of which still rankles in my thoughts. The drift of the argument contained in the article was, as far as my memory serves me, on the general bearing of the Bible with regard to science, and especially with regard to those sciences which are, practically, of modern growth. And in the argument it was stated, as if passingly, that science—real science—had made far greater progress amongst those men who rejected the authority of sacred Scripture *in toto*, because, being freed from the *trammels* of Scriptural authority with regard to the numerous *statements*, made therein in reference to Nature, and the laws thereof, they could, by so applying themselves to the study of Nature alone, be the better able to judge of Nature's laws and principles. I had thus in a few sentences, both a fact stated, and a principle laid down. The fact seemed to me to be rather a painful one, and the principle, or the judgment founded on the principle, either a harsh or an unjust one. And, again, the great prestige which the name of Dr. Brownson had won for itself would again and again deter me from assuming that such in truth was the judgment, which according to my idea, was conveyed in his words.

Many truths revealed themselves to my mind, as time rolled on, making me view in another light the facts and principles I had found in the pages of the *Quarterly Review*, and laying it clear to me, that if there are many names, great in the world of science—of men who have rejected the authority of Sacred Scripture, even where Sacred Scripture *seems* to speak of the Laws of Nature, it is *not because* they have rejected the authority of Sacred Scripture, but *because*, though deeming themselves the foes of the Bible, they were, like the prophet Balaam, through the power of God, the friends and upholders of the Bible. How this has come to pass will form the argument which the writer of these lines intends to lay before the readers of the RECORD.

To the unprejudiced mind, the Bible is the most remarkable book ever written in connection with any religion whatsoever. It is hardly worth while to discuss the merits of those sacred books of which the religions of the East have been the sources and origin. Modern science has scarcely deemed it worth while to confute the rhapsodies, the unmeaning superstitions, that crowd the pages of the *Vedas*, the works of Zoroaster, &c., &c. Even in the countries where they have been the means of propagating the religions which, I might say, gave them birth, they have never held, and much less do they hold at the present day, the esteem and veneration of the enlightened members of the community where they circulate. And if they are quoted, as is the Koran of Mahomet, it is by reason of the numberless references to the manners and customs of the times when they were written, or by reason of the philosophical tenets which may have held sway in those schools out of whose ashes they have, as it were, sprung. Modern science has not attacked such books. Its very progress was a sufficient refutation of the absurd tenets crowding their pages. The object for which they were written was, I might say, local; their arguments were local; their aim was local, and everything foreign to the spirit of the age wherein they were written, or to the country where they were composed, was equally foreign to them. They were not divine. Such, I fancy, are among the chief reasons why the religious books of the different races on the globe, excepting the Bible, have been so seldom, if ever, brought into antagonism with modern science. And for these special reasons, on the other hand, has the Bible held such a prominent place in the calculations for good or ill, of science.

The Christian student must, therefore, regard the Bible as a book remarkable amongst the religious books of mankind. Year after year he will find its greatness and its sacredness growing upon him. Ever as he enters the broad domain of science he will find the Bible still holding the same place in his esteem—nay, a deeper and a holier one;—for many a mist which his first prejudiced, and perhaps ignorant, reading of its pages may have raised up before his mind will

then disappear. He will find it, though perhaps in a sense too often misconstrued, a veritable "Lumen pedibus," even along the paths of science. Speaking historically of the friends, and especially of the foes, of the Bible, I think the history of the latter almost begins to dawn towards the close of the last century. I could put this statement in another form, by saying that up to the close of the last century, it was rather the *Inspiratio*, or the *Revelatio*, or the *Interpretatio* of the Bible, which was, one after another, attacked, but hardly its *Authenticitas*. At least, leading questions turned rather upon the laws of Inspiration, or of Revelation, or of Interpretation, rather than upon the Authenticity of the book itself; but a new era dawned upon the upholders of Biblical lore, when it was found that human knowledge under the garb of science sought to overturn the great structure which generations had built upon the old interpretations which had been given to page after page of the Bible. The age of Galileo was the first to overthrow fancied theories which had been credited to the Bible. I remember reading an amusing—amusing to a modern mind—thesis, written during the time of Galileo, against the "Solar System" then adopted by Galileo and the followers of the school of Copernicus. As far as I can remember the words of the writer, he rather lavishly used with reference to Galileo the epithets, *Hostis*, *Inimicus*; *Contra quem stat noster propheta Moyses*.

Perhaps in a century or two the tables that are standing at present may be equally turned; and many who look upon the men of science as enemies of the Bible may find themselves in the camp of those who sought to shield their own prejudices by means of the word of God. Now there are a few principles which may be laid down with all safety, and which must meet with the approval of everyone, both the theologian as well as the scientist. If the Bible is the Word of God, it cannot clash with what science teaches. That is beyond Yea or Nay. God is the source of every truth, whether he speaks to man through his shadow, which is Nature, or more directly as through Revelation, it is our God who is speaking nought but truth.

All this turns upon what I wish to bring forward as the

reading idea in these pages—the *object* of both Inspiration, and Interpretation, or, perhaps, to speak more extensively, the object of the Bible itself. If this could be settled; if it could be decided what the Bible does speak to man about; what it has for its object, for the object of every line stamped upon its pages, then it would be very easy to show that every conclusion drawn from the Bible, and antagonistic to the conclusions of science, is a false conclusion, and, consequently, is of no value. Yet the theologian must not be too generous towards the demands of science. For what is given to the world on to-day, as a legitimately scientific conclusion, on the morrow is proved to have been but a mere baseless conjecture. So, *vice versa*, where the theologian feels convinced that his interpretation of a certain phrase of the Bible is the legitimate one, if in time the conclusion which he has drawn therefrom turns out to be wrong, or clashing with a clearly demonstrated conclusion from the principles of science, then his first interpretation must have been an unlawful one. The teaching of the Catholic Church on the extent of Divine Inspiration is very clear; and the conciseness of the terms employed seems to be for the very purpose of setting aside as unworthy of notice the opinions of those who would find in the Bible, not merely God's word, leading man to life eternal, and to the knowledge of such things as conduce thereto, but would find in its pages principles which belong to profane science, and conclusions which can be deduced from scientific principles alone. The words of Trent, and the decree of the late Vatican Council, bearing upon the Tridentine decree are very clear. Both decrees, in declaring that the Bible is inspired, declare at the same time what properly constitutes the object of Biblical inspiration. I had better give the words of the Vatican decree in order to make the matter clear.

“Si quis Sacræ Scripturæ libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout illos Sancta Tridentina Synodus recensuit—non receperit, aut eos *divinitus inspiratos* esse negaverit, anathema sit.” (De Revel).

Here it is evident that the Bible, as a whole is to be considered as the word of God, and consequently necessarily true.

Questions have been raised among doctors of Theology from time to time, as to whether a distinction should be made between "matters of faith and morals," and "matters of fact," whether, it being absolutely certain that in the former everything is true, the same must be concluded with reference to the latter. Holding as I do to the mere statement of Trent that the Bible "*cum omnibus suis partibus*" is inspired, I hold that there is no statement in it whether in regard to faith or morals, or even with regard to mere questions of "fact" false or untrue. And I think that such questions arose by reason of an overlooking of the object of the Divine Inspiration. That there are what *appear* to be statements which in time have proved to be out of harmony with the conclusions of science, I am willing to admit. Why there are such apparent statements shall be made clear further on. It is certain that the Bible is inspired "*cum omnibus suis partibus*," but only with reference to the scope, to the object God had in view both in revealing all He did reveal in its pages, and in inspiring the sacred writers to write down all they have written. That that scope never extended as far as either to supersede science, or to invade its domain or to enrich man's profane knowledge, is the teaching of the greatest doctors of the Church. Petrus Lombardus, summing up the teaching of the Church on this subject, says:—"Hanc scientiam" [*i. e.* the knowledge of Nature] "*homo peccando non perdidit: nec illam qua carnis necessaria providerentur. Et ideo in Scriptura homo de hujusmodi non eruditur, sed de scientia animae quam peccando amisit.*" Dr. Reusch in his *Der Bibel und die Natur*, treats this question very amply. His own words (Lect. iii.) are very apposite. "For this end the following simple but important principle must be adhered to; supernatural and divine revelation never has in view the enriching of our profane knowledge; therefore the Bible in no place aims at giving us any knowledge whatsoever with regard to nature." And in the same lecture he quotes the leading writers both Catholic and Protestant, who treat on this subject. Saverio Patrizi, one of the ablest of the Italian exegetists of the present day, writes very clearly on this

subject. I cannot refrain from quoting the paragraph as I find it given in the Italian in Reusch:—"Per premunirci contro l'errore che la scienza della natura possa venire in contraddizione colla Bibbia, dobbiamo non dimenticare che gli scrittori della Bibbia non hanno in mira di trattare questioni di scienze naturali, e così non lasciarci nell' ignoranza delle cose della natura" (*Dell' interpretazione della S. Scritt.* ii vol. pp. 80 Roma, 1844). "In order to guard against the possibility of fancying that natural science can clash with the teaching of the Bible, we ought to remember that the Biblical writers never had in view the treating of questions belonging to natural science, and consequently they did not aim at freeing us from ignorance with regard to the things of nature." The object then of Divine Inspiration is evident. The "*cum omnibus suis partibus*" can be received in its fullest sense, and at the same time one may be able to explain such references to Nature as may be found here and there throughout the pages of the Bible, in apparent contradiction with the conclusions of science, so as to derogate in no wise from the dignity of the Bible, nor from the certainty of science. The explanations that have again and again been given for such statements, or rather *apparent* statements bearing upon the laws of Nature, as are to be found in various parts of the Bible, such as that contained in the words of Josue, when he commanded the sun to stand still in the heavens, and other such like statements, have ever seemed to me to be either derogatory to the dignity of the Bible or else false. And false assuredly were such explanations as would lead one to believe that Divine Inspiration ceased the moment anything the knowledge of which could be acquired through the ordinary sources of information was introduced. The classifying, therefore, of the "statements," and "facts" met with in the Bible, into inspired statements, and non-inspired, seems to be very derogatory to the sacred character of the Bible. Such action betrays a great want on the part of those who so attempt to defend many passages met with throughout the pages of Scripture—a great want of being able to grasp the knowledge of the mere aim and object of Biblical statements. Such a course might be adopted, or rather those who would.

have to defend the Sacred Scriptures, would have to adopt it if it were true that the Bible for one instant laid aside its supernatural aim, and had entered into the field of science. But the Bible has never entered that field. Another has it occupied; not that which belongs to nature. It has left man free wherever his powers—his natural powers may list to lead him. Yet one cannot deny that page after page is teeming with numberless references to Nature, to her laws, to phenomena observed in nature; and the whole difficulty in being able to reconcile the above statement with those facts, seems to hinge hereupon. The explanation is very easy. It is true that there are numberless references to the laws of nature, etc., to be met with in the Bible; and many of these references are based upon principles which have long since been exploded. There is the statement of the writer who wrote about the prayer of Josue; that the *sun stood still*: and many others. But as the principle laid down in the beginning is unassailable, such facts are beside the point, as far as proving that the aim of the sacred writer was to show that the sun really stood. It would be ridiculous to state anything of the kind. It would be a straining of the whole text. What the sacred writer *did* state was that the day was lengthened through the prayers of Josue. *How* he did state that fact was in the ordinary language of the people of his time. It was not the language of Galileo or Newton that he used, but the ordinary language of the people. Or if I put the matter in other terms: the references to nature, met with in the prayer of the Bible, are not statements as such, but the habits of thought, and language employed by the sacred writers to convey supernatural knowledge. I am sure my readers will pardon me from quoting in full a passage from Kepler's celebrated work *Epitome Astronomiæ Copernicanae*, which seems very apposite to the explaining of what has been stated above:—"Astronomy explains the causes of natural events, and examines *ex professo* optical illusions. Sacred Scripture, on the other hand, teaches truths the most sublime; and in order that these truths be understood, makes use of the language of every day life. It [*i.e.* Sacred Scripture] speaks but incidentally of natural events, and even then,

but as they *seem* to occur, and after the manner usually employed in speaking of them, etc., etc." Here then is an astronomer of the highest eminence laying it down as a principle that there are no statements in Scripture *ex professo* which aim at the explaining of natural events, and that the references to them that are found in the Bible are nought but means employed to convey to the minds of its readers those truths which it *does* teach *ex professo*. What, then, is to be thought of those theologians who seek in the pages of the Bible arguments for the support of many a theory which, as far as can be judged, may turn out to be as false and as baseless as the old theory about the solar system? Indeed, when the true object and aim of Biblical inspiration is understood, it is very hard to fancy any possible clashing between the legitimate aspirations of science and the teachings of Sacred Scripture. They walk along the different paths, and it is not they that cross, but their rash upholders. And, on the other hand, it is a sorry spectacle to see the scientist seeking to find in the Bible statements which appear to him to clash with the conclusions of science. He betrays a lamentable ignorance of the legitimate aims of science, as well as of those Divine Inspirations. Hand in hand the two orders of truth, natural and divine, will march to the one destiny. They will yet meet in a daytime when the lot of those whose possession they were, will be fixed and made immutable. Yet here the theologian should not be supine. The security with which God has fenced in the word he has revealed to man ought not to be to him a motive for inactivity. Should he have to struggle with science, real true science, it would be ever easy to guard his loved lore from danger: but the foe he has to meet is human knowledge, or rather ignorance masquerading in the garb of science. He has to meet the scoffer and the sneerer. He has to meet the cynic, as well as the zealot. The one will uproot faith in the hearts of the simple; the other will sap it from the minds of the intelligent. Since the days of Dr. Brownson science has made many strides. She has pushed her limits far beyond those wherein she was then

confined ; but not unto the dishonour, but rather unto the honour and glory of Religion has been her progress. To-day it is no longer true that the great names in the world of science are men who *ignore* God's word. The name of Secchi is in itself a sufficient answer to the sneer of La Lalande. It is hardly necessary to mention any amongst the illustrious men who at present are the glory of science, just as they are an honour to the Church of Christ and a living proof of the unity of the principle whence springs all truth. Indeed the clouds which threatened to gather, and darken the light of Evangelical truth, have disappeared ; and as far as human foresight can extend, the future of science is a future equally glorious for the Bible. It will stand when the folly of every other book which the religions of the world have conceived will be made manifest. And for Catholics especially will that future be brimful of hope ; for their Church, which is the guardian of the Bible, will be a sharer therein.

Even at the present moment there are signs of that dawning future. The congress of Catholic scientific men, which is to be held at Paris either next year or the year after, will be awaited most anxiously by all who see in the progress of science the promotion of God's glory. And it will be clear, too, that the scientists of the 19th century, in breaking away from the paths trodden by their predecessors of the 18th, and ranking themselves amongst the friends of God's written word, will have proved that the only antagonism which can exist between Science and Religion is that which springs from a vicious heart, buried in the midst of ignorance and passion.

J. L. LYNCH, O.S.F.

ETHNE AND FEDELM.

THE WHITE ROSE AND THE RED.

FATHER MORRIS informs us that the original idea of his *Life of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, was purely devotional. He did not, then, go into any minute details of topography in tracing the saint's footsteps through the island. He has given us the main events of a marvellously supernatural story, with sufficient proofs of its authenticity. He has laid down general principles of criticism by which may be successfully met those specious sophistries, by which for over two hundred years learned men have striven to prove that there was no St. Patrick, that St. Patrick was Palladius, that St. Patrick was a Protestant, or that St. Patrick has been so hidden from view by the wilful suppressions of historians that his shadow is scarcely perceptible to the ordinary reader, and only the powerful magnifying glasses of discerning modern critics can descry the real saint in the dim distance, and call him forth again to light and life.

The point to which I wish chiefly to draw attention is the locality of one of the most remarkable events in the conversion of the island, remarkable for the striking picturesqueness and life-like details, with which the scene has been described in several of the ancient lives; and for the glimpse it gives us of the manners and customs, and social life, as well as religious belief of the people of this island over 1400 years ago, the baptism of the two daughters of King Laeghaire at the fountain, on the slope of Cruachain.

Father Morris writes: "Before leaving Cavan St. Patrick founded a church on the spot where he had overthrown the idol (*i.e.* Magh-slecht); then turning his face westward, he passed over the Shannon into Connaught, near the present Clonmacnoise, and here we find him again in relations with members of the reigning royal family. Ethne and Fedelm, the two daughters of King Laeghaire, were living at Cruachan, the palace of the Kings of Connaught, which lay near the place now occupied by the town of Roscommon, and two of the King's druids, Mael and Caplait, were

appointed to guard and educate the royal maidens.”¹ A glance at the map of Ireland will show that to reach Clonmacnoise from Cavan, a journey to the south through Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, and King’s county would be necessary; and it seems improbable that the saint took this circuitous route, returning on the other side of the Shannon, when by crossing that river opposite Magh Slecht, such a journey could be avoided. An attempt to explain this portion of the saint’s missionary travels has been made by the present writer.²

Rathcruachain, the royal seat of Connaught, cannot be said to be near the place now occupied by the town of Roscommon. It lies nine Irish miles north of that town, and a mile west of the village of Tulsk, nearly midway between Belinagare and Elphin.

Father Morris gives in full the account of the princesses’ meeting with the Saint, from the Tripartite Life, remarking that “it is one of the most curious and interesting revelations which we possess of the religious ideas of the time.” It begins thus:—“Patrick went afterwards to the fountain, *i.e.* Clibech, on the slopes of Cruachan at sunrise. The clerics sat down at the fountain. Laeghaire McNeill’s two daughters Ethne the Fair and Fedelm the Red, went early to the fountain to wash their hands, as they were wont to do, when they found the synod of clerics at the well, with white garments, and their books before them.” The *Book of Armagh* relates the meeting thus:—“Deinde autem venit Sanctus Patricius ad fontem qui dicitur Clebach in lateribus Crochan contra ortum solis, ante ortum solis, et sederunt juxta fontem. Et ecce ii. filiae regis Loigairi Ethne alba et Fedelm rufa, ad fontem more mulierum ad lavandum mane venierunt, et senodum sanctam episcoporum cum Patricio juxta fontem inveniunt.”³ The words “ante ortum solis” in the *Book of Armagh*, have no equivalent in the Irish Tripartite version,

¹ *The Life of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, by William Bullen Morris Priest of the Oratory. Second Edition, pp. 103, 104.

² *Vide Irish Monthly*, Volume vii., pp. 486, 487.

³ Fr. Morris’s *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 103.

⁴ *Book of Armagh*, ed. Fr. Hogan, pp. 70-71.

which has, however, the equivalent for *ad ortum solis*, viz. towards the rising of the sun, i.e. towards the east. The sense is, they (St. Patrick and his companions) came before sunrise to the fountain on the slopes of Cruachan, looking towards the rising of the sun (i.e. on the eastern slope of Cruachan the fountain was). Probus calls the well "Dabhach."¹ He says afterwards, that the virgins were buried "juxta fontem Clebach."

Now I think there can be no doubt that this well is the remarkable one beside the present graveyard of Ogulla. It is to the east of Cruachain, about a mile. It has been always regarded as a holy well. The remains of church buildings are visible at it and in the graveyard beside it, and the Lives tell us that St. Patrick built a church in the same place. It has all the appearances of a place of ancient devotion, is surrounded by large stones, and shaded by old trees. The flow of water from the fountain or well is constant and so great that a large pool is formed by it, surrounded by stones of great size, which would be suitable for washing or bathing. The tradition of the place identifies the well of Ogulla as the scene of the baptism of the king's daughters by St. Patrick. An old and very intelligent man who lives in the village, and understands Irish well, informs me that this is the tradition of the neighbourhood. He himself learned the whole history, when a boy, from an old schoolmaster, then eighty years of age, and also an Irish scholar. He has frequently seen people performing Stations at the well; they were constantly performed in his youth. No other well having these characteristics, or traces of ruins, or held at a holy well, can be pointed out to the east of Cruachain. The present writer had the pleasure some time ago of walking from Cruachain down the eastern slope, to the well of Ogulla, with a distinguished Q.C., and the learned judge who took a great and most intelligent interest in Irish antiquities, had no doubt whatever that this was the scene of the conversion, baptism, and burial of SS. Ethne and Fedelm. He discovered beside the well the remains of an

¹ Probably Dabhach is a misprint for Clebach.

ancient stone crucifixion, the head and part of the arms of the figure of our Lord being perfectly distinct, which had anciently stood there, before which many a pious pilgrim to this holy shrine of the Virgins, had devoutly prayed, but which, doubtless, was thus broken to pieces in those days, when, as the Four Masters say, "the men of England broke down the monasteries, and sold their roofs and bells, and burned the images, 'shrines and relics of the saints." The identity of the locality is contained in the very name Ogulla, which means the Tomb of the Virgins. Probus says that the holy virgins were buried by the well of Clebech "*feceruntque eis fossam rotundam in similitudinem petrae incisae, quae fossa consecrata est a Sancto Patricio, cum Sanctarum Virginum ossibus, et celebrata est earum memoria ab eodem sancto viro et ab heredibus ejus episcopis post se in secula: nam ecclesiam virginum construxit in eodem loco.*" Hence evidently the name of Ogulla, which is also the name of the parish, the following explanation of which by one of our most able and accurate Irish scholars, Dr. MacCarthy, of Mitchelstown, I think eminently satisfactory:—

"Ogulla is a compound, og—ulad, Virgin tomb. The final *d* became (in philological jargon) infected, *i.e.*, a *h* was added to it—*dh*; next the *dh* was dropped in the spelling, as it had already been in the pronunciation, og-ulla, an instance of phonetic spelling. 'But luckily the radical *g* of og has been preserved; hence we can determine the derivation with absolute certainty. Now for the authorities (1) *Book of Armagh* (ed. Hogan) p. 73; *fecerunt fossam rotundam* (in) *similitudinem fertae*, quia sic faciebant Scotii homines et gentiles. Here *fertae* is used as a Latin genitive singular of *ferta*. But *fert* is the Irish singular and *ferta* the plural—mounds, graves, and the meaning of the *Book of Armagh* is, therefore; they made a circular mound in the likeness of a *grave-mound*. (2) *Fert* is equated in O'Davoren's Glossary (pp. 90-1) with *ulaid*, which (allowing for the profection of *a* into the diphthong *ai* in later times) is precisely *ulad* = *ula*, *ulla*. Ullad thus means a grave-mound erected to some distinguished dead person or persons, and in a Christian sense it came to mean a *shrine*, as in (8) *Leabhar Breac*, note upon the Festology of Aengus (Stokes' Ed., p. cxxxifi): *atait athaisi in ulaid Sen P'atraic in n-Ardmacha*; but his (old Patrick's) relics are in the tomb (shrine) of Sen (old) Patrick at Ardmagh.

"This seems conclusive on the etymology. The spelling naturally varied: for the accent was on the first syllable. Hence when og was pronounced long, the remaining syllables were slurred over and consequently varied in sound."

It will be remarked that Probus describes the monument over the holy Virgins as a "fossa rotunda."

A walk from Cruachain to the well of Ogulla would correspond exactly to the description in the opening of Aubrey de Vere's beautiful poem, "St. Patrick and the two Princesses," drawn by the poet from the original sources:—

"Like two sister fawns that leap,
Borne, as though on viewless wings,
Down bosky glade and ferny steep,
To quench their thirst at silver springs,
From Cruachan, through gorse and heather,
Raced the Royal Maids together.

"From childhood thus the Twain had rushed
Each morn to Clebach's fountain-cell,
Ere earliest dawn the East had flushed,
To bathe them in its well."

It may be remarked here that the Tripartite says that the maidens went to the fountain "to wash their hands." The *Book of Armagh* has "ad lavandum," to bathe. "Et ecce ii filiae regis Loigaire, Ethne Alba, Fedelm rufa ad fontem more mulierum ad lavandum mane venierunt." "And behold the two daughters of King Loigaire, Ethne the fair and Fedelm the red, came early in the morning to the fountain to bathe, after the custom of women.' It is believed by competent scholars that the Tripartite has been translated from the *Book of Armagh*, at least in parts. The version of the Irish Tripartite is:—"There came the two daughters of Laeghaire MacNeil early to the well to wash their hands, as was the custom for them, to wit, Ethne fair and Fedelm red." Had the Irish version omitted *mane* early, we should at once conclude that the translator mistook *mane* for *manus* (ad lavandum mane), but he has given *mane*, *Commooh*. However the mistake occurred, it seems pretty clear that the version in the *Book of Armagh* is the correct one, and as a consequence, that the Tripartite was translated from the *Book of Armagh*. "Ad fontem more mulierum ad lavandum mane venierunt."¹ Now, of course, men wash their hands just as women do. Seeing this difficulty probably, the Tripartite

¹ *Book of Armagh*, ed. Hogan, p. 71.

translates "more mulierum" "as was the custom for them," i.e. these women, whereas the phrase is obviously not specific, but generic. It was the custom in ancient times for women even of the highest rank, thus to go forth to bathe. Witness Exodus ii., 5. "And behold the daughter of Pharaoh came down to wash herself in the river, and her maids walked by the river's brink." It would be unnecessary for the princesses to make every morning a journey to a distant fountain to wash their hands. Dr. MacCarthy, to whose kindness and courtesy I am much indebted in this paper, is of opinion, that the translator or author of the Tripartite mistook the sense and is here unreliable.

It is curious and instructive to read Sir William Betham's translation of the portion of the *Book of Armagh* relating to the conversion of the royal maidens. Sir William Betham, F.S.A., L.S., M.R.I.A., R.A.S., Z.S., Ulster King-at-Arms, Keeper of the Records of the late Parliament of Ireland, Deputy Keeper of the Records in Birmingham Tower in his Majesty's Castle of Dublin,¹ is one of the great Protestant authorities on St. Patrick. He considers it "very singular, that Ware and Ussher saw, and extracted from, the *Book of Armagh*, yet neither appear to have made themselves acquainted with its most important contents."² He informs us that he has "taken a view altogether novel with respect to the ancient Church of Ireland, and St. Patrick's mission, and indeed as to the History of Ireland generally."³ The profound study of the most ancient and valuable documents in the *Book of Armagh*, hitherto so singularly overlooked by men like Ussher and Ware, had opened his eyes to a rash system of imposture. "The period to which it [the *Book of Armagh*] refers, has hitherto been enveloped in obscurity, rendered more dark by fabricated legends, invented for the express purposes of deception, to make posterity believe they saw the substance, while a shadow was exhibited to their contemplation, to give to *Palladius* the name and character of *Patricius*, and to obliterate the recollection of the latter from the minds and attachment of the grateful and affectionate

¹ *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, Title page.

² *Ibid.*, part ii, p. 247.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

Irish, by giving his name to a phantom, raised at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, for *Palladius or any of his successors was not called Patrick, nor had the fraud been contemplated until that period.*"¹

Now was Sir William Betham, F.S.A., &c., &c., competent to draw these or any conclusions from the Book of Armagh? Here is his translation of the account of the meetings of St. Patrick and the princesses at the fountain—"And behold the two daughters of King Loigaire, Ethne the Fair and Fedelmuífa came in the morning to bathe after the manner of women, and they found the holy bishop *Senodus* with Patrick near the fountain."² *Book of Armagh*: "Et Senodum sanctam episcoporum cum Patricio juxta fontem inveniunt," i.e., they found a holy synod of bishops with Patrick beside the well. Again, after the saint had baptised the princesses, Sir William Betham translates thus:—"And they requested to see the face of Christ, but the saint said to them, 'Unless ye taste of death, ye cannot see the face of Christ, and unless he receive your sacrifice.' And they answer, 'Give us the sacrifice, that we may be able to see his son, our spouse.' And they received them for the love of God, and when sleeping in death, they placed them in a little bed, covered with clothes, and they made lamentations."³ *Book of Armagh* (ed. Hogan)⁴: "Et postulaverunt videre faciem Christi, et dixit eis Sanctus: nisi mortem gustaveritis, non potestis videre faciem Christi, et nisi sacrificium accipietis.⁵ Et responderunt, da nobis sacrificium ut possimus Filium, nostrum sponsum videre. Et acciperunt Eucharistiam Dei, et dormierunt in morte." The Triparite version is—"And they asked the vision of Christ face to face, et dixit Patricius eis: that they [*recte* you] could not see Christ, unless you taste death before, and unless you receive the body of Christ and his blood. Et responderunt filiae: give us the sacrifice that we may be able to behold the promised (one); and they received after that the sacrifice, and they slept in death." This gives the sense of the Latin, except that *promised* is not the correct translation of "sponsum." But what are we to

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245.

² *Ibid.*, p. 370.

⁴ p. 72.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁵ accipietis for acceperitis.

think of the version of Sir William Betham? He was manifestly unable to decipher correctly the *Book of Armagh*. This is his text of an important part of the foregoing passage:—"Et acciperunt ea charitiam dei et dormientium in morte,"¹ which is altogether unintelligible. It may be added that the *Book of Armagh* says:² "*Ecclesiam terrenam fecit [P.] in eo loco.*" The word "*terrenam*" here denotes "earth" in contradistinction to wood, as building material; as the same book says elsewhere:³ "*Fecit Ecclesiam terrenam de humo quadratam, quia non prope erat silva.*" By another gross and palpable error Betham makes Aidus the writer of the Life of St. Patrick in the *Book of Armagh*, whereas it was written by Muirchu Maccu Machteni, at the request of Aed or Hugh, Bishop of Sletty, as is stated in the book itself.

It is unnecessary to dwell here on the proofs of the Blessed Eucharist and the Holy Sacrifice, which these passages from "the oldest writings now extant in connection with St. Patrick"⁴ afford, and on the importance of having competent Catholic scholars to explain our ancient Celtic documents.

The name Ogulla, then, the Tomb of the Virgins, recalls to our minds the remarkable scene so vividly described in these very ancient documents, with the striking personal details which lend such life to the picture. We may imagine the surprise of the royal maidens, when, glowing with health and beauty, after their rapid morning's walk, they suddenly beheld the venerable synod of bishops, seated by their favourite fountain, perhaps on some of the large stones still on the ground, clothed in their white garments, with their books before them. Nobler than even their father Leogaire on his royal throne, with his druids, his bards, and chiefs around him, looked Patrick then, as, in peaceful majesty,

"Fronting the dawn he sat alone:

On the star of the morn he fixed his eye,

The crozier he grasped shone bright, but brighter

The sunrise flashed from St. Patrick's mitre."⁵

¹ *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, Part II. Appendix, p. xxviii.

² Ed. Hogan, p. 73.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁴ *Sixth Report of the Deputy-Keeper of Public Records in Ireland*, p. 105.

⁵ Aubrey de Vere. *Legends of St. Patrick*, p. 52.

Fair were these royal maidens, the White Rose and the Red, as they bounded lightly down the slopes of Cruachain, when the rosy dawn was flushing the eastern sky ; but fairer far were the royal brides, when wedded for ever to their Kingly Spouse. "white and ruddy, chosen out of thousands," they stood by Clebech's fountain, their virgin souls purer than its crystal waves, looking out in extatic joy from their love-lit eyes :

"Beyond all knowing of them beautiful,
Beyond all knowing of them wonderful,
Beautiful in the light of holiness."¹

They died through love of that Divine Spouse, to whom they were united, even as died the Mother-Maid whose son He was, whose brides they were now for evermore. Having found Him whom their souls loved, they would not let Him go. For them love was indeed stronger than death.

The feast of St. Ethne was observed on the 26th of February, that of St. Fedelm on the 11th of January. It is conjectured that the reasons why their feasts were celebrated on different days was because the body of one, probably St. Ethne, was translated to Armagh on the 26th of February.² Few portions of the sacred soil of *Eire og, inis na naomh* (Virgin Eire, Island of Saints) should be held more holy than this memorable spot, hallowed by the synod of St. Patrick, and by the conversion, baptism, communion, deposition, and sacred relics of the blessed virgins, Ethne the Fair and Fedelm the Red. These holy maidens

"Lay on one bed, like brides new wed,
By Clebach well ; and, the dirge days over,
On their smiling faces a veil was spread
And a green mound raised that bed to cover.
Such were the ways of those ancient days—
To Patrick for aye that grave was given ;
And above it a church he built in their praise ;
For in them had Eire been spoused to heaven."³

J. J. KELLY.

¹ Tennyson, *Holy Grail*. ² See Colgan's Notes, *Act. Sanct. Hib.*

³ Aubrey de Vere.

PASTORAL MEDICINE.

IT must have occurred to every mission priest, who is charged with the care of souls, that to some moral questions, which intimately concern the welfare of his flock, he finds it difficult to give a satisfactory solution, in consequence of their close connexion with the science of medicine.

The difficulty is one indeed, which has had its origin in far-off times, when medicine was a sealed book to every one save the practitioner. Nor, it must be confessed, has the ever-widening knowledge of the "*arcana medici*," helped so materially to solve the difficulty of the priest at the one side, nor of the doctor on the other. The materialism of the age has stepped in between the science of God and that human frame, the most beautiful work of His plastic hand.

Students of medicine have little time and less love for questions that have a bearing on Theology. Even had they the will to do so, they could not gratify it in the University or Medical School. We might go further and say, that the practical lectures at many public schools, on the Continent at least, and perhaps at some of our schools at home, are on some points at variance with the teaching of Catholic Theology, with the instincts of common sense and with the canons of sound morality. The young student here at home passes from the Intermediate school to one or other of the different colleges, where the science of medicine becomes the exclusive subject of earnest thought and unremitting brain work for three or four years. The whole scope and aim of his youthful ambition is to gather within the compass of a very short period of time such accurate information on the different subjects that form the curriculum of studies, as will secure him at the end of his terms an easy access to the different diplomas, by which he is elevated to the dignity of the full-fledged physician. His career in professional duties brings him across a great many complicated matters, where the science, of which he is an adept, touches upon the broad domain of

Catholic Theology, and he feels that he is more or less exposed to do violence to his own conscience, or that of his patients through the lack of knowledge of certain positive principles of the science of Catholic Divinity. To sit down and commence the laborious task of mastering these principles in detail, would be a work foreign to his tastes and outside the obvious nature of the duties to which he is committed. No doubt, it may be said, that practice and experience in his professional business, his rudimentary knowledge of Catholic truths, a wide acquaintance with the instincts and habits of our Catholic people, added to his own common sense and discretion, would supply the doctor in some measure for the want of technical training in Theology.

He may also be a man of reading habits, thoroughly devoted to his noble profession, and anxious, moreover, to answer every claim which the legitimate authority of the Church may call upon him to satisfy. He may too yearn to bring his professional studies up to the full level of those requirements, which an obedient son of the Church should carefully master, and with a view to this, he may, alongside of the investigations peculiar to his own craft, superadd those kindred subjects, which branching out into the physician's domain, nevertheless have their basis on the solid foundation of Moral Theology. Books of "high thinking," where broad and cultured minds find free scope for the discussion of intricate and delicate questions, are brought within the reach of the thoughtful student in our day. Catholic reviews and magazines, opening their pages to the ventilation of such questions, are becoming every day more numerous, receive a larger share of public patronage, and more of that thoughtful attention, which is due to the works, where solid learning, convincing argument, lucidity of exposition and apt illustration, are combined to assert the rightful claim, which the masters of human thought hold over the government of men's minds. In such works, no doubt, many knotty points, common to the theologian and physician, are cleared up. Others about which opinion is of a less decisive character are brought within the range of practical discussion.

Like those stars, which one looks upon as mere points in the sky, but which by the aid of a powerful telescope and astronomical calculation are discovered to be "centres of life and light to myriads of unseen worlds," and the patches of cloudy light, scattered among the stars, resolve themselves into complete clusters, which science and careful observation can map out each in its proper place; so it is with many truths that lay sheltered within the framework of the human body. The scalpel of the surgeon and the inquisitive mind of the anatomist have brought them from their secret hiding place, showing that they are not the exclusive possession of one of the sciences, but common to others that deal with the moral welfare and social happiness of mankind. And just as men of inquiring minds, who would turn their research to discover the origin of the world we inhabit, try to collect all the information, which observation of the various existing phenomena of nature can give; they search the crust of the earth for any facts which the rocks, their position, their character, their fossil contents can afford. They take notice of the arrangements of continents and seas, the position and direction of mountain chains, and with the aid of these letters of the geological alphabet, they spell out the history of the globe. And hence whoever is anxious to lay the foundation of a geological cabinet, never passes by a stone-heap without examination, or never leaves a quarry or gravel-pit unsearched. He will not allow his ever deepening interest in his subject to be guided exclusively by the principles peculiar to his subject; he will call in the aid of the botanist, the chemist, the mineralogist, and even the mathematician. And so it is with the medical practitioner, he must try to sound the depths by that line, which is sure to touch the bottom.

He must call in the aid of other sciences, above all, that noblest science, which lifts up the mind of man above these surroundings which chain it to the earth, and carries it back to Him, by whose word it was called into being, and by whose providence it is guided, to explore the wonderful works of His hands. But, on the other hand, the priest who has charge of souls must now and again look outside the

realms of theological science for information on questions that have no direct bearing upon his peculiar studies, nor, perhaps, any charm for his tastes. Works on medical science seem as foreign to the purpose and aim of his life as lectures on Moral Theology do to the student of medicine.

How can what is foreign to each, respectively become a source of useful and necessary information for both, and thus serve a common purpose? The exigencies of both should determine the questions for discussion in such a work. It would bring science and religion together in close proximity, and would prove not merely useful to this or that class, but it would show how harmoniously they can commingle, and, so to speak, complete each other. It is hardly a matter of useful information to refer to some of the many and cumbersome works on pastoral medicine, which from time to time have made their appearance, overloaded with scientific details, jumbling together whole sections of Pastoral Theology with anatomy, pathology, therapeutics, &c. . . . An elaborate treatment of everything contained in the works could only be attempted with one result—that most people would be deterred from reading them at all, and those who did so would leave their study with very unintelligible and obscure notions of the true relations between theology and medicine, and with no practical information for either the good of soul or body. The gifted writer of *Sanitary Sermons* shows at what a disadvantage a clergyman would labour, who, wading his way through a multitude of quartos, treating of matter utterly outside the scope and limits of pastoral medicine, would come out of their study with very little solid information, which could easily be obtained from a volume of very modest pretensions.

In this age of science and philosophy every intelligent man is expected, in his own interest, to inform himself on the method of living best suited for health of body and health of soul; and with regard to physiology, every intelligent man ought to have some knowledge of the body and its functions, in order to live according to the laws of health. Such knowledge is not only useful, but even necessary for the priest, particularly in regard to the sick. He can reform abuses

control prejudices, and keep away noxious influences, which oftentimes help to spread and render fatal many an epidemic. Those things, however, lie without the scope of the present paper, which confines itself to matters absolutely necessary for the priest in his vocation.

Without the aid of scientific training, he has to acquire as best he can a ready acquaintance with what is needful, and to accept, as a learned writer observes, facts and results in the absence of erudite training in *verba magistri*. He may, of course, if he choose, give his mind to a wide course of study in medical matters, through the deep interest he feels in what is man's greatest possession next to life; or he may have a desire to become acquainted with the most complicated work of creation, to discover the best method of investigating the various maladies to which flesh is heir, in order to arrive at the fountainhead of those diseases which threaten life.

The writer happened to know one of the clergy of a southern diocese, whose skill in the diagnosis and treatment of diseases won for him the widest reputation. Whether such a practice would in our day be altogether unsuited to the clerical calling and taste, or would be tolerated by ecclesiastical authority, is a matter we need not discuss here. One thing appears to commend itself as a general rule: that persons outside of the profession had better leave medical books alone; for it has been well known that the reading of these books leads up to unpleasant effects, sometimes even fatal in their consequences. To meet the requirements then of the day, and to provide the clergy with a work, treating exclusively on pastoral medicine, inspired a distinguished physician of Germany, and a devoted son of the Church, to bring out a volume of a very readable and useful character on the subject.

Dr. Carl Capelmann's work passed very soon through several editions, and it was very favourably noticed in many of the leading German reviews. A large, and perhaps the most important portion of his work treats of subjects connected with the faithful observance, or criminal breach of the Sixth Commandment. It was at the bidding of holy charity

that the author undertook to lay bare some of the hideous vices that degrade humanity. The consequences to soul and body of these physical and moral evils led him, both in regard to the dignity of the human being and through sympathy for suffering, to attempt a cure or to alleviate a pain, at the cost of laying open details of the most revolting and repulsive character.

In addition to this portion of the subject, he deals with many others of great importance, such as questions connected with the Fifth Commandment, with the Sacrament of Baptism, the Blessed Eucharist and Extreme Unction; and, lastly, he gives very solid information to the clergy how to render immediate assistance in sudden emergencies; the better to enable priests, especially in rural districts, to play a little the part of the doctor. On the whole, the information conveyed in the book is of a very useful character, by no means furnishing that deep scientific acquaintance with medicine which would enable the priest to act the doctor, nor, for more cogent reasons, to enable the physician to assume the place of the priest. One thing, at least, must strike a casual reader. It is the outspoken, nay, fearless method he adopts in defending his views, and the unshaken confidence he reposes in opinions he supports against the teaching of St. Liguori and the moralists, as he terms writers on Moral Theology.

Whether many of his conclusions are drawn from generally admitted data, or whether some of them clash with the scientific opinion of his professional brethren, or still further, whether they rest in some instances upon an unsafe assumption, we must leave to the judgment of those who have carefully analysed the work.

In one particular, no doubt, we may lawfully presume upon the accuracy of his conclusions: it is that in some of the latest discoveries of medical science, the improvements made in rendering operations, formerly involving the severest suffering, now almost painless, must call up a different response from that already given on questions common to theology and medicine. The solid foundation upon which some of those opinions rested, has shifted its position, and through the intervention of a hitherto unknown factor

appearing unexpectedly on the scene, views, dusty with age, must abandon their long maintained ground, and pass along a newly opened up channel, where the natural vigour of the intellect, aided by scientific discovery, is set free in directions that hitherto escaped observation. To illustrate what is here meant, I shall quote for an instance the case of an operation attended with risk to life. To perform such operations in order to avert danger to life is allowed, because, instead of probable death, there exists a good chance of saving life, or at the outside, there is at least the possibility. And this permission is even stretched as far as a case where the danger to life is mediate, where the strength of the constitution is considerably impaired, and the success of the operation endangered by a possible setting in of some unforeseen treacherous disease of a deadly character, which often lurks in the wake of the most scientific and successful operations.

In each single instance, of course, the individual case of the patient in question, the inconveniences occurring from his state of health, the prospect of success, should be weighed and the decision given accordingly. From this aspect of the case we pass to the further question: Whether one is bound to have an operation performed, which endangers life, with the hope of its preservation. Theologians maintain that no one is bound to undergo a severe operation, involving risk of life, although by such a risk a good chance of saving life may be thereby afforded. St. Liguori gives the common teaching of theologians on this point, when he says: "*Non teneris vitæ servandæ causa pati amputationem cruris aut brachii, aut incisionem ventris ad extrahendum calculum.*" And Gury says (L.C.) "*Non tenetur quis servare vitam remediis extraordinariis, quæ maximum dolorem afferant; non datur enim obligatio servandæ vitæ, nisi mediis ordinariis quæ magna non adducant incommoda,*" and Scavini (Tract 7) "*Cum servare vitam operatione dolores nimis atroces afferente extra communes vires positum est.*" We may seek for the foundation on which these views rest in two conditions, viz., the sufferings of the patient and the difficulty of the operation. Dr. Capelmann questions the soundness of

these decisions as being at variance with the present development of medical science and surgery, by aid of which difficult operations are now performed under greatly changed circumstances, and with better success. The discovery of chloroform as a surgical anaesthetic has, no doubt, conferred incalculable benefit on the suffering human race. Its use as an agent for the relief of pain in difficult operations is widely known and has served in a great measure to lessen the fear of the surgeon's knife. Every living creature has a dread, nay, a horror of pain, especially that caused by a surgical operation. The anticipated dread of suffering, its real severity under the operation; the tendency of pain to depress the nervous system; the struggles and the writhings of the patient, presented serious obstacles to the successful practice of surgery, and necessarily involved, on the part of the patient, a sacrifice beyond the capability of human strength. Under the influence of chloroform the surgeon operates with ease, with care and a firm hand; whilst the patient in the region of unconsciousness is rescued, through the discovery of science, from the hardships incidental to a natural process; and whilst the body is being disfigured under the cruel scalpel, the will is at ease, the strength of the body is sustained, and the patient without a struggle. Such a release from pain through such a simple process must be reckoned among the fortunate acquisitions of modern times. Of course in every case a careful investigation must be made to ascertain whether the patient's constitution, the severity of the operation, its long duration, &c., would render the use of chloroform very useful, or even necessary. Hence it may be broadly stated, to use Dr. Capelmann's words, "that neither patient nor physician can be allowed to use chloroform except for urgent reasons." Viewing the matter from these circumstances, the author of *Pastoral Medicine* would think that the decisions given above by moral theologians should be modified. He would not take it upon himself to decide, but would, I daresay, prefer to leave it to the judgment and discernment of the theological reader.

A little further (page 45) on the duty of a mother to nurse her own children, he quarrels with some of the

opinions of the theologians regarding the reasons which may excuse her from discharging that duty. "The mother's milk," says he, "is the most natural nourishment, nay, the only proper one, for the child."

Science, in spite of her utmost efforts, has not succeeded in finding an adequate substitute to take her place. The rate of mortality among infants, raised in an artificial manner, is one of the strongest proofs of the mother's duty to nourish her child with the milk of her breast, and not to withhold from it the food given her by God for this purpose. According to Gury (pa. l.c. Tom. I. page 361) the *Sententia Communis* of Theologians would not bind the mother to this obligation, *sub gravi*, because the non-fulfilment of this duty does not involve a *gravis deordinatio*, i.e., if the mother refuses the sustenance ordained by nature for the child's support, but has it supplied through another channel. He then gives the causes which exonerate the mother from all fault and cast upon her action no stain of sin; these are necessity, remarkable utility, and the custom that prevails among families of rank. He challenges the ruling of theologians on the gravity and character of the obligation on the part of the mother to supply that support that nature has clearly defined to be a duty; and in the second place he maintains that the custom prevailing among families of notable respectability to transfer this important duty to a third party, is not invested with that sanction of legitimate authority, so that it could safely be followed in conscience. He tries to sustain the argument in favour of the gravity of the obligation upon what he calls an unquestionable fact—that many infants pine and die in consequence of having been denied the nourishment of their mother's milk. The child's death, which, of course, does not follow as a necessary result, but which may, and often does, happen in consequence is, he says, most certainly a *gravis deordinatio*.

The law of nature is, that every new-born infant shall be fed with the milk of its own mother; consequently the child has a natural claim which cannot, for manifest reasons, be legitimately traversed by artificial contrivances, or the oftentimes less wholesome food received at the breast of one who

is made to take the part of the mother. Let us pass to what he has to say regarding the custom which sanctions this practice. He begins by asking the question: "Is then a mere *consuetudo* to be accepted as a sufficient dispensation from so grave an obligation? Is custom to excuse from sin one who neglects a positive duty imposed upon him by the laws of nature?" But it may be answered: Has not this custom obtained for generations? Those certainly, who first set aside the instincts of humanity to satisfy the craving of some sensual pleasure, to put themselves in line with the mechanical forms and requirements of that social circle they happened to move in, would indeed appear to have been guilty of a breach of one of nature's noblest laws; but can the same be said, with equal truth, of those who, acting *bona fide*, believe they are doing that with which social taste and long-sanctioned fashion are associated? Will not the cruel exigencies of the ever-widening dominion which custom and example are exercising, give to their action the tone of a becoming duty, instead of branding it as an act of criminal servility? Can individuals disturb with a light hand what is engrafted in the framework of social rank? How can they oppose, with courageous energy, the waves of ever-varying fashion, which force their way over rock and sandbar to stiffen and break on the shore of fickle fancy? Caustic writer, fearless preacher, the weary, jaded spirit and surfeited heart of the votary of the whims and caprices of social taste, offer only a qualified resistance to these forces which gather in secret, like the lava in the volcano's cup, which bursts in fury over the smiling fields and comfortable homesteads that lay so sweetly happy and so thoughtlessly near the dangerous enemy, whose progress no human effort could retard. But notwithstanding the bold energy of human devices to tamper with duty and conscience, the voice of nature makes itself heard in the heart of every mother, urging her to give to her child that nourishment ordained for its support by the God who rules its destiny. But it might be asked: Is it custom or the reasons which originated the evil practice, which still support it and exert their influence upon every mother who follows what appears to be condemned by ordinary common

sense as well as by the finer feeling of humanity? And what are these reasons? They are vanity, love of pleasure, the desire of preserving those delicate features and that youthful freshness which advancing age, the multiplied anxiety of engrossing care and the duties of a mother, strip of their charm and attractiveness. "Why," says the author of Pastoral Medicine, "would a *femina nobilis* be excused by custom, when the duties which nature calls for in the noble are similar to those she demands in the poor and unknown?" The requirements of nature allow of no distinction in these matters in which the human race owe the same obligation to the Divine Lord, as well as to that of nature. Nor could it be maintained on the ground that one can afford to pay for a substitute, whereas the other unites compulsion and duty in discharging a function imposed alike upon all. As we have said above, the argument of the author would appear to be based upon solid ground when he asserts that it is the desire to preserve physical beauty that weighs most with those who would avoid the trouble and inconvenience which such a duty necessarily imposes on a mother. And besides this, there are other reasons, such as social enjoyment, the ball-room, the concert, tea-parties, &c., which furnish, in the opinion of those who have no great love for home, nor the cares with which it is associated, sufficient ground for a dispensation to have the mother's place taken by one who must, at all events, be *nutrix bona quoad mores et valetudinem*. It is an admitted fact, that in the nursing of the child great influence is exercised not only over the body but also over the soul. And it is strange, in the face of this adhesion, that if the person who is to supply the place of the mother is found of good temper, intelligent, truthful and honest, her moral character is the last matter that comes within the scope of inquiry. Dr. Capelmann, speaking for Prussia, tells a sad story of the wholesale neglect in this all-important matter of moral virtue in the nurse. "Often," says he, "has it been known that a fallen woman is asked to do this duty, because a virtuous woman could not be had, without any protest from the mother, provided the substitute is of sound bodily health." He goes so far as to say that the employment of these nurses

has had a deteriorating influence upon the morality of rural districts. I shall tell it in his own words, which are strong enough to strike terror into the heart of every Christian man who is anxious about the welfare of society. "Formerly," says he, "a fallen girl in a small community came to shame and grief, and had often to endure poverty and misery for her lifetime. Nowadays the fallen woman leaves the place after or before confinement, puts the child out to board, and is sure to find very soon a good place as nurse. As such she leads an easy life, gets good wages, and is able, not only to pay easily the expenses of boarding her child, but even of setting something aside. There are persons who like this way of living so well, that they try to regain the faculty of nursing, when they have lost it, sometimes scarcely conscious of the crime they commit for that purpose. This is one of the evil consequences of this unnatural custom. Who knows how many children perish because their mothers do a mother's duty for strange children, and owing to this circumstance, says the *Aerzliche Vereinsblatt*, viz., mothers of illegitimate children boarding out their offspring, thousands of children perish yearly in Prussia."

It must surely be admitted that a great share of the guilt of the above evil consequences rests upon such mothers, and we may well presume that the misfortunes of those neglected children, who pine and die for want of attendance and mother's milk, cry to heaven for vengeance against those who without necessity have deprived them of that support which should be theirs by inherent right and natural justice.

The crying evil here depicted by the German physician has not, thank God, touched the shores of this old land; or, at all events, if it exists anywhere, it exhibits none of those alarming features which the devotees of fashion have called up by the forcible suppression of those natural functions which the Almighty ordained for the good of individuals and the welfare of society.

The Irish mother loves her home; her attachment to all its belongings grows with advancing years; but she loves her children better, who, fed by no stranger's milk, are nourished at her own breast and exult in that wonderful

power her magic glance exercises over their souls. The true Christian mother regards her maternal duties as a charge entrusted to her by the Divine goodness; she considers her children as a sacred deposit committed to her care, for which she is responsible before God. She seeks to deposit in the soul, whilst she nourishes the body, the sacred character of love, and sows there the seed of solid virtue, that grows and ripens in the sunshine of motherly affection and generous attachment. What a contrast must those children present, who are dragged up according to some of these mechanical forms of society, whose infancy has not been penetrated by the eye of a loving mother, and who are handed over to the tender mercies of one, who perhaps an adept in crime, must of necessity communicate to her unfortunate charge some of those dangerous dispositions that have stamped themselves upon her own character.

This sad state of things may possibly have arisen out of the altered conditions of society and the lax morality prevailing in certain quarters, where indulgence is claimed on the plea that wealth and position should dispense those blessed with riches from the observance of a law which nature and its Author have imposed upon all. In former times mother-substitutes were very rarely employed, and when their service was deemed expedient, great care was taken to procure one whose physical condition and moral character were beyond suspicion. Very likely the evil consequences and damaging effects, resulting from a practice very prevalent in some Continental countries, may have furnished the author with reasonable ground in giving a new complexion to the theological aspect of the question we have just now been considering.

As far as this country is concerned, we dare say the author would not quarrel with the decision of theologians, and he would, we are inclined to think, be ready to admit, that, besides necessity, other sufficient reasons might exist to justify the mother to abstain from the fulfilment of this law of nature, especially when due caution and a prudent selection would be observed in providing a proper substitute, who would be daily under the control and care of the child's parents.

Dr. Capelmann has in his work discussed many subjects of great importance to the pastor of souls, as well as to the medical practitioner. He possesses a very wide acquaintance with those subjects in medical science, which, in some of its latest developments, would appear to clash with long entertained theological opinions. Endowed with a vigorous intellect and a courageous spirit, he brings to the discussion of matters, whose importance is of a far reaching character, great boldness of thought, and with a masterly hand struggles to elucidate what hitherto had been a sealed book to the priest and a stumbling block to the physician. His style is elegant and copious, and free from that unintelligible jumble of words and phrases so characteristic of modern German literature. Apt illustration, the fruit of long experience and varied culture, strikes home his convincing arguments; and, whilst abounding in the fulness of a clear exposition of what is useful and practical, it adapts itself to those strange and technical difficulties, that a writer, exploring new ground and alighting upon unexpected obstacles, can only overcome by patient labour and deep research. Scientific knowledge in his case is most aptly brought into play, when there is a profound acquaintance with disease of every character and its almost infinite folds. He does not rush upon his opponent to knock down the fortress of antiquated opinion and dusty views with sledge-hammer audacity. A delicacy of touch and superior tact are required to combat conclusions that had hitherto appeared to rest upon the solid foundation of science. The error must be reached without wounding susceptibilities, and the adversary must be softly borne along to conviction by argument and persuasion, holding up before him the truth with all its attractions. Whenever he enters into a contest, he tries to conduct it with all possible courtesy, without neglecting the claims of charity or the interests of religion. A very wide acquaintance with professional duty, superior talents, and that piercing charity that comes up from a solid faith and a devoted interest in God's suffering creatures, must exercise a wide sway over human hearts, especially when united with a rare capability of bringing knotty questions to the broad level road of discussion.

Dr. Capelmann shows clearly in these new questions, that he has brought within the legitimate scope of inquiry the extensive range of his privileged intelligence. If he defends a theory boldly, he enters the arena forgetful of himself, and while he splinters a lance with some doughty champion, cutting his way through his opponent's defences by his incisive logic and ready command of recondite information, he does not fail to show the attractive sweetness of the cultivated man, who can not only furnish a specific for an intellectual plague, but can also pour out the balm of charity on the moral diseases of the human heart. Very useful information is likewise given to the priest, how he is in general to recognise the approach of death; what diseases and sudden seizures, more or less known to him, are dangerous, and how to act in such emergencies. It is a matter of great importance to be able to form a judgment of the proper moment to administer sacraments; for not unfrequently functional derangements are taken for organic disease, and what is often not visible to the unprofessional eye of the young and inexperienced, would become clear and patent in most cases of ordinary sickness, practically speaking, when the details of Dr. Capelmann's book are carefully mastered.

JOHN DOHENY, C.C.

HAYNES' OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATE OF IRELAND IN 1600.—II.

THE Englishe that were in the beginning planted in those partes are in their posteritie much degenerated, and Especially the two names of Geraldines and Butlers that swaied the State notwithstanding manie brave men Deputies there. And manie suche as are come of the Englishe are become soe Irishe, as that they have, in regarde of private grudges amonge the Englishe, caste off their Englishe names and become meere Irishe, amonge whome yt is reported of the Mac mahons in the North were Englishe descended of

the Urslanes.¹ Also the Mac sromes¹ in ulster were of the vers in Englande, and disguised their names in hatred of the Englishe. Also the Lo. Bretingham who was one of the most ancientest Barons in Englande is become the most Savage Irishe.² The greate Mortimer, who forgetting howe greate he was in Englande sometyme, is now become the most barbarous of them all, and is called Mac Nemara.¹ Not much better than they is the old Lorde Courcy, who, havinge lewdlie³ all the Landes and Seignories he had, is nowe become Irishe. It hath beene observed that the Irishe Language beinge permitted to be used of the Englishe hath beene noe small question to drawe them further into their manners, and nursinge of Englishe Children by Irishe Nurses doth breade a smacke of the Language, and even of the nature and dispositions, as the same will hardlie be given over againe.

Also the Marriages which the Englishe have made with the Irishe hath much inforced the Englishe with their barbarous and filthy Condictions. The using of the Irishe Apparrell is a meane also to continue the Irishe Customes, and there be Statutes to inhybit it, but not executed, for commonlie according to the attyre the mind is conformed.

The Irishe in their charge on horsebacke charge their Staffe above hande, and not as the Englishe on the Thighe.

They ride but uppon a little Pillion without Stirroppe, and will Sodenlie mounte his horse goinge fast awaie. There is used amonge the Irishe a Jacke of Leather and not onlie Horsemen but Footmen weare it. The Footmen are called Galloweglasses.⁴ The Jackes were won'te to be worne in the Field onlie under Shirtes of Mayle; but nowe abused beinge worne in Civill places in Townes, which abuse ys to be removed.

To speake somethinge of the Gallow Glasses and kernes⁴ they be of most barbarous Life and condition, for they oppresse all men, they Spoyle as well the good subject

¹ All are of Irish descent, as is well known. Spenser has "Fitzursulas, MacSwines, Veres, Macnihmarrih."

² "naming himself Noccoirish."

³ lewdlie wasted.

⁴ Gallóglaich, ceitheann, ceitheannach, "men of great and mightie bodies" (Dimmick). ceitheann, a company of soldiers (*Chron. Scot.* 306.)

as the Enemye, they Steale, they are cruell and bloudye, Full of revenge and Deadlie Execucion, Licentious, Swearers, and Blasphemers, ravishers of Women and Murtherers of Children.¹

They are valyante and hardye, greate indururs of Cold, Labour, hunger and all hardnes, verie active and stronge of hande, verye Swifte of Foote, very Vigilente and circum-spect in their enterprizes, verye present in Perrills and altogether scorne deathe.

And surelie the Irishe makethe as brave a Soldier as any Nation whatsoever.

There are amonge the Irishe a kind of People called Bards² who are a kinde of Poets or Rimers, and in their rymes they sett downe the praises of the worste, and dispraises of the best, they incourage the yonge heades to haunte after wickedness, givinge that praise to some which shoulde be geven onlie to vertue.

The Irishe Horseboys are³ to be cutt off, though they nowe serve for some use to the Englishe and Soldiers to attende their Horses, havinge noe Innes nor Ostelers to attende them. The Boys, after they have bene a little trayned upp in the use of the peece, become Kernes and are most apt and ready to cutt the throates of the Englishe, and therefore needfull to be reformed. There are also a kinde of People Carowes. called Carrowes⁴ who Live onlie by resorting to Gentlemen's Houses, and accustomes themselves to Play att Cardes and Dice, and drawe others to their lewde and evil Liefe—alsoe to be reformed. The like are such as have Gentlemens Companie and goeth as Jesters who carrye Newes from place to place—a verye dangerous crewe also, which should need to be cutt of by a Marshall.

The Irishe have a Custome of meetinge and assembling togeather uppon a Rath⁵ or Hill, to parlye as they saie of

¹ This is false or exaggerated.

² báird.

³ horse-boys or cuilles (Spenser); this must be for *gíolla*; Dimmock calls them "dalonyes," i.e., *dalín*, a stripling.

⁴ Kearroaghs; *cearrbhach*, a gambler.

⁵ *rath*, and *rath*; *rath* = *fossam castelli*, Fossa *Ríghairt*; (*Bk. of Armagh and Brussels Codex*), *vallum*, atrium (*Adamnán*), *murus* (*Jocelin*).

matters of Controversie between Townspipp¹ and Townshipp, and betwene one private person and another, under whiche collor Sondrie bad people resorte to the place to conferre of evill practices and come armed, and what Englishe they finde, they picke such Quarrells that manie are murthered amonge them innocenthe. There are certeyne round Hilles and Square places called Bannes² stronglie trenched for that purpose and were called Talkemoots in times past, places to conferr.

The Talkemots were made by the Saxons and the Danes or Deanrathes,³ by the Danes, Sodenlie to defende themselve beinge too weake for the Enemie, and manie round Hills were cast upp as memoryalls or Trophees of men Slayne in Battayle.

Besides manie other Cessinge in the Contrye, there is one where Soldyers are Cessed, they will challenge greater allowance of Victuall, money and other things than the People can afforde or the place yeld, and then the Soldyers use vyolence to the Sillyman⁴ and Wife where they be Cessed to the greatre disturbance and discontent of the Countrye. An abuse to be taken awaie.

The Landlords lett theire Lande but from yeare to yeare or att will, neither will the Tenants take yt for more, because the Lorde lookethe alwaies for chaunge and thincketh to see a new world. And the Tenante will not, because he maie leave yt at pleasure and fall to any wicked enterprise.

The Lorde havinge the Tenaunt thus, byndeth him to what evell course he will enioyne him, and the Tenaunt maie likewise runne into anie wicked action without feare or loosinge anie greate matter, havinge no further State in his Lande, where, on the contrary yf they had longer terme they would manure the same and be loath to adventure their lyvinge.

¹ recte, township, as in Spenser

² bán, a green field.

³ perhaps danesfort, deanrath = óinn a fortified hill, and rach (?); this may have caused the error about the Danes.

⁴ "the poore man and the sillye poore wife," says Spenser, who adds, "for Ireland being a country of war (as it is handled), and always full of souldiours," etc.

They are generally Papists, and yet most Ignorante and knowe noe grounde of yt, but maie be rather termed Atheists and Infidells onelie they think yt sufficiente yf they can say Ave Maria and Pater Noster.¹

The firste that came into Irelande to convert the People from Atheisme and Paganisme was Palladinis,² from Pope Coelestus,² who dyed there, and then came Patrick, a Brittanie, and taught them by whom they were carried to their blinde Devotion. *Religion.*

The present rulers of the Church doe seeme to excuse them by reason of the troubles, but yf not Ignorance, negligence or both of them have done them muche harme. There are in the Cleargie, there all evels Lurkinge, Grosse Symonie, greedye Covetousness, Fleshly inconstancie,³ careles Slothe, Character of the Protestant Cleargy of Ireland and all disordered Liefe. The Irishe Priests that nowe enioye Church Livings are in manner Laymen, For they neither read the Scripture, preache, nor Minister the Sacraments, but they Christon after the Papishe manner, and they take all Tythes and other Fruites and pay a Share to the Bishoppes.

And the Bishoppes of the Irishe, when a Benefice falleth, putteth his owne Servants and Horseboyes to take upp the Tythes and become themselves riche and purchase Landes and build fayre Castles and collour the abuse sayeing they have noe Sufficient Ministers to bestowe them on, And indeede there are fewe or none Englishe Ministers of sufficiency, that will come over, unlesse suche as for bad behaviour⁴ have forsaken their Countrie, And the Benefices are of soe small proffitt that a Man cannot Live by them ; besides the People are so dangerous uncivil and so untractable, That not onlie a Man that is honest will not, nay a Stoute Man or Captaine cannot, nor dare not dwell amonge them.

Manie abuses are in Sherriffs, Bayliffes, Purveyors, Senescalls, and others, but Especiallie in Captaines and Soldyors, whoe dallie with their Service, and will not followe yt with

¹ "without understanding what one worde thereof meaneth," says Spenser!!!

² Palladius, Coelestinus.

³ incontinence.

⁴ This proves Dean Swift : "ridendo dicere verum."

such suretie, as beseemeth lest peace being had by their Service, should be ended and the lacke Employment. And yet some tyme they will bring in the head of some base Rebell whom the Enemie himselfe likewise malliceth and thrusteth as yt were into their handes, and then they expecte commendacion for cuttinge of suche dangerous men, as indeed were nothinge neither of worth nor yet greatlie dangerous. And Sometymes the Governors themselves doe practice suche homelie flights, and will not performe or execute in their Government whatsoever they maie, Least, that upon peace beinge obteyned, they likewise should not need in their place. And therefore by dallyenge in their service they wincke att manie dangers which they might speedilie reforme. Because their time of Government beinge neere expired they will not quiett their State, least the next succeedinge Governor fynding yt in peace should retheyne the praise. And soe delay the Execution of things either under collor of Parlye *parlye* for peace or givinge preteccion for tyme, And thincke yt Sufficient yf they can keepe down the Flame till they themselves be gone, That they maie break out into open Mischiefe when the other cometh.

The Governors are for the most parte envious of others Glory, and none that followeth will use the order of Government that his Predecessor did; But devyse some other Course of his owne, least his Wisdome and policie should be smothered by the former, which causeth suche a confusion in the Kingdome that instead of Reformation they Studye and bring in innovation, whereby the Contrye is in doubt which waie to turne, as a Colt that knoweth not the hande of the Ryder is aptest to turn head contrary. The course then that hath been taken heretofore touching the Reformation of this Realm by theis former Governors hath bene to no purpose, but to make that worse which was bad before, and therefore not to be so contynued, but to be dealte withall not peassable and gentlie, which will never reclaime them; But with a more mightie Power to subdue them, for submitt themselves to the Englishe they will not because they hate the English Government. And to make newe Lawes and Statutes to ty~~e~~ them to a Reformation is booteles, For before

they be reformed to knowe and imbrace the Good and eschewe the evell, It will be to no purpose to seeke to curbe them with Lawes which they fear not to break. And therefore the Sword must be the Lawe to reform theis People, For without cuttinge this Evell by a Stronge hande there will Manners be no hope for theis corrupt *meanes* of theires excepte yt must be reformed by the Severitie of the Princes Authoritie.

Wherein first there must be taken a course by a stronge Army of Men to be sent thither as maie perforce bring in all the Rebells that are in open Armes, and all the Companies that Lye in Woods that disturbe the People. Though ye yt maie be objected that the Quene's Majestie hath bene of Late at about 200000£ charges against Tiron and hath since continued 12000£ a month and nothinge done, and therefore harde to get a greater charge. But the sendinge of soe small nombers over att a tyme, and so small sommes of money to paye them, hath been the overthrowe of infynite manie men, who for want oftentimes of Paye have been starved, and of 10000 men¹ att their cominge Lustye and stronge in halfe a year have not bene Lefte 500 men, and yett the Captains have Challenged and have had their full paye, which they allowed to greate Persones to obteyne yt.

But for this Service to be proceeded in, 1000 Foote, 1000 Quid Horse for one yeare Dimi² were Sufficient, and as the heate of the Service abateth to abate the number in paye.

And in this Expedition yt is not fit to seeke or follow the Enemie where he is, But place Garrisons in places that might most annoy him. The Enemie lye most in Ulster, Conaught, and sometye in Leinster.

To ymploye theis men therefore 8000 should be in Garrison uppon Tyron in Ulster who is Strongest; 1000 Cavenaghes. upon Feagh macHughe and the *Ravernaghes*, and 1000 uppon some parte of Connaghte. The 8000 in Ulster should be devyded into 4 partes, 2000 Foote in every Garrison, one uppon the Blackwater as high on the river as

¹ 1,000, in Spenser.

² The transcriber puts "quid"? in the margin; demi = cum dimidio, "and a half" (Spenser).

might be, a Seconde at Castlecliffe, Castle Tynn¹ or thereabout, so that they should have all the Passage to Loughfoyle, a Third aboute Fermnawgh² or Bondroit,³ soe as they might Lye betwene Connaght and Ulster to serve uppon both sides as occasion shall be offered, And this to be the strongest Garrison because yt should be most employed and that they might putt Wardes at Bellashava⁴ and Beltuk and all these passages. The last about Monohan or Belterbert soe that yt should fronte both on the Enemies that way, and keepe the Countrye Cavan and Meth in awe from Passage of Straglers and out-Gadders⁵ from those partes whence the use to come forth and oftentimes worke much mischeife, and to every of those Garrisons of 2000 Foote men there should be 200 horsemen, for the one without the other can doe little service. Theis Garrison's should be Victualled for half a yeare. The Bread should be in Flower, and to bake yt as they neede. Theire drinke Likewise there brued, but the Beeffe to be Barrelled, and to have Hose and Shoes and suche like necessarilie provided, because they should have noe cause to seeke abroad, which is dangerous evill.

By theis 4 Garrisons the Enemie shall be on all sides soe busied as he shall not knowe howe to keepe his Creeke⁶ and hide himself, soe that our Winter . . . like to pull him soe Lowe on his knees as he shall be hardlie able to ryse again. For the Service of Irelande is fittest in the Winter, because then the Trees are bare that must be his Pavillion, the Ground cold and wett, that must be his Bedd, the Ayre cold and sharpe for his naked sides; and his Cattle Leane and yeld no milke and with Calfe and with drivinge hither and thither will cast calfe and soe deprive him of Milke the Sommer following. After the Establishment of these Garrisons proclamacion should be made that who soe will absolutelie

¹ Spenser has only Castle-liffar, now Lifford, *Leitribhear*.

² Fearnemunagh (Sp.); *feapnagh* = Farney; *feapa-manach* = Fermanagh.

³ Bondroise; *Ṡrobair*, gen. *Ṡrobairce*, in *Bk. of Armagh*.

⁴ Bellashaine, *Bel-acha-reenagh*; Belike, *bel-leice*.

⁵ Cf. *gsarohé*, a thief.

⁶ *creete*, which is his most sustenance; *caopairheacht*, herding, cattle-drovers; in *Chron. Scot.* p. 316, *imeptaine* = droves of cattle.

submitt himselfe and come in within xxth. daies should be received.

That will stryke such a Terror that manie will drawe themselves from their Leader and come in for in the Desmonds Warres he turned away all his unserviceable People. If anie Gent. or other Accompt will come in and bring his Create, they should be receaved, but not kept about anie of the Garrisons, but sent to some partes of the Inland, for by keepinge them under whatsoever Colour in the Garreson will breade greate ill.

But yf they come not out at the firste Somons not to receave them at all. There is noe suche waies to weary and weakon thes Rebelles as by keepinge them from Killinge and from the quiett enioyenge his Crease. For they will thereby soone be brought to extreme miseries as in the Warres of Munster, which was a most populous and plentiful place of Corne and Cattle yett in a year and halfe they were all consumed with Famyne, dyeinge in the Woodes Eatinge one another, yea the Dead Carkases one of another. The Strength of this Countrie consisteth in their Kerne, Galloglasses, Storagh,¹ Horsmen and Horseboies, Theis havinge nothinge of their own, doe robb and Spoyle, as well theire own Friends as their Foes, for they naturally delight in Spoyles. The Contreye beinge then thus subdued and the People brought into such a miserable State, her Majestie maie perhappys pittye them as she did in the tyme of Lo. Grey, who having brought them to a good awe by his Force and pollycie and therein deservinge great Commendation was, uppon the informacion of those Rebellious People, called home and in sorte misliked for his Labor, and the Contrye Sett at Libertie againe, and in short tyme brake out into their former disobedience, Insomuche as all that he had most wiselie brought to passe for the good of both Estates was altered by contrary Corses.

This noble-man was Slanderously charged with harde

¹ stokagh; "rócach, an idle fellow that lives in and about the kitchen of the great folks, and will not work to support himself" (*O'Brien's Dict.*); a young grown up fellow of 15 or 16 years of age (*de V. Conneys*).

dealinge with the Spaniards at Fennwick¹ forth, For that where yt hath bene said that the Spaniarde by him had promise of Liefe and freepasse. It is false. For their Cominge was held, as indeede they were unlawfully arrived to ayde the Irishe, and therefore to geve them Life had bene prejudiciall and dangerous for that they intended to ioyn with the Irishe, and therefore in greate policie they were cutt off without anie unlawfull promise or practise broken.

Sir John Parrott succeedinge this noble Governor, as a man Skorninge the course before taken, tooke Councill of his owne prowde and ambitious thoughts and soe betooke him to a cleane contrary course, discountenancinge the Englishe and favouringe the Irishe. And soe brought the Bodie neere recovered to a Relapse, and more dangerous sicknes, pretendinge some high matter for himselfe as after appeared. But sith yt hath bene seene howe dangerous lenitie is to this Reformation of Irelande evils, It must be held, as indeed yt is, most necessary to proceede with more sharpe meanes to recover the same. And where suche Order beinge taken for the placinge of Garresons, there must be Order also taken that the Captaines doe not, as they have done, and bene accustomed, putt awaie their men and stay their paye at their pleasures. For by theis meanes the Service thus secretlie intended maie be soone overthrowne. Let all that have to deal in the oversight thereof, as her Majestie in full paie, the Muster Master in viewinge, and Lord Deputie, in overlookinge, maie be all deceived.

And, therefore, the Collonnell must be of specyall choise, whoe must take due notice of the Companies, and that the Captaine paie not the Soldyers, but a paie Mas^r. to be appointed, who accordinge to the Captaines Tickett, and the accompte of the Clarke of the Bande, shall pay the Soldyers. Soe the Captaine, havinge noe benefitt by colouring the practizes of his men will rather covett to have a whole then a broken number.

It should be in the power of the Collonnell to protecte the Saufe conductes, and to have martiall Lawe, and theis to be

¹ Smerwicke; but, see *Life of Raleigh* by Sir J. Pope Hennessy, about all this.

Limited by very straight instructions. Namely, for protections, he shall after the first proclamation protect suche as shall come in unto him with the xxth. daies, and soe sende him to the Lorde Deputie with saufe Conducte. And for her Martiall Lawe to be done uppon the Soldyers, It must be by formall Tryall by a Jury of his Fellowe Soldyers and not at will or pleasure of the Collonnell. As for other of the Rebels that shall lighte into their hands, yt behooveth to have greate regarde of what condicion they be, because some are freeholders of greate Revenews, and, for that they have not the due course of Justice, the Quene looseth her righte. It is not like or necessarie to receave the Tiron into Subjection againe because, havinge Stood so longe in hope of a Kingdome and findinge that the Queene hath faintlie withstood him, thinketh himselfe able to stande and prevaile, and yet he maye offer himselfe under some Collor but not meane yt att all. For yf he should come in and leave his Complices as Odonel, MacMahon, MacGwyre,¹ and the rest in danger in the midst of their Troubles, he maie thincke they would cutt his Throate by whom they were drawne into the Accion.

And to geve anie Hostages for his true cominge in, he Tyrone cannott. Tyrone beinge of Oneyl, seemeth to make a kinde of false Claime to this Northe part, but he hath noe right at all, for the Challenge of O'Neyl in the Seignorie in the Northe is most uniust. Because the Kinge of Englande conqueringe Irelande invested all the righte in themselves, and to their Heires and Successors for ever; Soe as nothinge was lefte in O'Neyl but what he had receaved back from them.

Oneyl himself had never anie ancienne Seignorie over that Countrey but by Usurpation upon the death of the Duke of Clarence, when by usurpacion he got uppon the Englishe, whose Landes and possessions beinge formerlie wasted by the Scotts under the leadinge of Edward LeBruze, and hath ever since detayned them by reason of the Kinge of Englande beinge busied about affayres att home could not intend

¹ Maguceirhe (Spenser), mag urohir.

to restreyn them from reigning in the North in that dissolution ; But that Oneyl easilie might make himselfe Lorde of those fewe people that remained in those partes and ever since contynued his usurpacions. Soe that to Subdue him him, beinge an Usurper, is not uniuist Warre, but a restitution of Ancient right possessions, as Englishmen, from which they have been uniuistlie expelled.

Pheagh MacHugh. Now as touchinge that base Pheaghe MacHugh. MacHugh whoe hath long showed himselfe so villanous a Traytor under the nose of the Englishe, to the greate indignitie of the Queene. He discended of the Birnes and Toolles who came of the ancient Brittaines, and inhabited in the Eastern partes of Ireland notwithstanding the cominge of the Englishe with Dermohugale¹ whoe belike despised that mountanous Country, Suffered theis men to live there, whoe built sondrie Castles, whose ruines yett appeare and by little and Little since that hath growne to such strength and imboldnes by the good successe of this Pheagh MacHugh, that they nowe threaten Perill to Dublyn.

Tirons But this Pheagh had noe right or Title to those partes for that was geuen in inheritance by Dermouth macMurrah, Kinge of Lempster, to Strongbow with his Daughter, and Strongbow gave yt over to the Kinge and his Heires. Soe as yt is now absolute in her Majestie ; but yf Obrine yt were not in her highnes yt was in Obrine the ancient Lorde of that Country, and not in this Pheagh, for he and his Ancestors were but followers to Obrine and his Grandfather.

Shan MacTyrlagh was a man of meanest regarde amonge them. But his Soune Pheagh² macShan the Father of this Pheagh, first beganne to Lift up his hande³ and throughe the Strengthe and fastnes of Glen Malour⁴ which ioined to his howse of Bellingore⁵ drewe unto him manie Theeves and outlawes that fled for succour unto that Glen by whom

¹ Deurmuid-ne-gall; *Disarmait na n-Gall*, D. of the foreigners, or MacMorrough.

² recte Hugh.

³ head.

⁴ fastnes of Glen-Maleeirh, *Glenn Maoilughra*.

⁵ Ballinecorrih ; *baile-na-cuirpe*.

manie Spoyles were brought unto him, whereby he grew stronge and gotte name amonge the Irishe, and this his Sonne contynuinge is become a dangerous Enemie yett not so dangerous but a small power would have subdued him, hadd he been taken in hand and the Countreyes adioining quieted, as that honorable man S^r William Russell gave a notable attempt, wherein yett he was crossed. But nowe all the parties aboute him being upp, as the Moores in Lyex, The Cavenaghes in the County of Wexford, and some of the Butlers in the County Kilkenny, all flocke unto him and to his Country, thinkinge to be saufe from all them that prosecute them; and from thence they brake out unto the Countreyes adjoininge as the Counties of Kildare and Dublyn, Caterlagh, Kilkenny and Wexforde, and with the Spoyles thereof victuall themselves, without which they would quicklie starve. Soe yt appeareth that, of himselfe, is he most base and of noe power.

(To be continued.)

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

CASUS IN MATERIA SIGILLI

“Would you kindly in the next number of the I. E. R. give your views in the following case :—

“Sophia et Joannes templum in urbe unicum summo mane petunt ut post confessionem et communionem matrimonio jungantur. Joannes ingreditur sacristiam et mentem suam Christophoro parochio aperit. Hic jam fere paratus ad sacrum jubet eos finem missae expectare, ut iis morem gerat. Finita missa, redit ex sacristia superpellice ac stola indutus, intrat in sanctuarium, annuitque Joanni ut confessurus accedat. Confitetur inter caetera Joannes se esse furem, latronem, impudicum, adulterum, verbo reum mille scelerum, quae omnia copiose persequitur. Christophorus senex, surdaster, querelus et iracundus eum altiori voce interrogat et objurgat. Haec fere omnia ad aures Sophiae perveniunt; nam tot ac tanta crimina exhorrescens ante finitam confessionem clam templo se sub-

duxerat. Joannes, videns puellam aufugisse, vadit ad ejus domum, interrogatque num ipsum deserere velit ob confessionem auditam et parochi objurgationes. Respondet illa : ' Nil habeo dicendum ; interroga conscientiam tuam.' Post non nihil temporis amoto ob aetatem Christophoro, Sophia Georgio, novo parochi, rem totam narrat. Georgius autem duris verbis in eam invehitur. ' O misera ' inquit ' sigillum in damnum Joannis violasti. Non possum te absolvere nisi vadas ad eum, veniam petas, reconcilieris eumque roges ut te ducat uxorem. Neque enim aliter reparare potes injuriam quam infelici Joanni sigilli violatione fecisti.' Respondit illa se potius mori velle quam hisce conditionibus absolvi.

" SACERDOS."

Pluribus confessariis, iisque doctis, hunc casum proposui ; qui, licet admitterent rem esse valde arduam, plerique dicebant nimis durum esse, ipsis iudicibus, absolutionem in circumstantiis allatis Sophiae denegare. Hanc sententiam, quam reprobare non auderem, principiis theologicis stabilire valde difficile est. Imprimis si mulier scientiam illam de moribus perversis sponsi alio ex fonte, licet sub secreto, hausisset, posset sine dubio ea utendo recusare matrimonium et, si necesse esset, aufugere ne in unionem tam infaustam inire cogeretur. Jamvero, cum res ita sese habeat, qui legit Suarezium Lugonemque de obligatione sigilli sacramentalis, ni fallor censebit esse saltem probabile sponsam in casu proposito *justitiam*, quatenus spectetur prouti sejuncta ab irreverentia erga sacramentum, graviter non violasse.

At, etiamsi elementum justitiae semper sit diligenter perpendendum, malitia longe longeque praecipua quae in sigillo frangendo invenitur est irreverentia illa tremenda. Etenim nec ad patriam defendendam nec ad fidem populorum, si possibile esset, immunem servandam, scientia sacramentali uti cum manifestatione peccati poenitentis sine licentia ipsius ullomodo confessario licet. In hoc conveniunt omnes. Non solum, vero, violatur sigillum quando manifestatur cognitio peccati ex scientia sacramentali acquisita, sed etiam quando scientia ita communicata utitur confessarius sive in gravamen poenitentis sive modo quo, si permitteretur, confessio reipublicae Christianae redderetur odiosa. Dicendum

quidem est quosdam ex antiquioribus theologis obligationem in his casibus non urgere sub omni omnino discrimine. Imo Billuart, qui tenet confessarium vitam propriam servare posse alia via ad insidias paratas declinandas eundo, modo poenitens non sit gravamen a ceteris complicibus infligendum passurus, tantum "laudabilius et tutius" censet viam consuetam non deserere, si aliter agendo mors esset poenitenti obventura; eoquod, etiamsi in casibus ejusmodi vix unquam occurrentibus confessio redderetur odiosa, non tamen in casibus ordinariis vitae humanae. Haec tamen sententia rejicienda est. Si enim fideles scirent in ullo casu scientia sacramentali uti licere, sive ad peccatum manifestandum, sive ad gravamen poenitenti ingerendum saepe timerent ne confessarii perperam judicarent esse locum exceptionibus, et proinde a sacramento poenitentiae averterentur. Solus casus, ut videtur, de quo verum existit dubium quoad confessarium est ille in quo post confessionem vel agere debet in gravamen poenitentis vel facere aliquod, quod vel est intrinsece malum vel saltem ita esset in aliis circumstantiis. Exemplum traditur apud Lacroix.

Hactenus, ad quaestionem enucleandam, de obligationibus confessarii. Pertinentne in omni sua intensitate ad laicos qui casu audiunt poenitentem? Nemo peccatum non esse magis in confessario diceret aut homines esse eodem in modo a sacramento avertendos ratione usus scientiae in gravamen poenitentis ex parte laici adstantis ac ex parte confessarii. Modo, enim, sacerdos sit obligatus, poenitens generatim sese tueri potest. Obligatio, tamen, mutatis mutandis, in iisdem casibus oritur, quando nempe homines revera sic deterrerentur. Et in casu proposito nonne sponsi a confessione averterentur, si sponsae scientia sacramentali uti possint ad aufugiendum? Responderi quidem potest casum esse adeo rarum ut nemo hac formidine practice afficeretur, praesertim quoniam sponsus sese tueri possit, si necessarium sit, peccata sua non integre declarando. Sed e contra hic casus quandoque oriri potest, et agitur de eo qui ad novam vitam inchoandam volebat omnia sua peccata integre declarare, et probabilius nullum periculum vel saltem nullum effugium apprehendebat. Nonne quoque in gratiam integritatis im-

positum est sigillum? Quodsi dicatur mulierem illam potuisse aufugere, si scientia sacramentali intelligeret esse impedimentum indispensabile se inter et Joannem, responderi potest casum, in quo nisi gravamen irrogetur poenitenti faciendum esset aliquid intrinsice malum, esse *omnibus* aliis disparem, et ejusmodi qui nullum sanum a confessione averteret. Praeterea plures negarent eam sic agere posse. Urgeri quidem potest matrimonium illud infelix futurum fuisse utrique valde malum. Sed, inter alia, qui jam sincere confitetur peccata sua, sub gratia Dei in meliorem mutari potest.

Eratne igitur mulieri ullum effugium? Post confessionem sponsi videretur eam de quodam ad sigillum pertinente loquendi licentiam petere potuisse. Sic quidem aliquo gravamine afficeretur poenitens, sed non multo majore quam si licentia a confessario peteretur. Si permissio recusaretur, vel data permissione matrimonium urgeretur, mulier, quod sciam, Deo confisa deberet contractum perficere. Sententiam tamen oppositam, praesertim vero confessarii qui teneret, fuga jam peracta, fore reverentiae erga sacramentum satis consultum, si mulier ad Joannem scriberet petendo veniam ratione fugae et dicendo, ob illam fugam, longe melius esse utrique ipsos non esse conjunctos, etiamsi secum numquam illi nubere statuisset, improbabilem dicere non possum, nec practice periculosam. In casu hujus modi confessarius dispositionem poenitentis exquirere debet antequam obligationem imponat, etiamsi certus sit de ejus existentia. Denique satis doleri nequit Christophorum munus adeo excelsum tam indigne pertractasse.

CASE OF MIXED MARRIAGE IN RELATION TO THE RECEPTION OF THE SACRAMENTS OF Penance AND HOLY COMMUNION.

"Kindly assist me by your direction in the following embarrassing case:—

"A Catholic lady who has lived in my parish for some years is married to a Protestant. The marriage was celebrated clandestinely in a certain part of the Continent where the lady had resided for some years. They did not appear before the parish priest, though the decree *Tametsi* is in force there. The lady knew that she was doing

wrong in not having the marriage performed by the priest, but she did not connect the omission with possible invalidity.

"The usual conditions and promises required by the Church when allowing a mixed marriage were omitted.

"The children are some of them Catholic some Protestant; the daughters go with the mother to Mass, the sons accompany the father to the Protestant church.

"To add to my difficulty, the history of the marriage is pretty generally known and believed in my parish.

"Now the married lady comes to confession, and asks for absolution and Holy Communion. What must I require her to do (1) before absolving her; (2) before admitting her to Holy Communion at the the rails with the rest of the people?"

1. Our respected correspondent's difficulty is somewhat lightened by the *bona fides* of the person in question. He rightly draws a distinction between the Blessed Eucharist on the one hand and Penance on the other. This Catholic lady cannot be allowed to receive Holy Communion with the rest of the people if she is considered by her neighbours not to be a married woman at all. But if willing to promise a sincere effort to remove scandal and comply with her other obligations, her confessor may think it right to give her absolution before her endeavours have succeeded.

2. The peculiar obligations of the situation in which she finds herself range themselves under two heads. They either regard her family or her marriage. In the first place, before receiving absolution she must be sorry for having violated the laws of the Church so seriously, and promise to strive for the conversion of her husband and non-Catholic children. Secondly, if the marriage was valid, owing to the extension of Benedict XIV's decree to the place where it was contracted, it only remains to set the public right in regard to it. But if it was invalid a dispensation should be sought.

3. So far the lady has been supposed to be in ignorance of invalidity, if not actually married. Of course, if she begins to entertain doubts, or if her confessor deems it prudent to state how the matter stands, the proper admonitions for such contingencies should be given.

P. O'D.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.¹

I.

THE SYNOD OF MAYNOOTH AND THE "UNCTIO RENUM."

"Did the Synod of Maynooth in ordering the Roman Ritual to be used impose an obligation binding priests when administering Extreme Unction to apply the *Unctio renum* in all cases not excepted in the Ritual ?

"J. F. D."

Wherever the Roman Ritual is received no special legislation is necessary to render obligatory the rites and ceremonies prescribed by it for the administration of the Sacraments. For in it are contained the "received and approved" rites which no priest can without sin omit, as the Council of Trent has declared. But though the Roman Ritual prescribes the *unctio renum* in certain cases, it is well-known that even in places where that Ritual is used, this unction has fallen into desuetude. Our correspondent wishes, therefore, to know, whether, owing to the Decree of the Maynooth Synod, priests in this country are bound to apply the *unctio renum* as the Ritual directs, or whether, notwithstanding this Decree, they may omit the *unctio renum* in all cases.

To prevent misunderstanding, it is well to distinguish between the obligation of using the Roman Ritual and the obligation of observing in all their details the rites and ceremonies prescribed in it. That the use of the Roman Ritual is binding on all priests in Ireland is beyond question. The Synod of Thurles says, (p. 16, 2°), "Curandum est ut typis edatur Rituale Romanum integrum quod omnes sacerdotes nostri adhibere tenentur." The second obligation about which the present question is particularly concerned would likewise seem to bind priests in Ireland—in other words, it would seem that, from the special legislation of our National Synods, priests are bound to apply the *unctio renum* as the Roman Ritual directs. The words of the Synod of Maynooth which are merely borrowed from the Synod of Thurles

¹ [We should have mentioned in our last number that the question referring to the mode of carrying the Chalice, in the November number (vol. viii. page 1034) was not answered by the Rev. D. O'Loan, though incorporated with the other Liturgical answers, which were written by him. —Ed. I.E.R.]

(*loc. cit.*) are, "Ritus omnes praescripti in Rituali Romano . . . pro Sacramentorum administratione accurate observentur," (cap. x., v. 27. From the words *Ritus omnes . . . accurate . . .* it would appear that the obligation of this Decree extends to the *unctio renum*. Indeed, O'Kane assumes that the obligation of observing this ceremony as directed by the Ritual follows as a matter of course from the obligation of using the Ritual. He says, (n. 893), "Wherever, the Roman Ritual is ordered to be observed as it is in Ireland the unction of the loins is not to be omitted in men unless in the case here excepted by the rubric itself."

II.

THE LESSONS OF THE FIRST NOCTURN IN THE FEASTS OF SAINTS OTTERAN AND COLMAN.

"Where should the Lessons of the First Nocturn have been taken from on the 27th and 29th October, the Feasts of Saints Otteran and Colman both of double major rite? The *Ordo* speaks for itself: yet some think they should have been from the common. "P.P."

The general rule regarding the Lessons of the first Nocturn in feasts of double major rite is given in a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites of September 2, 1741, which reads thus: "Duplicia majora habent Lectiones proprias vel de communi, non autem de Scriptura occurrente." When, however, the beginnings or initial lessons of certain books of Scripture cannot be read on any day of lower rite, before the end of the week, within which they occur, they are to be read on a feast of double major, or even more solemn rite, though it should be necessary in order to do this, to omit proper Lessons. Now, the Lessons from the Scriptures for the fifth Sunday of October and the two following *feriae* contain the history of Eleazar and of the heroic martyrs—the mother and her sons—for which cause, apparently, they are, as is mentioned in the *Ordo* at 27th October, reckoned as the beginning of a book of Scripture, and have therefore a right to be read if necessary on days on which the ordinary Scripture occurring would not be read. The Rubric regarding these Lessons is given in the Breviary before the *Feria V.* of the week preceding the fifth Sunday of October.

III.

A DIFFICULTY WHICH OCCURS IN THE SECOND MASS WHEN A PRIEST DUPLICATES.

“How should a priest who duplicates on Sundays and Holydays, or, who celebrates three times on Christmas day, hold the chalice, whilst he pours into it the wine and water for the offertory of the second and third masses? “MANY READERS.”

We cannot answer our correspondent's question better than in his own words. He says:—

“In books of some authority on rubrical subjects, I find three different methods prescribed:—

“First—In the instruction for a priest who celebrates two or three masses in the same church, given in the appendix to the Roman Ritual, lately published, it is laid down:—‘Cum autem in secunda missa sacerdos ad offertorium devenerit, ablato velo de calice, hunc parumper versus cornu Epistolae collocabit, sed non extra corporale; factaque hostiae oblatione, cavebit, ne purificatorio extergat calicem, sed eum *intra corporale relinquens leviter elevabit*, vinumque et aquam eidem caute imponet, ne guttae aliquae ad labia ipsius calicis resiliant, quem deinde nullatenus ab intus abstersum more solito offeret’ That instruction seems taken from Meratus who (p. iv. tit. 3, n. 9) says ‘Cavebit sacerdos in missa privata (secunda vel tertia) ne purificatorio extergat calicem, sed eum *intra corporale relinquens, leviter elevabit*, ac.’ &c.

“The second method is that prescribed by Martinucci (lib. i., cap. 20, n. 6):—‘Quod ad secundam et tertiam missam spectat, lecto versu offertorii calicem detegat, removebit paululum de medio, relinquens ipsum a dextris suis et hostiae oblationem faciet. Veniet postea in cornu epistolae, et calicem detectum sinistra accipiet, vinum et aquam infundet, ut praescribitur, *non vero deponet eum in altari, sed elevatum sinistra sustinebit.*’

“St. Alphonsus in his book ‘de Ceremoniis Missae,’ gives a choice between a *third* method and one of the two foregoing in these words:—‘In secunda et tertia missa Nativitatis Domini, cum in calice sint reliquiae sanguinis, apponendam esse *pallam super tabulas altaris in qua calix collocari possit: et potest apponi ipsa palla calicis, ante quam dictus calix removeatur a corporali: aut etiam manu sinistra teneri potest.*’ Whether this second method suggested by S. Alphonsus be that recommended by Meratus, or Martinucci, is not clear from the text. ‘The Sacred Ceremonies of Low Mass,

according to the Roman Rite, by a priest of the Congregation of the Mission,' identifies it with that of Martinucci; but the editor of the Ratisbon edition of S. Alphonsus' work with that laid down by Meratus and the appendix to the Ritual; and he states that it is the method practised at Rome and that the custom of using the pall is unknown there. His words are :—' Hic secundus modus a S. Doctore indicatus Romae practicatur, ubi usus oponendi pallam super tobalea plane nescitur.'

" On the other hand we are told in a note, on page 4, of the Irish Ordo :—" In 2nda missa calix super pallam ponatur, dum infunditur vinum cum aqua ad offertorium—*Ita Ordo Romanus*:" from which it is natural to infer that, the custom of using the pall, is not unknown, but practised at Rome. And as the S. R. C. has, to the following question :—' An in casibus dubiis adhaerendum est Kalendario diocesis, sive quoad officium publicum et privatum, sive quoad missam, sive quoad vestium sacrorum colorem, etiamsi quibusdam videatur probabilior sententia Kalendario opposita? Et quatenus affirmative; an idem dicendum de casu in quo certum alicui videretur errare Kalendarium ;' responded :—" Standum Kalendario:" the question arises: Is a priest, who is required to use the Irish Ordo, bound, when he duplicates, to use the Pall in the Second Mass, as described above? Or should he follow the method laid down in the appendix to the Roman Ritual and hold the chalice elevated over the corporal? Or, is he at liberty to adopt the method of Martinucci, and to hold the chalice at the Epistle corner slightly elevated above the altar table and carry it back to the corporal before depositing it? This liberty of choice seems implied in the words of De Herdt :—" Dum vinum et aquam infundit, calicem super corporale tenet, vel elevatum super mappam altaris. Potest etiam palla deponi ad cornu Epistolae, ut huic calix imponatur."

It is unnecessary to add a word to this very clear and very full exposition of the question. Our correspondent puts it beyond question by his citations from so many sources that a priest may choose any one of the methods referred to. The method recommended by Merati would be inconvenient in many cases. For according to the Rubrics of the Missal, which are of higher authority than the opinion of a Rubricist, the priest while putting the wine and water into the chalice should stand at the Epistle corner of the altar. " Deinde in cornu Epistolae accipit calicem" etc. (De ritu Cel. Titulus 7.)

But, where the table of the altar is of considerable length, it would be impossible for a priest to observe this rubric if obliged to hold the chalice over the corporal. In this case the use of the pall in the manner recommended by St. Alphonsus would be, if not necessary, at least highly convenient. In this country there is another reason for using the pall in this manner. As the corporal according to our custom has to be partly unfolded immediately before the offertory, it would manifestly be convenient for the priest while doing this to be able to place the chalice outside the corporal.

The authority of the *Ordo*, however, need not trouble our correspondent. It is true that *Standum est Kalendario* is the rule to be observed in cases of controverted or doubtful interpretation of the Rubrics. But in this case we are dealing not with the Rubrics—which are silent upon the point—but with the directions given by Rubricists for the more convenient performance of a certain action. And certainly no one will hold that the plan which recommends itself to the compiler of the *Ordo* as being the most convenient, must necessarily be the most convenient for all.

D. O'LOAN.

QUESTIONES ACADEMIAE LITURGICAE ROMANAE.¹

QUOT ET QUAENAM ET QUO ORDINE ORATIONES IN MISSIS PRO DEFUNCTIS RECITANDAE SUNT. |

[We have much pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers to the following paper, read in the Academy of Liturgy at Rome, in the presence of Cardinal Parocchi, president, on the practical question as to what prayers are to be said, and in what order, in a private *Missa Quotidiana de Requiem*. The writer holds that the first prayer is not to be always the one for bishops and priests (which is placed first in the *Missa Quotidiana*) but the prayer special to the person or persons for whom we offer the Mass. He explains the true meaning of the various decrees which have been issued on this point, and advances very good reasons for the view he advocates. We learn from the

¹ Extracted from the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, No. 4, p. 210 (April, 1887 vol I. Rome.

Editor of the *Ephemerides Liturgicae* that the Cardinal president concurred in the view of the writer, and remarked that this was always his conviction.—ED. I. E. R.]

* * * * *

Alterum quaesitum postulat, quid Rubrica Missalis Sacraeque Rituum Congregationis decreta praescribant circa Orationum species in Missis pro defunctis.

Praemittimus, quatuor esse Missas pro defunctis in Missali assignatas: quarum dicitur 1^a in *commemoratione omnium fidelium defunctorum*, 2^a in *die obitus seu depositionis*, 3^a in *anniversario defunctorum*, 4^a in *Missis quotidianis defunctorum*.

Has inter Missas discrimen primum in epistola consistit et evangelio. Cum tamen Rubrica post Missam quotidianam dicat: *Epistolae et evangelia superius posita in una Missa pro defunctis, dici possunt etiam in alia Missa similiter pro defunctis*; huiusmodi discrimen nihili esse faciendum satis patet.

Discrimen alterum constituunt Orationes, quae duplici modo considerari possunt, nempe vel specificè vel numerice. Quod ad numerum spectat, satis erit dicere, omnem Missam solemnem unam tantum Orationem admittere, plures vero Missas, quae eiusmodi non sunt (*Rubr. Miss. pars. 1, Tit. V. De Miss. defunct.*). Iam vero, cum Rubrica ipsa ac Rubricae expositores solemnes iudicent Missas, quae dicuntur in Commemoratione omnium fidelium defunctorum, die obitus seu depositionis, tertia, septima ac trigesima, et in anniversario; sequitur, in his omnibus unam tantummodo dicendam esse Orationem. Item sicuti iuxta Decretum in Briocensi (12 Aug. 1854 ad 11) omnis Missa cum cantu solemnis reputatur, haec quoque unius pariter Orationis iure gaudet. Haec regula unam patitur exceptionem, quae Missam respicit canendam prima cuiusvis mensis die, et aliam feria secunda cuiusvis hebdomadae libera; in his enim ex decreto in Aretina (27 Februar. 1847) una aut plures dici Orationes possunt. Omnes aliae defunctorum Missae, quae aut non sunt aut non censentur solemnes, semper plures Orationes exigunt, nunquam minus quam tres, vel plures ad placitum Celebrantis, impari numero servato (*Decr. in Aquen. 2 Sept. 1741 ad 4*). Haec quidem de Orationum numero, sed progrediamur ad speciem.

Quoties in Missa defunctorum unica dicitur Oratio, haec specialis est, animaeque debet respondere, pro quo Sacrifi-

cium offertur (*decr. cit. in Briocen. ad 11*). Eo in casu Oratio erit *Deus qui inter Summos Sacerdotes* pro Pontifice, *Deus qui inter Apostolicos* pro Episcopo, pro Cardinali presbytero, et pro Sacerdote, mutatis mutandis iuxta Rubricam, pro Cardinali diacono Oratio *Inclina* praescripta est. Pro reliquis defunctis, sive clericis sive laicis, Missae depositionis, tertiae, septimae ac trigesimae diei, sicuti et anniversarii, Orationem determinatam habent in Missali. Missa quotidiana, si solemniter celebretur, speciali Oratione gaudebit, quae applicatione respondeat, quaeque opportune eligenda erit inter multas, post Missam quotidianam in Missali assignatas. In Duabus Missis superius exceptis, si unicam Orationem habeant, dicatur *Deus veniae largitor* : si plures, illae dicentur quae in ipsa Missa quotidiana positae sunt.

QUAENAM ORATIONES RECITANDAE SUNT IN MISSA QUOTIDIANA
QUAE PRIVATE DICITUR.

Quaenam vero Orationes recitandae erunt in Missa quotidiana, quae private dicitur? Haec enim potior nostri casus inquisitio est. Rubrica praescribit generice, plures in ea dicendas esse Orationes, sive numerice sive specificè sumptas. Tres autem Orationes in quotidiana Missa assignatae sunt, quarum 1^a est *Deus qui inter Apostolicos*, 2^a *Deus veniae largitor*, 3^a *Fidelium Deus omnium conditor*. Plura decreta permittunt secundae Orationi aliam quamcumque posse subrogari ex iis, quae pro defunctis notantur in Missali. Cum ergo plures in hac Missa dicendae Orationes sint, tres assignentur in Missali, secundae alia impune subrogari possit, sequi videtur, primo dicendam esse semper *Deus qui inter Apostolicos*, secundo loco quamcumque ex assignatis, tertio loco *Fidelium*.

Certa ab incertis secernamus. Secundae Orationi aliam subrogari posse citra dubium est (*Decr. in Aquen. ad 4. 2 Sept. 1741*). Ultimo autem loco dicendam esse Orationem *Fidelium Deus*, item extra quaestionem ponitur, quod ex eodem nunc citato decreto evidenter patet. Manet ergo quaestio circa primam Orationem *Deus qui inter Apostolicos*, an scilicet haec dicenda semper primo loco sit, an omitti, vel alio dici loco valeat iuxta Rubricas, illique Oratio applicationi respondens possit iure substitui.

Lex quidem prima Rubrica, quae tamen cum clara ad

rem nequaquam sit, sapientiorum Rubricae eiusdem interpretum iudicio stabimus. Sit ergo primus Merati in suis annotationibus apud Gavantum; hic enim hanc quaestionem silet, iudicamus tamen a nemine quam a Merati eum sapientius intelligi. Sapiens adnotator de hoc peculiari casu disserens (*Gavant. Tom. 1. pars 1. Tit. I. n. XI*) ait: "In Missis quotidianis de requie servatur eadem regula ac de feria et simplicibus, seu semiduplicibus." Inde prosequitur: "Quando Missa applicatur generaliter pro defunctis, regulariter dicuntur illae Orationes, quae in Missali pro Missis quotidianis positae sunt. Verum si Missa celebratur pro aliqua, vel pro aliquibus determinatis personis, PRIMO LOCO DICITUR ORATIO PRO IIS, PRO QUIBUS MISSA CELEBRATUR. Eodemque loco (*sub fine*) item prosequitur: "In Missis quotidianis celebratis etiam pro una certa et nota persona, non unica tantum, sed plures nempe tres Orationes dicendae: QUARUM PRIMA ELICIENDA EST EX NUMERO ILLARUM, QUAE POST MISSAM QUOTIDIANAM IN MISSALI DEFUNCTORUM DESCRIPTAM, PONUNTUR. In praedicto igitur casu ELICIATUR PRIMA ORATIO CONVENIENS CONDITIONI PERSONAE, IN CUIUS SUFRAGIUM OFFERTUR SACRIFICIUM.

Eadem ratione eadem Rubrica explicatur et exponitur a Guyeto, qui (*Heortolog. Lib. IV, cap. XXIII. q. 29, Quarto*) post explicatam Rubricam de tribus Orationibus non mutandis prima die mensis, si pro defunctis celebretur, addit: "Alias vero PRIMA ORATIO ERIT PRO EO seu IIS DEFUNCTIS, PRO QUO, seu PRO QUIBUS SACRIFICIUM OFFERTUR.

Eiusmodi interpretationem suppetidat nobis Cavalerius, sed acrioribus, quasi dicam, verbis; nec de sua sententia dubitans, veritatem proponere videtur. Ait enim, (*Oper. Liturg. Tom. III, de cr VII. in Ord. LXXVIII, pag. 37, num. XI*): "Aequum est ut sermonem convertamus modo ad Missas quotidianas reliquas, super quarum primam Orationem etsi decretum taceat, non tamen tacent auctores, QUI OMNES EAMDEM DEBERE ESSE SENTIUNT DE EO, PRO QUO SACRIFICIUM OFFERTUR. Et hinc patet abusus nonnullorum, qui pro quocumque celebrent, praedictas tres Orationes indiscriminatim adhibent, quasi in Missam quotidianam essent invectae, ut communiter recitentur pro quolibet, et non pro solis

defunctis omnibus, occasione generalium suffragiorum. Abusum huiusmodi satis evincunt Orationes particularium defunctorum in Missali post Missam quotidianam inductae et respective dici praeceptae, et ipsa Ecclesiae praxis, quae nedum Missas, sed etiam officium quodlibet absolvit cum Oratione conveniente illi, de quo vel pro quo officium aut Missa dicitur etc.”

Quibus maximae auctoritatis commentatoribus si alios addas externos, quos inter Lhoner, Iansens, Romsée, Brassine, et communiter omnes, ait De Herdt (*Prax. Liturg. pars 1. De Oration. in Miss. Defunct.*), inficiandum non videtur, hunc quem exposuimus, verum esse Rubricae sensum, ut aliter non possit nec debeat ipsa intelligi.

Contra tamen hanc Rubricae expositionem plura citantur decreta, quae consequenter recensere oportet. Primum est in *Aquensi* (2 Sept. 1741 ad IV), in quo postulatur, utrum secunda Oratio mutari possit? Et S. R. C. respondet: “Pro illa *Deus Veniae largitor impune subrogabitur alia*,” nil ergo contra sententiam nostram. Alterum est in *Veronesi* (27 Aug. 1836 ad VII), in quo idem quaeritur quod in superiori decreto. Sacra vero Congregatio oratorem remittit ad idem superius decretum, haec addens: “Quoad primam Orationem servetur ordo Missalis.” Iam si nostrae non opponitur sententiae decretum in *Aquensi*, ergo nec istud in *Veronensi*: de ordine Missalis dicemus infra. Tertium decretum est in *Mutinensi* (23 Sept. 1837 ad XI), in quo quaeritur: “quae Orationes in Missa quotidiana pro defunctis dicendae sint?” Et S. R. C. iterum respondet: “Servetur Rubricae dispositio, et detur decretum in *Aquensi* ad IV:” quid contra nos?

Decretum quartum est in *Briocensi* (12 Aug. 1854, ad IV) et inquit: “Utrum in Missis quotidianis pro defunctis teneatur Sacerdos recitare 1º loco Orationem pro defunctis Episcopis seu Sacerdotibus, ut fert Missale Romanum?” En quaestio, in qua versamur, quam dirimere potuisset quidem S. R. C. noluit tamen. Prosequitur dubium: “Potestne primo loco recitare Orationem *Inclina...* vel *Quaesumus Domine* pro defuncto, cuius ad intentionem eleemosyna data est?” Et haec quidem clara petitio, cui clariori occurrere S. R. C. responsione poterat. Sed audi: “Standum Missali.” Advert

tamen eadem Congregatio iterum, secundae aliam Orationem ad libitum posse subrogari, ut alias decrevit. Iam vero ex eo quod alia Oratio secundae substitui possit, nil sequitur contra propositam sententiam nostram; iam enim illa Oratio aetate Cavalerii mutari poterat, qui tamen arbitratur et primam esse mutandam.

Quintum remanet decretum in *Tuscanensi* (16 Septembris 1865) quod cum sententiam nostram damnare ac reprobare videatur, operae pretium indicamus integrum referre. Quaeritur ergo: "An in Missis quotidianis de requie Sacerdos . . . private celebrans pro aliqua aut pro aliquibus determinatis personis, debeat indiscriminatim dicere primam Orationem *Deus qui inter Apostolicos*, primo loco in Missali assignatam: an potius loco dictae primae Orationis teneatur dicere aliam ex diversis in eodem Missali positis quae conveniat ei aut iis determinatis personis, pro quibus Missam applicet? Observa diligenter et perpende quaesitum: duo inquiruntur, primo an Oratio *Deus qui inter Apostolicos* indiscriminatim dici debeat; secundo an loco huius aliam Sacerdos dicere teneatur iuxta applicationem. Ad primum S. R. C. respondit: affirmative, ad secundum negative. Ergo, eni unica conclusio: Oratio *Deus qui inter Apostolicos* semper dicenda pro quacumque persona celebret Sacerdos. Insuper ipse Sacerdos non tenetur aliam illi subrogare in gratiam illius personae pro qua celebrat. Ex quibus sequitur, hocce decretum opinioni quam defendimus nulla ratione opponi. Nos enim non sustinemus primam Orationem esse omittendam, et aliam illi subrogandam; sed tantummodo primam orationem esse posse quae applicationi respondeat, nec prima nec ultima ex orationibus omissis iuxta Missalis et decretorum exigentiam.

Sed et aliud ultimum ex decretis ad rem opus est referre, quod prima fronte omnino contrarium videtur. Est autem decretum in un Ordin. Carmel. Excalc. Congr. Hispaniae (16 Februar. 1781 ad VI), in quo petitur: "Quae Oratio erit dicenda in tali Missa?" hoc est in Missa quotidiana pro defunctis privata. Porro S. R. C. respondet: "Deus qui inter Apostolicos, ut in Missali." Verum hoc decretum de Missa loquitur, ut videre est in collectione Gardelliniana, pro

defunctis vage sumptis, quo in casu idem et nos docuimus. Ergo decreta S. R. C. sententiae Merati, consequenter Gavanti, sicuti et Guyeti, Cavalerii, De Herdt, aliorumque omnium Rubricarum, ut isti sentiunt, expositoribus, nullo pacto contradicunt.

Superest nunc explicandus *Ordo Missalis*, de quo superius. Hic non videtur esse ordo materialis Orationum, qui in Missa quotidiana pro defunctis invenitur, quique saepe saepius ex ipsa Rubricarum et decretorum vi invertitur. Hunc ergo clar. Guyetus explicat (*Heort. Lib. IV, Quaest. 29 ad quartum*), dicens: "Ordo autem illarum (orationum) est, ut quae pro singularibus sunt, ponantur ante generales, et quae minus generales ante generaliores." Ita hunc ordinem Missalis, ac Rubricae dispositionem intellexerunt peritiores omnes ut a Cavalerio docemur, qui hanc pertractarunt materiem.

Suffragatur et ratio iure liturgico innixa. Primo, in omni Missa cum cantu, (excipe duas iam superius exceptas) dicitur prima Oratio applicationi respondens; ergo et in Missis sine cantu, ubi enim eadem est ratio, eadem debet esse iuris dispositio. Secundo, Rubrica et S. R. C. decretis suis ordinem hierarchicum exigunt in Orationibus pro defunctis, ut vel particulares, vel minus generales Orationes ultima sequatur, quae maxime generalis est, scilicet *Fidelium Deus omnium conditor*. Hic vero ordo in sententia proposita apprime obtinetur, in opposita fere semper hunc inverti necessum est. Tertio, iuxta Rubricas prima Oratio in Missis semper festo respondet, de quo vel factum est officium vel Missa dicitur: atqui Missa in casu est de requie, et pro eo vel iis defunctis offertur, pro quo vel quibus aut factum est officium, aut Missa specialiter applicatur, ergo.¹ . . .

Ex dictis sequi videtur, 1. Orationem primam, in Missis privatis defunctorum, applicationi respondentem, esse Rubricis conformem, nec contra illam stare decreta S. C. R. 2. Orationem *Deus qui inter Apostolicos* nunquam esse omittendam, et post primam dicendam. 3. Alteri *Deus veniae largitor* posse

¹ Emus. Parocchi Academiae Praeses interlocutos in Conventu academico superius indicato sententiam hanc defendit; addiditque nunquam se id habuisse in dubiis. Quanti autem valeat tanti viri iudicium norunt omnes. Ed. Eph. Lit.

aliam subrogari, vel plures dici ex devotione Celebrantia. 4. In his Orationibus votivis imparem numerum semper esse servandum. 5. Ultimam Orationem esse debere semper, *Fidelium Deus omnium conditor*.

Ultimum quaesitum petit, cui ex duobus disceptantibus faveat ratio. Brevi post dicta respondebimus. Imprimis Sacerdos recitans primam Orationem, in omnibus Missis privatis de requie, applicationi respondentem, nec contra Rubricam agere videtur nec contra S. R. C. decreta. Rubricarum enim expositorum et quidem gravissimorum iudicio stetit, qui tuentur, id esse tam Rubricis quam decretis omnino conforme. Ad Orationem quod pertinet, *Deus qui nos Patrem et Matrem*, quam dixit in anniversario suorum parentum, id est pariter iuxta Rubricas. Et sane si casus extet, in quo Rubrica dat facultatem Orationes dicendi, quae post Missam quotidianam in Missali sunt positae, certo certius casus est anniversario. Quod ultra patet ex speciali Rubrica, quae dictis Orationibus praeponitur, nempe: "In die depositionis et Anniversarii etc." Ex qua evidenter resultat in die anniversarii aptiorem ex illis eligi posse Orationem, magisque Missae respondentem. Atqui Missa erat pro Patre et Matre illius, ergo rite Orationem pro Patre et Matre selegit. Proinde primo Presbytero, de quo in casu, tribuenda videtur ratio, haud alteri, qui non recte, ut apparet, Rubricam intellexit, sicut et S. R. C. decreta.

CORRESPONDENCE.

VERY REV. AND DEAR MR. EDITOR,—I notice in the last number of the I. E. RECORD that Father Dawson, the respected Chaplain of the Boston-Spa Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, announces the conclusion, so far as he is concerned, of the controversy between him and me on the subject of [the oral system of teaching the deaf and dumb, as carried on through your kindness, for some months past, in the pages of the RECORD. I am quite glad of it, as I find myself in entire coincidence of wish with him, more especially as we may expect soon to see the Official Report laid before Parliament of the

Commissioners appointed to enquire into the education and condition of the deaf and dumb.

I will, therefore, allow myself merely to observe, respecting his paper in the last number of the *RECORD*, that his allegation to the effect that my references to the Conference in London ten years ago are now out of date in consequence of the progress the system has since made, can have but little weight, since we must bear in mind, that the system has been in operation for over a hundred years in the public schools of Germany, and surely it ought to have long since brought forth whatever fruit it was capable of producing; and it is difficult to believe that the last ten years have improved it to any appreciable extent.

Father Dawson, in conclusion, expresses his regret for having been obliged, in the interest of the oral system, to enter upon this discussion. I must say, on my part, that I cannot sympathise with the rev. gentleman, as I am very glad that my views to the contrary have been subjected to such severe criticism at the hands of so able and zealous an advocate of the system, and I trust, on that account, that our interchanges must serve to dispel much of the obscurity that had lain on the subject.

I have the honour to remain,

Very Rev. and dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

THE AUTHOR OF "CLAIMS OF THE UNINSTRUCTED
DEAF-MUTE TO BE ADMITTED TO THE SACRAMENTS."

DOCUMENTS.

BRIEF OF HIS HOLINESS LEO XIII. GRANTING INDULGENCES ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SACERDOTAL JUBILEE.

SUMMARY.

A Plenary Indulgence, applicable to the souls in Purgatory, and full remission of sins are granted

(1) to the faithful who make a pilgrimage to Rome on the occasion of the Pope's Sacerdotal Jubilee;

(2) to the faithful who in mind and spirit accompany these pilgrimages;

(3) to the faithful who in any way help towards the successful carrying out of these pilgrimages; provided

(a) that for nine days preceding New Year's Day they make a Novena, consisting of the recital of a third part of the Rosary each day ;

(b) that they make a similar Novena any time, at choice, between the 1st of January and 30th of June, 1888—the limits which bound the Jubilee pilgrimages ;

(c) that both on New Year's Day, and on the Sunday or Holiday immediately following the second Novena they approach worthily the Sacraments of Penance and the Blessed Eucharist, visit the parish or other public church, and there pray for peace amongst Christian Princes, for the uprooting of heresy, for the conversion of sinners, and for the exaltation of our Holy Mother, the Church.

Moreover, a Partial Indulgence of 300 days is granted to the faithful who join with contrite heart in the Novena as described above.

LEO PP. XIII.

Universis Christifidelibus praesentes Litteras inspecturis salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quod primo adventantis anni die Deo favente Sacerdotalis jubilaei nostri solemnitatem celebrabimus, omnes ubique terrarum gentes et cujuscumque ordinis familiae, quasi cor unum et anima una prae laetitia gestiunt, mirificisque modis in hac temporum difficultate Nobis in sublimi Beatissimi Petri Sede divinitus collocatis, solemnina suae fidei, studii, obsequii, et gratulationis exhibent testimonia. Haec quidem omnia accepit referimus Deo qui consolatur Nos in tribulatione Nostra, Eumque sine intermissione obsecramus, ut dominico gregi universo propitius benedicat, et optatam jamdiu pacem et concordiam concedat.

Nos exploratis hisce amoris et antiquae pietatis significationibus permoti, precibusque ad id Nobis admotis obsecundantes, ut universi filii ex Parentis sui festivitate aliquod sibi parent ad aeternam facilius potiundam beatitatem emolumentum, Ecclesiae thesauros, quorum dispensationem Nobis credidit Deus, reserandos censuimus. Quare de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Ejus Auctoritate confisi omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus Romam occasione sacerdotalis jubilaei Nostri peregre advenientibus, ut suorum populorum nomine publice et palam pietatem et obsequium testentur, debitum supremae Nobis a Deo traditae auctoritati honorem et obedientiam praestent, nec non omnibus pariter utriusque sexus fidelibus qui supradictas ad Urbem peregrinationes mente et corde prosequantur, comitentur, itemque omnibus et singulis, qui suam quovis modo in piarum hujusmodi

peregrinationum bonum felicemque exitum operam conferant, si novendialem supplicationem recitatione tertiae partis SS. Rosarii ipsi sacerdotalis jubilaei Nostri diei, Kalendis nempe venturi Januarii, praemiserint, et si eandem supplicationem novendialem intra praestitutum piarum peregrinationum hujusmodi admissionibus tempus iteraverint, ac vere poenitentes et confessi ac Sancta Communione refecti, parochialem suam vel aliam quamlibet ecclesiam aut publicum oratorium visitaverint, ibique pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione, ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint, tum ipsa memoratae solemnitatis Nostrae die, tum die festo, immediate subsequenti supplicationem novendialem pro cujusque arbitrio intra praefixum tempus ut supra repetitam, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem in Domino concedimus. Universis praeterea et singulis qui corde saltem contrito novendiales supplicationes ut supra celebraverint, quovis ex hisce die id praestiterint, trecentos dies de injunctis eis seu alias quomodolibet debitae poenitentiae in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus. Quas omnes, et singulas indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones, ac poenitentiarum relaxationes, etiam animabus in Purgatorio detentis applicari posse indulgemus, et hoc tantum anno concessas volumus. In contrarium facientibus, non obstantibus quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicujus Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 1 Octobris MDCCCLXXXVII, Pontificatus Nostri anno x.

(L. ✕ S.)

M. Card. LEDOCHOWSKI.

QUESTIONS REGARDING SODALITIES AND CONGREGATIONS.

SUMMARY.

When a parish priest has been appointed Director of a Confraternity, his successor in the parish does not require a new appointment as Director.

The sick members of a Confraternity are allowed to substitute some other pious work which they can perform instead of the visit to the church.

It is necessary to get one's name inscribed on the register of the Congregation and mere ceremony of Reception will not suffice.

DECRETUM.

SOCIETATIS JESU DE CONFRATERNITATIBUS.

Die 16 Julii 1887.

Tres quaestiones huic S. Congregationi Indulgentiarum et SS. Reliquiarum dirimendas proposuit Procurator generalis Societatis Jesu, quae plura dubia complectuntur. Prima quaestio proposita est de facultate Episcoporum quoad designationem Rectorum Confraternitatum, seu Sodalitatum, quarum statuta generatim ferunt ut singulis annis, sicut ceterorum officialium, ita et Moderatorum fiat electio. Quumvis vero haec S. Congregatio, edito generali decreto sub die 8 Januarii 1865, declaraverit impertitam esse facultatem Ordinariis, ut libere designare possent, si ita in Domino expedire judicaverint, parochos *pro tempore* in Rectores, Moderatores Confraternitatum, seu Sodalitatum, dubitatum tamen est a nonnullis, an facultas nominandi parochos *pro tempore*, ita sit intelligenda, ut defuncto actuali parcho, vel etiam amoto, qui Moderator erat alicujus Confraternitatis, vel Sodalitatis in sua parochiali Ecclesia erectae, novus parochus iterum indigeat Episcopi nominatione, ut Rector Confraternitatis seu Sodalitatis eligatur.

Altera quaestio respicit generale decretum datum a f. r. Clemente XIII. sub die 2 Augusti 1760, quo benigne concesserat, ut confratres et censorores uniuscujusque Confraternitatis, seu Sodalitii aut Congregationis ubique locorum existentis canonice erectae aliqua corporis infirmitate laborantes, aut carceribus detenti, eisdem omnibus et singulis Indulgentiis, quibus ceteri gaudent confratres et consorores, gaudere valerent, dummodo loco visitationis Ecclesiae, fere semper praescriptae, alia pia opera injuncta peregerint, quae pro viribus peragere possent, simulque indulgebatur hanc gratiam suffragari in perpetuum, et ad preces cujuscumque Sodalitii, Confraternitatis, seu Congregationis concedi. Jam vero quum a S. Congreg. Indulgentiarum quaesitum fuerit anno 1877 "Utrum confratres et consorores cujuscumque Confraternitatis, tunc existentis facultate in Decreto (Clementino) concessa gaudere possint et valeant, sine recurso ad S. Sedem, vel ad hoc dictus recursus sit necessarius ex verbis sequentibus praefati decreti—voluitque Sanctitas Sua hanc gratiam ad preces cujuscumque Sodalitii concedi?—," et S. Congregatio respondisset: *Negative* ad primam partem;

Affirmative ad secundam, et ad mentem: mens est supplicandum. SSmo, ut per Decretum generale extendatur ad omnes confratres ejuscumque Confraternitatis, aut Sodalitii Indultum lucrandi singulas Indulgentias, exercendo opera quae pro viribus peragere poterunt; pariter dubitatum est an illud *Generale Decretum*, quod ab hac S. Congregatione evulgandum postulabatur, et tamen evulgatum non existit, necessario adhuc requiratur, quum aliunde in Decreto diei 25 Februarii 1877 expresse dicatur Summum Pontificem expetitam gratiam concessisse, absque ulla mentione generalis decreti evulgandi.

Postrema demum quaestio mota est de necessitate inscribendi nomina confratrum in libro Confraternitatis, seu Sodalitii, praesertim si agatur de Sodalitiis, seu Confraternitatibus, in quibus etsi ritus adhibeatur in receptione confratrum et consororum, earumdem tamen statuta inscriptionem minime requirunt, saltem explicitè, uti conditionem essentialem pro lucrandis Indulgentiis.

| Quare dubia solvenda haec sunt:

I. An stante Decreto diei 8 Jan. 1861, quo Episcopis speciales concessae sunt facultates nominandi parochos pro tempore in Rectores sodalitatum, defuncto actuali parochio vel amoto, qui alicui Sodalitati praeerat, novus parochus nova iterum indigeat Episcopi nominatione ad hoc ut Rector Sodalitatis eligatur?

II. Quum in Decreto diei 25 Februarii 1877 in responsione ad 1^a sermo sit de generali Decreto vulgando in favorem omnium confratrum cujuscumque Confraternitatis, quumque Decretum hujusmodi vulgatum non fuerit, quaeritur (1^o) an haec concessio nunc reapse valeat pro omnibus Confraternitatibus seu Sodalitiis, aut Congregationibus sine speciali recurso cujusque Confraternitatis seu Sodalitii ad S. Sedem, qui antea requirebatur? Et quatenus affirmative (2^o) utrum valeat tantum pro confratribus infirmis, vel carceribus detentis, de quibus solis primaeva concessio Clementis Papae XIII loquebatur?—an (3^o) etiam extensa sit ad confratres gravi alia ex causa legitime impeditos? Et quatenus negative ad tertiam partem—(4^o) humiliter ea extensio nunc petitur.

III. Utrum (1^o) concessio supradicta valeat tantum pro iis confratribus, qui impediti sunt quominus praescriptam ecclesiae visitationem peragere possint (2^o) an vero etiam pro illis qui prohibentur quominus aliquam aliam conditionem ad lucrandas Indulgentias praescriptam impleant.

IV. Utrum in iis Sodalitiis, quae solemnem aliquem receptionis ritum adhibent (ut Congregationes B. Mariae Virginis) confratres

hoc solemnī modo a legitimo Sodalitatis Praeside recepti lucrari possint Indulgentias, licet in libro Sodalitatis non inscribantur?

V. Utrum generatim inscriptio sit omnino necessaria ad lucrandas Indulgentias, etiamsi statuta Confraternitatis, Congregationis vel pia Unionis non explicate requirant inscriptionem tanquam conditionem essentialē?

Et Emi. ac Rmi. Patres in generalibus Comitibus ad Vaticanum coadunatis die 25 Junii 1887 rescripserunt:

Ad I. *Negative.*

Ad 1^m. partem dubii II.: *Affirmative*, et supplicandum Sanctissimo pro promulgatione Decreti juxta resolutionem S. Congregationis diei 25 Februarii 1877.

Ad 2^m. partem: *Affirmative.*

Ad 3^m. partem: *Negative.*

Ad 4^m. partem: supplicandum Sanctissimo pro benigna extensione ad alia legitima impedimenta iudicio discreti confessarii dignoscenda, commutato tamen ab eodem confessario opere adjuncto visitationis ecclesiae in aliud pium opus.

Ad 1^m. partem dubii III.: *Affirmative.*

Ad 2^m. partem: *Negative.*

Ad IV. *Negative* si agatur de Confraternitatibus proprie dictis.

Ad V. Provisum in praecedenti.

De quibus omnibus facta per infrascriptum S. Congregationis Secretarium relatione die 16 Julii 1887, Sanctitas Sua responsiones Emorum Patrum confirmavit, simulque mandavit expediri Decretum de quo in prima parte dubii secundi, et benigne concessit petitam extensionem, juxta modum expressum in responsione ad quartam partem ejusdem dubii secundi.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiarum sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 16 Julii 1887.

FR. THOMAS M. Card. ZIGLIARA, *Praefectus.*

ALEXANDER Episcopus Oensis, *Secretarius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

DANTE'S DIVINA COMMEDIA: ITS SCOPE AND VALUE. From the German of Mgr. Hettinger, Professor of Theology at the University of Würzburg. Edited by Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates.

WITH the exception of the Bible we scarcely know of any book that has had so many commentators as the *Divina Commedia*. Its great author was not long dead when the people of Florence called upon Boccaccio to give readings and explanations in public of his wonderful work. Similar honours were conferred on the "Divine Comedy" in Bologna, Pisa, Piacenza, Foligno, Mantua and Venice, with such distinguished expounders as Filippo da Reggio and Benvenuto da Imola. Endless commentaries in Latin, French, Spanish, German and English, were devoted to explore the mine of wealth which the noble Florentine exile had bequeathed to the world. Through all the changes and vicissitudes of taste we find him still in the front rank with no possible rival except Homer. Many valuable expositions of his work have recently appeared in Italy but the best and by far the most practical of them all is the splendid *Dizionario Dantesco* of Professor Giacomo Poletto of the Pontifical University. In Germany Dante has had many commentators among contemporary writers. Dr. Gietmann, S.J., has collected his articles in the *Stimmen aus Maria Lâach* on "Die Göttliche Komödie und ihr Dichter Dante Alighieri" and Mgr. Hettinger has given us the present interesting volume for the English version of which we are indebted to Fr. Bowden of the London Oratory.

Mgr. Hettinger commences with an interesting life of the poet and an account of his other works, the *Nuova Vita*, *Compito*, *De Vulgari Eloquentia* and *De Monarchia*. He then gives an analytic sketch of the three great parts *Inferno*, *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*. He takes us with him through each of the circles of Hell and Purgatory with explanations full of interest as regards history, dogma, and the poetic art. We follow him perhaps with more pleasure still through the "planets" and "spheres" of Paradise. Though the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* are always sure to remain more popular with ordinary readers, it is really in the *Paradiso* that Dante soars aloft in the divine flight and displays in these empyrean realms

all the noble gifts of knowledge and of spirituality that have made him immortal. In his interviews with St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Bonaventure, St. Bernard, St. Peter Damien, &c., he enters into the deepest and most subtle details of doctrine and of ascetic perfection; here he becomes really sublime when he contemplates the higher beatitudes of the "Primum Mobile" or sees the angel Gabriel "on poised wing" salute the Blessed Virgin with "Ave Maria, gratia plena,"

"To whose sweet anthem all the blissful court
From all parts answering, rang, that holier joy
Swept o'er the deep serene." *Par.* xxxii., 86.

or when he describes the all-pervading sense of bliss with which the soul is flooded in the final transports of the ecstatic vision. Mgr. Hettinger then takes up the leading dogmas of Catholic philosophy and theology—the nature of man, the spiritual and rational soul, free will, redemption, atonement, justification, &c., and shows what a full and exact knowledge the poet had of these questions in all their bearings and details. Finally he discusses Dante's notions on the temporal power of the Pope and his strictures on the conduct of several individual popes and ecclesiastics. We regret that this portion of the work is not more full and more precise. One must go to Berardinelli's *Domio temporale dei Papi nel concetto politico di Dante Alighieri* for complete and methodical information on these points that are at present so warmly discussed in Italy. It would be a mistake to look upon Dante's utopia of the empire as sketched out in the *de Monarchia* as an infallible key to his meaning in several passages of the *Divina Commedia*. Yet, of course, he has made mistakes which, however, were mainly due to the bitterness of party strife in the end of the thirteenth and commencement of the fourteenth century. The sense of personal wrong under which he laboured sharpened his criticism of the use to which the temporal power was sometimes turned—as in the passage—*Hell*, xix., 118—

"Ah Constantine to how much ill gave birth
Not thy conversion but that plenteous dower
Which the first wealthy father gain'd from thee."

This munificent gift through which the Church gained power and as he says "became entangled in worldly affairs" he sometimes regards as the cause of many scourges and not least of that personal

avarice with which the Ghibellines were always so ready to tax even the best of popes.

“Not to this end was Christ’s spouse with my blood
With that of Linus and of Cletus fed
That she might serve for purchase of base gold
But for the purchase of this happy life
Did Sextus, Pius and Callixtus bleed
And Urban.” *Purg.* xxviii., 36.

These severe reproaches never prevent him, however, from showing the greatest respect to the office of the papacy as when he bends his knee before Adrian V. in purgatory and shows his “reverence for the keys” before Nicholas III. whom he so unjustly condemns to hell for simony.

Unfortunately Cary’s laboured rendering of the *Divina Commedia* in Milton’s pompous language and style gives but a poor idea of the graceful and harmonious “terza rima” of Dante, but we agree with Fr. Bowden that it was the best choice he could have made for his quotations under the circumstances. The translation is extremely well done. We regret it was not in our power to give a notice of the work sooner. It has already been welcomed everywhere by the cultivated class of readers for whom it was intended. We have only to recommend it to those who have not yet procured it, and we trust that it will help to revive the study of the great Catholic poet among the Catholics of these countries.

J. F. H.

THE INCARNATE WORD AND THE DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART. By the Rev. George Tickell, S.J. London: Burns & Oates (Limited).

FATHER TICKELL with skilful hand has culled from a fruitful garden a few rich flowers, and has deftly arranged them in a beautiful little bouquet. *The Incarnate Word and Devotion to the Sacred Heart* is a very rare bouquet of doctrine. It is a clear and simple exposition drawn from Sacred Scripture, Ecumenical Councils, and the Fathers of the Catholic belief in the Word made Flesh. The Incarnation is the great central truth of Christian dogma. It stamps the Christian faith with the indelible impress of divine love, and bestows upon creatures the spiritual birthright of brotherhood with Christ.

Christ is true God and true Man. In one person are united by a substantial union two natures—the Divine and Human. We adore with the highest worship not only the Divine but also the Human

nature, because the Humanity of Christ is substantially joined to the Word, and hence cannot be regarded without considering the Divine nature as proper to It. The full object of adoration is the personal Christ: the Human nature of Christ in Itself, though not on account of Itself, is the partial object. The Body of Christ is adored because it is the Body of the Uncreated Word, and adoration is paid to Him whose Body it is.

We may view the Incarnate Word in His Humanity or in His Interior Life and Passion, and also as acting or suffering in His Sacred Humanity or in His Exterior Life and Passion. We adore the Sacred Humanity, because in It the Eternal Word manifests Himself for our adoration. We adore the Sacred Humanity acting and suffering, because the actions and sufferings are the operations of a God-Man. Now certain operations of the Word in His Flesh are special objects of our love and adoration. So certain portions of the Sacred Humanity present special reasons for being regarded as manifestations of the Incarnate Word. Among the latter the Sacred Heart holds the first place.

The learned author in vigorous and fervent tones tells us how devotion to the Sacred Heart existed from the earliest times, how Doctors with burning words of love defended it, how Saints grew in perfection beneath its shadow, and finally how in these later days, when charity was on the wane, the Church, exalted it by the most solemn sanction, making it the distinctive devotion of our age. Father Tickell's little book is an admirable one. He apprehends the salient points of devotion with singular power, and discourses them with clearness and simplicity. His method is scholarly. We earnestly recommend this excellent treatise to all those who desire fruitful instruction about the Incarnate Word and Devotion to the Sacred Heart.

THE JEWELS OF THE MASS. By Percy Fitzgerald. London, Burns & Oates (Limited).

THE MASS is a second Incarnation. Around the first are grouped a multitude of holy actions and loving words which enshrine in a halo the Word made Flesh. The words which Christ spoke and the works He wrought, though distinct from the supreme act of the Incarnation, are above measure profitable to us. In the second Incarnation too, the great central act of Consecration is surrounded by words and actions which are full of hidden meaning, and most deserving our reflection. In the Mass the grand essential act, like a

precious stone of inestimable value, stands in relief, enriched by wise rubric and deep thoughtful prayer; and *these* are the Jewels of the Mass.

The *Jewels of the Mass* is a work of high merit. The author views the Mass with the eye of an artist who, himself guided by a strong and lively faith, laying before us the fitness and meaning of every little part, inspires in us a deeper devotion, and excites us to more earnest action. The reader will, moreover, gain much instruction from the story of the structural growth of the Mass.

The author's style possesses an energy and animation which pleasantly carry us through this very attractive little book. To this most instructive little book we wish every success, and unhesitatingly promise a fruitful harvest.

ELEMENTS OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW, compiled with reference to the Syllabus, the Const. Apostolicæ Sedis of Pope Pius IX., the Council of the Vatican and the latest decisions of the Roman Congregations, adapted especially to the discipline of the Church in the United States. By Rev. S. B. Smith, D.D., formerly Professor of Canon Law, author of the *Notes, Counterpoints, The New Procedure &c.* Vol. II. Ecclesiastical Trials. Thoroughly revised according to the Instruction "Cum Magnopere" and the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS edition of the second volume of Dr. Smith's *Elements of Ecclesiastical Law* has issued from the press at a time when it is sure to meet a general welcome. It contains an able and careful explanation not merely of the various kinds of ecclesiastical trials established by the Canon Law, but also a detailed exposition of the special form of procedure sanctioned in 1878, and of the still more important Summary Process promulgated in 1884 for conducting Criminal Ecclesiastical Causes in the United States of America. The author's reason for retaining an explanation of the decree issued in 1878 is obvious. The mode of proceeding laid down therein is still in force where the *Curia* contemplated by the legislation of 1884 has not been as yet established. Besides, a kindred method of trial is applied in other lands where an English work on Canon Law is sure to find an entry. The present edition, also, contains a full account of the procedure established in 1884 for the United States in Matrimonial Causes. The work is enriched with several valuable appendices,

and we know of no more reliable source of information in regard to ecclesiastical trials than it places at the reader's disposal. American priests will find this learned volume a safe guide to the Summary Process now in force for criminal and disciplinary Causes in the United States.

THE NEW PROCEDURE IN CRIMINAL AND DISCIPLINARY CAUSES OF ECCLESIASTICS IN THE UNITED STATES ; OR A CLEAR AND FULL EXPLANATION OF THE INSTRUCTION "CUM MAGNOPERE," ISSUED BY THE S. CONGREG. DE PROP. FIDE., IN 1884, FOR THE UNITED STATES. By Rev. S.B. Smith, D.D., formerly Professor of Canon Law, Author of *Notes, Elements of Ecclesiastical Law, Counterpoints, &c.* New York : Pustet, 1887.

THE name of this volume sufficiently indicates its subject matter. The precise form of trial here explained is established for the United States in the criminal causes of ecclesiastics. It does not, in all its details, apply elsewhere, nor in America itself to civil causes nor to those of laymen, whether civil or criminal. Yet, beyond doubt, one who masters this exposition, will have little difficulty in understanding the points of difference between the Summary Process described by Dr. Smith and any other form of Canonical trial. What is more, no one can read this volume with attention and fail to own in deep conviction that the Canonical Procedure, which the Church pursues in her trials, has never been equalled by any other in charity, justice, and wisdom.

At first sight, it might seem strange to call this Procedure "New," for as the author is careful to tell us, the Summary Process, with occasional points of difference, has been in force since the time of Clement V. for civil causes, and was permitted in 1880 for criminal ones in Catholic countries not subject to Propaganda, whenever the *ordinary* process cannot be observed without serious inconvenience. But for America this Procedure is *new*. It takes the place of the form of trial established by Propaganda in 1878. It is contained in the Instruction "Cum Magnopere," issued in 1884, and is embodied in the acts of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, held in the same year. But, as Dr. Smith truly observes, the recent Constitution "merely outlines the main features of the procedure, and presupposes a full and accurate knowledge of the Canon Law bearing on the subject." The outlines are filled in so as to form a very presentable figure indeed by the excellent com-

mentary under review. We gladly commend it to every student of this intricate subject. Only on one small point do we feel disposed to offer an unfavourable criticism. While thankful to learn that the third volume of Dr. Smith's erudite *Elements of Ecclesiastical Law* is soon to see the light, we think the references to it from the present work are somewhat too numerous for a publication whose proportions should lead us to expect almost perfect independence. *The New Procedure* is indeed in itself complete as an exposition of the subject with which it deals. But these frequent references are suggestive of the contrary.

P. O'D.

JAHRBUCH FÜR PHILOSOPHIE UND SPEKULATIVE THEOLOGIE.
Herausgegeben—unter Mitwirkung von Fachgelehrten—
von Prof. Dr. Ernst Commer. Paderborn und Münster:
Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh.

THIS comparatively new German Quarterly is exclusively devoted to philosophy and to speculative questions in Theology. It is edited by Dr. Ernest Commer, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Münster, who is assisted by some of the best Catholic philosophical writers in Germany. We have been favoured with all the numbers of it that have appeared since its first publication in 1886, and we are able to say that it appears to us by far the most satisfactory review of Thomistic philosophy now published. The exclusive object of its existence is probably the cause that it treats each subject much more fully and exhaustively than any of the other German Catholic reviews, and with all the learning and solidity for which German literature of the kind is remarkable. Dr. Glossner's articles on "Die Lehre des Hl. Thomas und seiner Schule vom prinzip der Individuation" constitute not only the clearest exposition that we have seen of the scholastic principle of individuation but also the ablest refutation of the Scotist "*Hæcceitas*" and of the other more recent theories on the same subject. The articles by Dr. Schnell on "Der Gottesbegriff im Katholizismus und Protestantismus," and those by Dr. Schneider on "Die *Praemotio physica* nach Thomas," are also very full and written in a most readable and attractive style. On the whole it would seem that the object held in view when establishing this new organ and which was announced by the publishers is about to be fulfilled.

"Es bezweckt, eine Verständigung über die grossen philosophischen Fragen auf dem Boden der aristotelischen Principien anzubahnen. Dazu sollen die Grundsätze der Lehre des h Thomas von

Aquin klar dargelegt werden. Aber auch die neuere Philosophie wird Berücksichtigung finden. Für geschichtliche Forschung auf dem Gebiete der Philosophie und Theologie fehlt es nicht an Zeitschriften. Aber für die eigentliche speculative Arbeit, die in den letzten Jahren einen neuen Aufschwung genommen hat, fehlt es noch immer an einem Organe. Diesem Bedürfnisse soll das Jahrbuch entsprechen."

With such an object in view it is hardly necessary to say that we wish this new German contemporary every success.

J. F. H.

THE NECESSITY, ADVANTAGES, DISPOSITIONS, AND OBJECTS OF PRAYER. By the Very Rev. Thomas Geoghegan, V.G., Kildare. Dublin: James Duffy & Sons.

FATHER GEOGHEGAN gives us an excellent explanation of prayer under each of the above headings. The many quotations from the Scriptures and from the Fathers, with which the little book abounds shows the author's intimate acquaintance with these sources. We are sure many pastors will feel deeply grateful to Father Geoghegan for enabling them to place in the hands of their flock, at the moderate price of twopence, a most useful little book on the inexhaustible subject of prayer.

VISITS TO THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS translation of the above work by St. Alphonsus is edited by Fr. Grimm, C.S.S.R., and is not in any way inferior to the many other translations of this work that have been made. We cannot recommend too highly this book. It is much to be deplored that Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament has not more numerous visitors. Why, we ask, is this so? Why are our churches so much deserted? We hope it will not continue to be so, and it certainly will not if this little book meets with the circulation it deserves.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

FEBRUARY, 1888.

LEO THE THIRTEENTH.

THE precursive signs, by which the magnificent celebrations, just now going on in the Eternal City, were heralded, awakened a world-wide interest, and gave rise to endless speculations. Long before the advent of the New Year, 1888, had ushered in the solemn festivities of the Papal Jubilee, nations and princes, formerly hostile to the Successor of Peter, had already commenced to pour their sympathy into his ears, and to lay their gold at his feet. The well-known admiration and pride, with which his own devoted flock in every corner of the earth, regard the present illustrious Father of the Faithful, made them look forward to the celebration of his Sacerdotal Jubilee, with deep interest and intense anxiety. Clergy and laity alike, not merely in every country, but even in every diocese throughout the world, have shown, during the past months unstinted generosity and indomitable zeal, in their endeavours to testify emphatically their filial affection for their venerated Supreme Pastor, on the present happy occasion. But not even the most sanguine among them ever hoped that the event would be surrounded with such splendour and *éclat*, each succeeding day disclosing some new element of interest, and furnishing some new theme for speculation. For there is one striking feature in this joyous occasion, perfectly unique and unparalleled in the history of such events. That a Pope, who is the pride and glory of all his spiritual children, should receive from *them* con-

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gratulatory addresses and handsome presents, is scarcely to be wondered at. But when we see all the important states and sovereigns, heretical and infidel as well as Catholic, throughout the civilized world, tendering their felicitations, and with hardly an exception worth noting, sending costly presents to the Supreme Head of a religion which many of them detest, we may well marvel at this universal concurrence of testimony to the worth and beneficence of our beloved Pontiff.

Newspapers and periodicals, irrespectively of the creed, race, or politics they represent, have, during the past month, been teeming with interesting news about the doings in Rome. The letters from crowned heads and princes, effusive in their expression of kindly wishes towards his Holiness, the valuable gifts accompanying them, and the probable future relations between the Vatican and the various powers, have been viewed from every standpoint, and discussed with ability and fulness, by writers of all shades of opinion or prejudice. These facts and inferences admittedly possess more than a passing significance, but the question to which we purpose to address ourselves now on the eve of the solemn reception of Ireland's representatives by the Holy Father, is one which must present itself to the least philosophic mind, viz.:—What is that exceptional excellence or dignity of character or conduct on the part of Leo XIII., that has attracted so many thousands of admirers to his presence, and evoked a constantly swelling chorus of congratulation from the remotest ends of the earth, on this memorable occasion of his Golden Jubilee? For even those that are most reluctant to credit the occupant of the Chair of Peter with any good quality of head or heart, could not help feeling the sentiment of the Roman poet: "*Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi*," unconsciously stealing upon them, as they read of the extraordinary tributes of esteem and gratitude, offered to his Holiness during the Jubilee celebration.

This question, we fancy, can be best answered by reviewing briefly the substantial and enduring benefits, conferred by him on the world at large; 1, in his character of scholar and patron of learning; 2, in his capacity of supreme spiritual

ruler: 3, as arbiter of nations, and 4, as the divinely-appointed guardian of social order. Accordingly, we shall first view him as the

PATRON OF LEARNING.

That a man, who had not himself received a good literary training in his early youth, nor afterwards prosecuted his academic labours with growing success, until he had made himself master of one or more departments of knowledge, should contribute in any material way towards the intellectual progress of his age, would indeed be a rare historical phenomenon. Ancient Rome attained the zenith of her literary glory under the fostering encouragement extended by Maecenas to men of letters; but then Maecenas was himself an accomplished scholar and a voluminous author of no mean reputation. On the other hand, if George I. of England, a man "without the slightest tincture of literature or science," did not completely annihilate all literary enterprise in his kingdoms, it was no merit of his.

Joachim Pecci, at present Head of the Universal Church, was transferred from his native Carpineto at the tender age of eight, and entrusted by his parents to the care and training of the Jesuits at Viterbo. Six years of close application and rapid progress enabled him to complete his preliminary studies here. He was next sent to Rome to the Collegio Romano, then a most flourishing institution, manned by the ablest professors. The curriculum embraced Rhetoric, Higher Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, and Theology. At the close of his first year, he obtained the much-coveted distinction of being selected to read the customary oration in Latin in presence of all the students, and of the many distinguished scholars who attended on such occasions; besides, he was awarded First Honors in Greek. His success in the less attractive studies of Moral Philosophy, was even more brilliant; at the end of his three years' philosophy, he was chosen to defend, at a public disputation, theses culled from the most intricate parts of the course, the

objectors being unrestricted as to the nature and form of the difficulties they might propose.

He entered on the study of theology in 1830, and here, in addition to his own natural gifts, which were always recognised as of the highest order, he had the immense advantage of listening to the lectures of such distinguished celebrities as Perrone and Patrizi. The brilliancy and solidity of his theological attainments won the admiration and applause of all, who were witnesses of his two public examinations for degrees in the Sapienza. He devoted the next three years of his life mainly to the study of Law in the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics with the same assiduity and ardour, that had marked his whole career of student. Finally he was promoted to the priesthood in his twenty-seventh year, being, in the fullest sense of the phrase, a cultured and ripe scholar.

His numerous encyclicals, from which we shall give a few quotations farther on, show a masterly grasp of the subjects treated of, and the elegance and purity of the Latin diction he employs, must charm the least attentive reader. The composition of Latin verse, too, he appears to have at all times cultivated with a special pleasure. In his early years in college, he carried off the first prize for a poem in Latin hexameters, and, to this day, whenever he has a moment of leisure, he delights to indulge in the amusement of composing a Latin ode. No one familiar with Latin poetry can fail to recognise the superior excellence, displayed in many of the inspirations of his muse. Many of our readers, however, may not have at hand a copy of his poems, and hence it will not be uninteresting to transfer to our pages one of his most recent productions. The subject of it is a young man of respectable connexions and good dispositions, but unfortunately addicted to drink. He was presented to the Holy Father, who, observing that his haggard looks and the too clear vestiges of dissipation which he everywhere exhibited, betrayed a weakness deplorable in any man, but more especially so in a young gentleman of his age and rank, addressed to him a short

paternal admonition, which he afterwards turned into elegiacs, as follows :—

AD FLORUM.

Flore puer, vesana diu te febris adurit ;
Inficit immundo languida membra situ
Dira lues : cupidis stygio respersa veneno,
Nec pudor est, labiis pocula plena bibis.
Pocula sunt Circes ; apparent ora ferarum ;
Sus vel amica luto. vel truculentus aper.
Si sapis, o tandem miser expergiscere, tandem,
Ulla tuæ si te cura salutis habet.
Heu fuge Sirenum cantus, fuge litus avarum,
Et te Carthusi, Flore, reconde sinu.
Haec tibi certa salus ; Carthusi e fontibus hausta¹
Continuo sordes proluet unda tuas.

It is scarcely a matter for surprise, that such an indefatigable student and such an ardent lover of knowledge, should consistently, during his long and useful life, inculcate and insist upon the paramount importance of a good education. During the five years which he spent as governor or delegate at Benevento, and afterwards at Perugia, inasmuch as he was largely responsible for the civil administration of the Papal provinces, of which these cities were the respective capitals, though he did a great deal to promote learning, it was his firmness in repressing crime, that was most conspicuous and successful.

He was consecrated bishop before he had completed his thirty-third year, and soon after appointed Papal Nuncio at Brussels. Here he grudged not to divide all the time he could spare from his more immediate and urgent duties, between the Academy of Saint Pierre and the schools belonging to the Convent of the Sacred Heart. In both these great educational institutions, where he was so familiarly known from the frequency of his visits, his amiable countenance and his encouraging admonitions were affectionately remembered, long after his brief sojourn of three years in the Belgian capital, had come to a close in April, 1845.

The important arch-diocese of Perugia had, in the meantime, been rendered vacant by the death of Monsignor

¹ Ex consideratione scilicet rerum quae sunt homini novissimae.

Cittadini, and a representative deputation of the Perugians had waited on Gregory XVI., and entreated him to send them, as successor to their late bishop, Monsignor Pecci, whom they had esteemed and admired so much, when he held the office of delegate in their city. The aged Pontiff, who was at this time rapidly approaching his dissolution, gladly and promptly acceded to their request, inasmuch as he thoroughly realised the importance of appointing to such a prominent see a man of experience and erudition, who would strenuously labour to stem, if possible, the tide of anarchy and social disruption even then threatening the Papal dominions. As soon as circumstances permitted, the nuncio left Brussels, returned to Italy, and took solemn possession of his new See. Scarcely had he done so, when he at once directed all the energies of his gifted mind towards raising the standard of education in all its branches, and for all classes of the community over which he was appointed to preside. The scheme he devised for effecting these reforms, could not at once be carried out in its entirety; he proceeded with wisdom, and undertook only what he was in a position to perfect.

The diocesan seminary naturally claimed his first thoughts. He enlarged the material building so as to connect it with the archiepiscopal palace; he created new chairs, and held out every inducement to the most distinguished scholars to ambition the honour of filling them; in fact, he gave such a marvellous impetus to the educational machinery of that institution, that it soon attained the highest pre-eminence and fame. But his solicitude in the matter of education was not confined to his clergy; his efforts in extending the advantages and improving the efficiency of the University of Perugia were equally earnest, persevering, and successful. Finally, a select high school for the daughters of the nobility, an academy for the daughters of the burghers or middle class, and a free school for the daughters of labourers and artisans, supplied ample facilities for the education of females. Public opinion seconded his laudable endeavours, a healthy spirit of emulation infused itself into all sections of the entire community, and, though Monsignor Pecci was strict

in enforcing the observance of their respective duties on masters and pupils alike, they as well as the rest of the population, were affectionately attached to their energetic and unselfish bishop. The strength and sincerity of their devotedness to him were very strikingly demonstrated on the occasion of the seizure by the Piedmontese Government of the Perugian Academy for Boys. His duty of denouncing such a barbarous act of spoliation, he discharged with firmness and dignity; he had the episcopal arms at once removed from the entrance; he cautioned his people against the dangers of the secularisation system; and such a complete victory did he gain over the usurpers, that the new teachers alone disturbed the silence and solitude of the Academy on the following day; "the teachers were there but the pupils were gone."

The realisation of his long cherished idea of founding an Academy of St. Thomas at Perugia was delayed by the evil influences at work in those critical times. Society was being revolutionised, and the most sacred rights of religion and justice outraged with a recklessness, for which it would be difficult to find a parallel. All obstacles, however, were at length surmounted, and in 1872, the project, which was the happy inception of the grand scheme for reinstating the Angelic Doctor in his rightful position in the Catholic seminaries of the world, received its embodiment in the Perugian Academy of St. Thomas.

His very last pastoral, published shortly before his election to the Papal throne, deals exclusively with the subject of education. The well-worn calumny against the Church, imputing to her hostility towards the progress of science, he answers with force and clearness. "The golden saying of Bacon," he writes, "that 'a little knowledge leads away from God, but much knowledge leads back to Him,' is ever and essentially true. Hence it is not the careful, deep explorer whom the Church fears, but the vain, superficial scientist, who forms his conclusions before he has proceeded far with his researches."

The glad news of the creation of Cardinal Pecci as Pope, on February 20th, 1878, had not long gone forth, when his

eminent literary attainments and his untiring zeal and labour in the cause of education, were published everywhere throughout the Catholic world. A powerful impulse, since maintained and augmented by the unceasing efforts of his Holiness to advance Christian knowledge, was thus opportunely communicated to ecclesiastical colleges, and indeed to all the higher Catholic schools. The vastness and wisdom of his eminently practical proposals for refining and elevating the teaching system in such institutions, but more especially in the department of mental philosophy, and his anxious solicitude for the extension of a sound university education to all parts of the Church, during the ten years of his Pontificate, are familiar to the readers of the RECORD.

The keynote is sounded in his first Encyclical (*Inscrutabili*), addressed to all the archbishops and bishops of the world, whose duty in this matter he clearly defines:—

“*Vestri autem muneris est, Venerabiles Fratres, sedulam impendere curam, ut caelestium doctrinarum semen late per Dominicum agrum diffundatur et Catholicae fidei documenta fidelium animis mature inserantur, altas in eis radices agant, et ab errorum contagione incorrupta servantur. Quo validius contendunt religionis hostes imperitis hominibus, ac juvenibus praesertim, ea discenda proponere quae mentes obnubilent moresque corrumpant, eo alacrius adnitendum est, ut non solum apta ac solida institutionis methodus, sed maxime institutio ipsa Catholicae fidei omnino conformis in litteris et disciplinis vigeat, praesertim autem in philosophia, ex qua recta aliarum scientiarum acquisitio magna ex parte dependet: quaeque non ad evertendam divinam revelationem spectat, sed ad ipsam potius sternere viam gaudet ipsamque ab impugnatoribus defendere, quemadmodum nos exemplo scriptisque suis Magnus Augustinus et Angelicus Doctor, caeterique Christianae sapientiae Magistri docuerunt.*”

The publication of his celebrated Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, on the 4th of August, 1879, constitutes an epoch in the history of scholastic studies in the Church. He treats of the method and teaching of Saint Thomas Aquinas, and explains, with consummate skill, the scope and excellence of true philosophy. His just admiration of the Angelic Doctor is pithily expressed, in the following memorable words:—

“*Inter Scholasticos Doctores, omnium princeps et magister, longe eminet Thomas Aquinas: qui, uti Cajetanus animadvertit, veteres doctores sacros quia summe veneratus est, ideo intellectum omnium*

quodammodo sortitus est. Illorum doctrinas, velut dispersa cujusdam corporis membra, in unum Thomas collegit et coagmentavit, miro ordine digessit. et magnis incrementis ita adauxit, ut Catholicæ Ecclesiæ singulare præsidium et decus jure meritoque habeatur . . . Vos omnes, Venerabiles Fratres, quam enixe hortamur, ut ad Catholicæ fidei tutelam et decus, ad societatis bonum, ad scientiarum omnium incrementum, auream Sancti Thomæ sapientiam restituatis, et quam latissime propagatis."

Twelve months after, St. Thomas was constituted Patron of all Catholic universities, colleges, and schools, and soon an Academy of St. Thomas was founded at Rome under auspices that ensured success, and with the choicest materials. The Seminario Romano he likewise had reorganized, its curriculum extended, its professoriate selected from the most famous scholars in Italy, and the establishment rendered in every respect a model ecclesiastical seminary.

His letter on the study of history, the throwing open of the Vatican archives to men of learning, his co-operation with the American bishops in devising a scheme for their grand university, and his efforts to have universities founded in Athens and Constantinople, were additional and emphatic evidences of his practical interest in every branch and department of education. So marked and fruitful has been his zeal in this regard, that it is the first characteristic that suggests itself to one, on taking a survey of his pontificate. The next is the dignified independence and extraordinary ability he has displayed, in his capacity of

SUPREME SPIRITUAL RULER.

That he was a man of exalted genius, of vast and varied attainments, and of warm religious feelings, no person ever doubted; but that a man of his well-known gentleness and conciliatory disposition, would follow persistently in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor, in asserting the inalienable rights of the Papacy to its temporal possessions and power, the enemies of religion believed to be more than improbable. "*Fere libenter homines id quod volunt, credunt.*" This misty delusion was, however, soon cleared away by the first Encyclical he published, in which he professed, in language that was unmistakable, the same uncompromising attitude

towards the unjust usurpers of the Quirinal, which he has recently shown in declining the proffered gifts of the so-called King and Queen of Italy. "Exploratissimum est," he officially and solemnly affirms, "cum de temporali Principatu Sedis Apostolicæ agitur, publici etiam boni et salutis totius humanæ societatis causam agitari. Hinc prætermittere non possumus, quin pro officii Nostri munere, quo Sanctæ Ecclesiæ jura tueri tenemur, declarationes et protestationes omnes, quas Pius IX. Decessor Noster tum adversus occupationem civilis Principatus, tum adversus violationem jurium ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinentium pluries edidit ac iteravit, easdem et nos hisce Nostreis litteris omnino renovemus et confirmemus." There still exists the anomalous spectacle of two kings in the great imperial city on the Tiber, and no one needs to be informed which wields the more extensive power, and commands the more sincere homage.

The most striking victory his Holiness has achieved for the Church has been won in Germany, almost the last country in the world, where the voice of St. Peter's successor could be expected to elicit any response. The notorious "May Laws" had been in existence for five years before the accession of the present Pontiff. These infamous enactments transferred to the State the decision as to the eligibility of aspirants to the priesthood, requiring a government certificate as an essential condition, suppressed all purely ecclesiastical seminaries, interdicted and exiled all religious congregations, &c. This was but the culmination of a systematic policy of persecution, that had been long and severely felt by the Catholics living under the Prussian Government. Pius IX. had remonstrated with the Emperor William, and eventually declined to receive Cardinal Hohenlohe, who had been appointed German Ambassador at the Roman court. The laws were, however, rigidly enforced, the religious orders were banished, bishops and priests who refused obedience to what were universally regarded as iniquitous and unjust ordinances, the work of secret associations, were exiled or imprisoned, the many vacancies created thus or by death remained unfilled, and the condition of the Church in Germany became deplorable in the last degree.

Not long after the elevation of Leo XIII. to the Papal throne, the tone of wisdom and conciliation, that pervaded his letters and encyclicals, induced the astute Bismarck, who now saw the pernicious effects of the recent legislation, and felt the necessity of support from the Catholic parliamentary party, to open negotiations with the Papal Nuncio at Munich. It was not, however, till 1883, that any substantial mitigation was effected in the penalties attaching to the exercise of the Catholic religion in Germany. The Falk Laws were first repealed; then the banished bishops and clergy were gradually recalled; and, finally, the obnoxious May Laws, after a long struggle, were practically abrogated in 1886. To bring about this happy result, required all the energy, tact, and prudence of the present distinguished Pontiff, to whom the destinies of the Church were entrusted in critical and trying times.

The restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in Scotland, inaugurated and mapped out by Pius IX., was perfected by his successor with the most satisfactory results. America's first Cardinal received the hat at his hands, having been solemnly named cardinal in the preceding reign; two other American archbishops have since been elevated to the same exalted dignity. A cardinal, also, has been given to Australia, in the person of that eminent scholar and writer, Dr. Moran. In India, the hierarchy has been reconstituted on a more workable basis; in Persia, China, and Japan, Catholicity has obtained favourable state recognition, through the Pope's well-advised letters and representations to the rulers of these countries. In one word, every part of the universal Church has received some substantial evidence of his paternal solicitude.

Not many centuries ago the Roman Pontiff was the recognised

ARBITER OF NATIONS,

to whom even monarchs swore fealty and allegiance, and to whose decision were referred conflicting claims to disputed thrones or dominions, quarrels between rulers and their subjects, &c. The essentially pacific nature of the power, wielded by the Pope as Vicar of Christ, and the deep interest he

would naturally take in promoting concord and happiness among his spiritual children, admirably fit him for the impartial discharge of such functions. Three years ago, the enemies of the Holy See, were terribly mortified and alarmed by a remarkable event, which could not but be regarded as a partial revival of this ancient tribunal of arbitration—the appeal by Germany and Spain to the Pope to decide to which kingdom the Caroline Islands rightfully belonged. The islands bore a Spanish name; Spanish ships had first discovered, and brought men to colonize, them; Spain alone had sent out missionaries to enlighten the inhabitants, and to minister to their spiritual wants. On the other hand, Germany alleged that Spain had forfeited all her rights to the ownership of these distant islands, by the continuous non-occupation of them for a century and a half, and that, in such circumstances, by a universally recognised principle of international law, they had become *primi occupantis*.

The rival claims were minutely and carefully investigated, and at length the venerated Pontiff conveys his judicial decision, through his Secretary of State. "Providence so willed it," he says, "that two powerful and illustrious nations should pay homage to the highest power in the Church, by entreating it to preserve their threatened harmonious relations. This is a work of the salutary authority, which God has attached to the Papal office. Placed above the envy of rivals, and above the injustice of the age, it apprehends neither extinction nor change." The equity and wisdom of the award ensured its ready acceptance by both sides, and earned the admiration of the world. The sovereignty of Spain over the disputed islands was affirmed, on condition that she was to establish there a regular and efficient executive administration; but to Germany were reserved the rights of free commerce, and of planting and tilling the islands on precisely the same terms as the Spaniards.

The beneficent influence which Leo XIII. has exercised to prevent the strained relations between France and Germany from breaking out into a sanguinary war, has gained the praise and gratitude of the peacefully disposed sections of the population of both these great empires.

His heroic struggles and his scholarly pronouncements, in his capacity of chief

CUSTODIAN OF SOCIAL ORDER,

deserve a more detailed notice, than is possible here. His Encyclical on Marriage and Divorce gives a beautiful historical account of marriage from the earliest days down to the present, and a vivid picture of the evils, that must result from any encroachment by civil authorities, on the sacred and inalienable rights of the Church in regard to marriage contracts. His well-reasoned and forcible appeal to civil rulers, is worthy of his erudition and his exalted station.

The celebrated impeachment of Freemasonry, as our readers remember, was at once so crushing and so dignified, that many learned Protestants, and among them Lord Carnarvon, undertook to reply to it. Other secret societies were censured and exposed with equal ability and unexpected success. One of the means which he recommends of extinguishing these pernicious associations, is to found healthy societies, safeguarded by strict constitutions and superintended by the ministers of religion. Whilst, therefore, he justly reprobates secret societies and guilds, whose constitutions and objects are subversive of religion and morality, he encourages and recommends organization for just ends, and under prudent direction.

Now, as at all times, Ireland is fondly and firmly united to the great centre of Christendom. Perhaps, at no period in her history, were the bonds of gratitude and love so signally strengthened, as when, a few years ago, the Holy Father repulsed, with an irrevocable "vade" the whisperer of calumny and sower of discord, who would fain dictate the line of policy his Holiness should pursue to defeat irreparably the united wishes and aspirations of the Irish people, his most faithful and devoted children. And among the many nations represented at Rome, on this great occasion, none raises its voice more unanimously, or with more unfeigned sincerity than Catholic Ireland, in the fervent prayer and grateful wish, "Long live Leo the Thirteenth."

E. MAGUIRE.

WAS ST. CUTHBERT AN IRISHMAN?—II.

IN our last paper on this question we gave a brief analysis of the more important statements recorded in the "Irish Life" of St. Cuthbert. There are, however, many other facts which go to confirm the substantial accuracy of that "Irish Life," and to these we now invite the reader's attention.

First of all, it was the constant tradition of the Church of Durham itself that Cuthbert was of Irish parentage. Of this we have fortunately very satisfactory evidence in a work published so long ago as 1672, and known as the *The Ancient Rites and Monuments of the Monastic and Cathedral Church of Durham*. Walter Skirlaw was Bishop of Durham from 1388 to 1405, and was succeeded by Cardinal Thomas Langley, who ruled the See from 1406 to 1435. These two munificent prelates did much for the adornment of the church and monastery, in reference to whom the *Rites of Durham* says:—"The two bishops [Skirlaw and Langley] were the two first founders and builders of the said cloisters, and did bear all the charges of the building and workmanship of the said work, and were the first that did cause from the cloister door to the church door to be set in glass in the window the whole story and miracles of that holy man, St. Cuthbert, from the day of his birth to his dying day. And there you might have seen his mother lying in childbed, and how after she was delivered the bright beams did shine from heaven upon her, and upon the child as he lay in the cradle, in so much that to every man's thinking the Holy Spirit had overshadowed him, for every one that did see it thought that the house had been all on fire, the beams did shine so bright over all the house within and without, and the bishop baptized the child and called him Yullock [*recte* Mullucc] in the Irish tongue—in English Cuthbert. The bishop's name who baptized and had the keeping of the goodly child was Eugenius, the name of the city where he was baptized was Hardbrecunb, for he was blessed of God even from his mother's womb."¹

¹Surtees, Vol ii., p. x.

So these two bishops of the Church of Durham had the miracles and other circumstances attending the birth of Cuthbert, at Kells, as narrated in the "Irish Life," set in the stained glass from the cloister to the church. His baptismal name too, we are told, was that given in the "Irish Life," and is equivalent in meaning to the Saxon "Cuthbert." Much is sometimes made of this Saxon name as indicating a Saxon origin. Here we have the ancient and simple explanation. Cuthbert's baptismal name *Mullucc*, from *mo* and *uallach*, means "my proud or privileged one,"—*mo* being the usual prefix of endearment, and *uallach* from the root *uall* meaning "one specially privileged," as the miracles attending his birth showed that Cuthbert was so favoured by God. "Cudberet" means the same in Anglo-Saxon—"one illustrious for his gifts," or for "his skill," and we know that it was not only very natural, but also very common, to have proper names thus translated into the language of the speakers. Even still it is quite usual in Ireland to change the old Irish name into its corresponding equivalent in English, and sometimes both are in use—the one with the Irish and the other with the English speaking people.

We know also from the same *Rites of Durham* that amongst the "inscriptions beneath the figures of such monks of the Benedictine Order as were painted upon the screen work of the altar of St. Jerome and St. Benedict" was the following in reference to Cuthbert:—

"Sanctus Cuthbertus patronus ecclesiae, civitatis, et libertatis Dunelmensis, natione *Hibernus*, regiis parentibus ortus, nutu Dei Angliam perductus et apud Mailros monachus est effectus,¹ &c., &c." There can be no doubt, therefore, that the "Irish Life" was received as authentic by the monks and prelates of Durham.

Even at a still earlier period long before the founding of Durham, the same belief in the Irish birth of Cuthbert seems to have prevailed in the community of Lindisfarne over which the saint had presided for several years. It is well known that the monastery and See of Lindisfarne were founded by

¹ *Rites of Durham*, page 112.

an Irish monk from Iona, the blessed Aidan, whose genealogy is given in the ancient *Feilire of Aengus* written about the beginning of the ninth century.¹ His immediate successors Finan, Colman, and Tuda, were all Irishmen too. When Colman was worsted at the Conference of Whitby, and refused to accept the new discipline on the Easter question, he returned to Lindisfarne, and taking up from the grave the bones of the blessed Aidan, he, with his Irish brethren and many Saxon monks, retired at first to Iona, and afterwards, as we are told in the *Irish Annals*, he sailed away with his relics and his monks to the storm-swept Inisbofin on the coast of Mayo, where they were free to follow their ancient discipline and live and die in peace.

Tuda, Colman's successor, was, as Bede tells us, a southern Irishman, and readily accepted the new discipline. So also did Cuthbert. But in the history of the wanderings of his body there is one incident which strikingly reminds us of Colman's voyage to the far west of Ireland, bearing with him his most precious treasure, the bones of the blessed Aidan. When the incursions of the Danes made it impossible to remain any longer with safety at Lindisfarne Cuthbert's body too was taken up from the grave, fresh and incorrupt, as on the day he died. For seven years his faithful children bore that priceless treasure over the hills and valleys of Northumbria, but could no where find a home or a secure refuge. Then Bishop Eardulf and Abbot Eadred took counsel together, and they resolved to cross over to Ireland, bearing with them, as Colman did, the body of their sainted father to rest, it seems, with kindred dust. But such was not the will of Providence. The vessel in which they embarked was driven back to Galloway by a furious storm, and they themselves, having narrowly escaped shipwreck, knelt down on the shore beside the body of the saint and humbly asked pardon of God and of Cuthbert for making the rash attempt.

But why, we ask, attempt to fly to Ireland? The Danes were there in 881, and many years previously, ravaging as

¹ August 31st, Aedan, the bright sun of Inis-Medcoit. See Gloss.

remorselessly as ever they did in Northumbria ; why not rather fly to Pictland or to Argyle, or to some district of southern England? Why—except that they knew the saint was of Irish birth, and having the example of Colman before their eyes they thought perhaps that it was God's purpose that the body of the blessed Cuthbert should be carried home to his native land? We do not urge this as of itself a convincing argument; but we think it lends much probability to the story of Cuthbert's Irish birth. And we know the same thing happened not only in the case of St. Aidan, but also in the case of the great founder of Iona himself; it was to his native Ireland his bones were brought by his monks when the Danes were harrying the islands of the western seas.

There are many circumstances, too, connected with the religious life of Cuthbert which clearly point to his Celtic origin. When he resolved to devote his life to the service of God in a religious house it was to an Irish monastery he came, for Mailros on the Tweed was in reality an Irish house. It was founded from Iona by an Irishman, and even in 651 its spirit, its discipline, and most of its monks too, were still Irish, as was also the case both at Iona and at Lindisfarne. This was not the great Cistercian house, that "fair Melrose," whose ruins have been glorified for ever by the genius of Sir Walter Scott. The Irish monastery of old Melrose, founded by St. Aidan and his Irish monks, was situated about two miles further east on the southern bank of the Tweed, which at this point takes a bold sweep to the south around the promontory on which the monastery was built. "On the further shore the river is overhung by lofty precipitous banks, and was strongly guarded by natural defences on every quarter except the south, where a wall was drawn across the isthmus." Eata, one of the twelve Saxon boys trained by St. Aidan, was then Abbot of Melrose, but Boisil, a priest of great holiness, was its prior; and it was to this holy monk that Cuthbert made application to be received amongst the brethren of the order in the year 651. "Cuthbert," says Bede, "was at this time keeping watch over the flocks committed to his charge on certain remote mountains" which

we know from the "Anonymous Life," were the southern slopes of the Lammermoor Hills, overlooking the upper valley of the river Leader. This stream flows southward through the west of Berwickshire, and falls into the Tweed close to Old Melrose. It is sometimes inferred from the fact of Cuthbert being a shepherd in this locality that he was a native of Lauderdale. By similar reasoning it might be inferred that St. Patrick was a native of the Co. Antrim, because we find him in his youth herding swine for his master on the slopes of the Slemish. How Cuthbert came to the parish of Channelkirk in Berwickshire, we are told in the "Irish Life," and Bede tells the rest. One night on the mountains, the 31st August, 651, when his companions were asleep and he alone wakeful, "he saw a long stream of light break through the darkness, and a glorious company of angels first descending to the earth, and then returning back with a glorified spirit of surpassing brightness, whom they were escorting to his heavenly home." When morning was come Cuthbert went and made inquiry and soon found that it was the blessed Aidan of Lindisfarne who died on that night, and whose soul he saw going to heaven in such radiant glory. This narrative seems to imply that Cuthbert had previously known something of the life and virtues of Aidan, which is not unlikely. His resolution, however, was taken at once. He delivered up to their owner the sheep that he was feeding on the mountains, and riding down the valley of the Leader he came straight to the gates of Mailros, and was at once admitted by the blessed Boisil, who was probably an Irishman, into the community, and shortly after receiving the Irish tonsure became a monk of Mailros.

Some ten years later Eata, the Abbot of Mailros, was sent to found the monastery of Ripon in Yorkshire. He took Cuthbert along with him, and gave him the responsible office of guest-master in the new community. But they introduced into Ripon the Irish discipline as still practised at Mailros, in consequence of which, after the return of Wilfrid, they were driven away from the Yorkshire monastery and returned to Mailros. This was in 661, three years before the Conference of Whitby, after which the Irish houses of Mailros and Lindis-

farne first began to give up their Celtic practices, especially in the matter of Easter and the frontal tonsure so characteristic of the early Irish monks. It is remarkable that Bede in giving an account of the expulsion of Cuthbert and his community describes them as following the doctrine of the Irish (Scoti). "King Alchfrid," he says, "gave him [Wilfrid] a monastery of thirty families at a place called Wrypum, which place he had lately given to those who had followed the doctrine of the Irish (Scoti) to build a monastery upon. But for as much as they afterwards being left to their choice would rather quit the place than adopt the Catholic Easter and other canonical rites according to the Roman and Apostolic Church, he gave the same to him [Wilfrid]."¹ This passage still shows how tenaciously the community at Mailros adhered to these Irish practices of their mother-house of Iona.

But Cuthbert had not the same unyielding, not to say stubborn, spirit as Colman. After the Conference of Whitby and the death of Tuda, Colman's successor, who died of the plague a few months after his appointment to the See of Lindisfarne, he was himself sent as prior to that island, and readily yielded obedience to the new discipline, and furthermore, by his patient firmness succeeded in inducing the entire community to accept it. "And although," says Bede, "there were some brethren in the monastery who preferred their Irish ancient customs to the new discipline, he soon got the better of these by his moderation and by his patience, and by daily practice at length brought them round to the better system which he had in view."

Cuthbert having spent twelve years as prior of Lindisfarne with the permission of the abbot and the sanction of his religious brethren resolved to devote himself entirely to divine contemplation in absolute retirement. The life of an anchorite has been generally considered in the Church the most perilous, but at the same time the most perfect manner of life. "The farther from men the nearer to God," was a maxim of the Egyptian solitaries, and was also a recognised

¹ Bede. *Hist.* Book v., c. 19.

principle of the Celtic saints. The most perfect amongst them always longed to escape from community life, and give their whole thoughts and hearts to God in perfect solitude. So in thus retiring from the monastery Cuthbert gives a new proof that he was animated by the spirit of his Celtic race and kindred. At first he used to retire at intervals to a small island quite close to the monastery of Lindisfarne, but there he was constantly liable to interruption both from strangers and from his monastic brethren. So he resolved to leave the monastery for good, and to retire to a place where there would be no danger of further intrusion. For this purpose he chose as his place of retirement the small rocky islet of Farne, one of a group of similar islands in the open sea about seven miles south-east of Lindisfarne, and two miles from the mainland at the royal castle of Bamborough. It was a lonely and utterly desolate island without water, trees, or fruits, and commonly said to be haunted by evil spirits, so that no one had hitherto dared to remain in it for any length of time except St. Aidan, who used sometimes retire to the place, like St. Cuthbert, to be alone with God. Here Cuthbert built himself a little cell and oratory; which in the Irish fashion he surrounded with a circular rath, or rather a *cashiol*, for the rampart was built of stones and earth about six feet high on the outside, but rendered still higher on the inside by the excavation of the rocky soil to furnish materials for the wall. This was the invariable method of building adopted by the Irish Celts, and shows that in this, as in other respects, Cuthbert retained the usages and traditions of his Celtic kindred. "The building," says Bede, "is almost of a round form, from wall to wall about four or five poles in extent. The wall on the outside is higher than a man, but within by excavating the rock he made it much deeper to prevent the eyes and the thoughts from wandering, that they might be wholly bent on heavenly things, and the pious inhabitant might behold nothing from his residence but the heavens above him." In reading this description of Cuthbert's enclosure one would think that Bede had been describing one of the similar enclosures erected by Brendan, Enda, and Colman on the islands of the western coast of Ireland where they are still to be seen in their ruins.

From this blessed solitude the saint was most reluctantly taken away to be made Bishop of Lindisfarne. For two years he laboured with unremitting zeal in the discharge of his episcopal duties, and even in that brief period he wrought a great and lasting change for the better throughout his entire diocese. But now his strength began to fail, and feeling his end approaching he once more retired to his beloved retreat on Farne Island. It was about Christmas in the year 686 that Cuthbert took his farewell of the brethren of Lindisfarne and finally retired to his solitary cell to die. All hearts were filled with sorrow for they felt they would see their beloved father no more amongst them. He lingered on, however, for two months more in his lonely island gradually growing weaker, and then towards the middle of March it became apparent to the brethren who came to visit him that the end was at hand.

There is no more touching passage in the Lives of the Saints than that in which the sympathetic pen of Bede describes the beautiful death of Cuthbert in his cell on Farne Island. The poor wasted body was weak unto death from disease and lack of nourishment, but his spirit was strong within him, and the light of God was shining in his eyes. "Know and remember," he said amongst other things, and in a truly prophetic spirit, "that if of two evils hereafter you must choose one, I would much prefer that taking me up out of the tomb and bearing my bones away with you, you should leave this place and reside where ever God may direct you, than that you should consent in any way to the wickedness of schismatics and place a yoke upon your own necks."

Nearly two hundred years afterwards when the ruthless Danes descended upon Lindisfarne these words of the dying saint were remembered, his blessed body was taken up incorrupt from the grave, and borne by willing hands and faithful hearts up and down through hill and vale, by lake and stream, over all the wide bounds of Northumbria, until after 113 years it found its final resting place in Durham's stately fane. There it was enshrined for 700 years more, down to the day when the commissioners of Henry VIII. visited the cathedral, desecrated the shrine, and profaned the holy corpse of St.

Cuthbert. But since that evil day no one can say with certainty where his sacred relics rest.

In conclusion, we have only to add that the weight of authority, as well as the weight of evidence, is entirely in favour of the Irish origin of the saint. The oldest and the best authorities both of Scotland and England, as well as of Ireland, were in favour of that opinion. Colgan, whose honesty is above suspicion, and whose competence to pronounce a judgment will not be questioned, expressly declares that, with the exception of a few (Dempster, Pitsaeus, Wion and Possevin)—and those men of no great repute for scholarship—all other writers, and especially the English writers down to his time, who refer to the native country of Cuthbert, *unanimously* assert that he was an Irishman. “Omnes tamen alii et praesertim Angli, ad nostram usque aetatem qui de S. Cuthberti patria mentionem fecerint unanimi consensu et sine controversia Hibernum fuisse contestantur.”¹ In face of this declaration we think it unnecessary to cite the testimonies of these ancient writers, and we are content to leave the intelligent reader to judge for himself how far certain recent authors are justified in their confident statements regarding the birth-place of the greatest of the Northumbrian saints.

✠ JOHN HEALY.

CRANIOTOMY.

THE SACERDOTAL PHYSICIAN VERSUS THE MEDICAL.

“Has the Church sung her Requiem over the long vexed question of Craniotomy? Is it for ever morally buried? Will it be the obligation of every Catholic accoucheur to reply, if asked to perform it, or to be a consenting party in a consultation regarding Craniotomy :—R.I.P.?”

HOW far all these queries must be answered in the affirmative, I propose to shew by this brief essay.

I. Its importance—its paramount and vital importance—will be made manifest, (1) to the confessor, (2) to the Catholic

¹ Acta SS., 695.

accoucheur, to say nothing of the patient herself, when the former remembers that he is exposed, at any time, to be asked the staggering question: "Is craniotomy ever lawful to save a mother's life"?—and the latter (*i.e.* the accoucheur) that he must abide by the moral teaching of his Church, to act conscientiously, and therefore safely, in those doubtful and perplexing matters, in which the law of God, and the morality of action are essentially involved. Hence, at the very outset, I have used the words "*morally buried*;" because, as long as the world contains, as I suppose it ever will contain, unscrupulous professional men—men who accept as guides only the feeble light of their own reason, only their own deductions from science, whether in conformity or not with the teaching of faith, or the moral guidance of the Church of God—craniotomy will never be *physically* or absolutely buried *i.e.*, unpractised.

It is for a similar reason I have used the qualification of *Catholic* instead of *Christian*, as a prefix to the word physician or accoucheur: for, though I am ready and willing to admit that, outside the pale of the Catholic Church, physicians are to be found as God-fearing and conscientious as within her fold, it would be unreasonable to expect either from those, who accept as their *only Rule of Faith* the bare (dead) word of God in Holy Scripture, with no other (no living) authority than reason and science; or, again, from those who practise midwifery without professing any religion;—I say, it is hardly reasonable to expect from these the same scrupulosity or rectitude in their moral actions, as from those who look to Divine authority, speaking through an infallible *magisterium* as their supreme guide *in rebus moralibus sicuti in rebus credendis*. But before we advance another step, let us restrict our attention to the sole point at issue: "Can craniotomy be ever lawful?" To do this we must first understand what is precisely meant by craniotomy.

II. Though the scientific terms Craniotomy (*Craniotomia*), Embryotomy (*Embryotomia*), Embryothlasy (*Embryothlasia*), Cephalotomy (*Cephalotomia*), and Cephalotripsy (*Cephalotripia*), have their own special signification, they are, at least, synonymous in this, that all of them imply *aliqua diminutio*

artificialis fœtus in utero, in order to effect a delivery; and, moreover, should the fœtus be living (as all along we shall suppose)¹, they all involve the killing of the fœtus, in order that *sive in toto sive in partibus per vim extrahi possit*.

And hence, although in the consideration of this question, we are only dealing strictly with craniotomy and embryotomy whatever we say of them, in their moral bearings, may be equally said of any of the other operations which imply a destruction of life in the fœtus. Indeed, as far as embryotomy (*non mere occisio sed etiam mutilatio fœtus in utero*) is concerned, as it almost always involves craniotomy, the two terms are often used as synonyms. Craniotomy may be described as “the lessening of the *bulk* of the fœtal head;” and this is accomplished by perforating the head of the fœtus with an instrument (most deadly), called the Perforator, causing thereby an escape of the brain-matter (or cerebral tissue) of the cranium; and, as a natural consequence, directly producing death to a living fœtus.

It has for its object, to terminate labour with safety to the mother, in those cases where, *propter disproportionem inter infantem, (præsertim inter ejus caput), et matris pelvim, fœtus vivus nec per vires naturæ nec per media artificialia et innocua (v. g. by the forceps) extrahi potest*.

Such cases consequently involve certain conditions, viz :—

1° *Agitur de abortu, proprie dicto; non itaque de partus acceleratione, comparative innocua, quando nempe fœtus vivus remanet, licet non perfectè maturus, (si, nempe, sextum mensem compleverit).*

E contra *abortus lethalem* partus accelerationem semper supponit, quando fœtus vivus et immaturus est, (v. g., *ante sextum mensem*).

2° That the case is such that, if left to nature, the result will be fatal *both to mother and child*. Consequently, unless

¹ There is, of course, no unlawfulness, nay often an obligation extrahere fœtum certo mortuum.

extracted by the Cæsarean operation¹, or by laparo-elytrotomy², the child, in any case, *must die*, with or without craniotomy.

3° Hence it supposes, on the one hand, ex parte capitis foetalis disproportionem actualem, ita ut extractio foetus capitis (etiam compressi) per pelvis aperturam impossibilis sit—sive idem propter alias complicationes ex parte matris, and, on the other hand, that the disproportion is not so great as to prevent foetus extractionem, si mutiletur per embryotomiam.

4° Two things, then, are never to be forgotten; namely, that craniotomy always involves the *certain* loss of the child; while, in most cases, it secures the life of the mother. And that, in the case of a living foetus, it always implies *directa foetus occisio*.

III. Let us now turn from obstetrics to the moral aspect of the question. Indeed, I can well imagine a clerical reader exclaiming: "It is surely time"! "What is it all about? What Catholic theologian ever said a word in favour of craniotomy"? "This all looks remarkably like a *tempest in a tea-pot*"?

I shall ask my readers to kindly suspend all judgment till the close of my article; when, if they shall have learned

¹ The Cæsarean Section (operation) or as it is technically called Hysterotomy, is pretty well understood by the reader. By it the foetus (living) is extracted through an incision made in the abdominal and uterine walls. It is operated on *matres mortuae*, to try and save the living foetus, or, at least, to baptize it; and it is operated on *matres vivae*, with the hope of saving both child and mother, in those complicated cases of which we are treating in the text.

² Laparo-Elytrotomy is a more recent, in fact, quite modern invention by Dr. Thomas of New York. By this operation an incision is made through the lower part of the abdominal wall, in such a manner and place that it avoids the opening of the cavity of the peritoneum and of incising the uterine tissue, etc., thus obviating the greater dangers of the Cæsarean operation: indeed, it may be said that, no *special* surgical difficulties seem to attend laparo-elytrotomy. It is still quite in its infancy, was like most new things pooh-poohed at first, but now that it has met with success both in England and America, modern writers on obstetrics are speaking of it in graver terms, and giving it much more serious attention. There seems little doubt that, where the choice lies between the two, preference will be given to it over the Cæsarean section, especially when it is a question of operating on a living mother.

nothing new, they will, at least, have before them the vicissitudes of craniotomy down to its late *quietus* by the Holy See.

I shall now endeavour to state the case in its moral bearings. To effect this satisfactorily or with any degree of lucidity, I must put before the readers the two sides of the question, or rather quote from respectable authorities the opposite decisions to which they come; one side being for its licitness, the other for its unlawfulness; the one side declaring it to be *no evil in se*, the other that it is nothing short of *murder*.

A. FOR THE LICITNESS OF CRANIOTOMY.

On this side I find advocates not only from the non-Catholic, but even from the Catholic ranks. Let us take first—

1°. *Non-Catholic Advocates of Craniotomy.*

(a.) One of the greatest of modern authors (English) on Obstetrics thus writes on craniotomy:—

“The question at issue—the morality or immorality *destruendi infanтем vivum per craniotomiam*—has always been regarded in a three-fold aspect, moral, theological, and obstetrical; the latter resting upon and inseparably connected with the former, at least in the opinion of one party . . . I think it will be at once admitted that *occisio infantis in utero*, and which I shall prove can be by no means born alive, and which must die in a few hours, (but the prolongation of whose life, even for a few hours, will most seriously if not irreparably, endanger that of the mother), cannot be brought under the definition of murder; there is no *malice aforethought* expressed or implied [?]; it is done from *necessity* [?] and without any evidence of wicked, depraved, or malignant spirit; it is not, therefore, in any true sense murder¹ . . . I have proved, on the highest legal authority,² that this stigma is unjust, and that it does not come under any true definition of murder [?], inasmuch as it involves no malice [?]; that it is even something less than justifiable killing [?], inasmuch as the child's death is inevitable without our interference; we do but hasten it . . . If it be *physically* impossible that the child be born alive, then I hold that the accoucheur's responsibility for its life ceases entirely—no blame can rest upon him for its death . . . All he is justly accountable for is depriving it of life a few hours before it would otherwise cease to live. And for what? The mother is in

¹ The marks of interrogation in brackets are my own insertion.

² He argues in his essay on the civil definition of murder given by Lord Coke, Sir Matthew Hale, Sergeant Hawkins, etc.

imminent danger, and will die if assistance be withheld, but *she can be saved now*. I say, therefore, that if the assistance be not given, the accusation of murder—by omission—would come with greater force against the party who voluntarily allows the mother's life to be imperilled. Granted, if you please, that hastening the child's death is an evil,¹ so is the death of the mother; which of the two is the lesser evil, considering that you cannot prevent the first, and can prevent the latter."

So much for the renowned Fleetwood Churchill, M.D., M.R.I.A., who, in addition to being a great authority on obstetrics, lays open claim in his essay to being a Christian and firm believer in the Church of England or Ireland.

(b.) Dr. Leishman, in his popular *System of Midwifery*, also writes:—

"Embryotomy is, in one sense, the most objectionable of all the operations of midwifery; for, of all other possible modes of procedure,² this is the one that most certainly involves destruction of the child . . . circumstances do arise, when in the full knowledge of the fact that the *foetus* lives, it may be the duty of the accoucheur unhesitatingly to sacrifice the child, as this is the only means by which he may reasonably expect to save the mother."—*System of Midwifery*, c. xxxii.

In our limited space we must content ourselves with one more non-Catholic and, yet learned, modern authority on obstetrics.

(c.) Dr. Playfair, in his (1884) edition of his *Science and Practice of Midwifery* has the following:—

"Even at the present day there are not wanting practitioners who, in their praiseworthy objection to the destruction of a living child, counsel delay until the child has died; a practice thoroughly illogical . . . In England, the safety of the child has always been considered subservient to that of the mother; and it has been admitted that in every case in which the extraction of a living *foetus* by any of the ordinary means is impossible, *its mutilation is perfectly justifiable*."—Chap. v.

2°. Catholic Advocates for Craniotomy.

I have said that advocates for Craniotomy have been found in the Catholic ranks; perhaps I shall surprise some of my readers the more if I say they are even to be found

¹ The writer endeavoured to prove it to be no evil at all, in another part of his essay.

² Remark that this author candidly implies there are *other* modes.

amongst theologians, modern as well as ancient. In making this undeniable assertion I do not want to extend it beyond just limits; for I must acknowledge, in examining some of the writings of theologians quoted by others, as favouring craniotomy, that it is not always clear that they were not sometimes speaking of other operations less deadly than craniotomy. For instance, in some cases I find them only treating the question of an enceinte mother taking certain *remedies* for the cure or alleviation of disease, though such remedies might *indirectly* injure the child or cause abortus. It seems, however, that—

(a.) Avanzini, who was until lately the editor of the *Acta Sanctæ Sedis*, defended the licitness of craniotomy under certain circumstances.

(b.) The present editor—Pennacchi (*Romæ*, 1884)—seems to follow in Avanzini's steps.

(c.) So also Viscosi (*Napoli*, 1877).

(d.) Appicella (*Seafate* 1879).

(e.) d'Annibali (*Theo. Mor.* pars. II. n. 321).

(f.) Berardi expresses surprise at finding Cl. Ballerini inclined to favour licitness, who in turn cites several ancient authors, and especially amongst them Tertullianus (*De Anima*, no. 25). While as tacitly inclined to it, Berardi also mentions the reviser of Scavini.

(g.) Many other *theologi gravissimi* are said to have defended it to some extent, especially of the Roman school.

(h.) Lehmkuhl will also appear to the reader too easy or hesitating on the point, by the insertion of the word *videtur*. (Tom. i. No. 841. V. et. pag. 505, 506, No. 848.) Berardi himself, who will evidently rank amongst the first of modern practical authors and who is pledged to the hilt against craniotomy under any circumstances, briefly summarises the reasons advanced by most of the above advocates for its licitness, thus :

1°. "Rationabile est ut, ex duobus alioquin certo certius et proximè morituris, unus salvetur; nempe mater quæ majus ad vitam jus habet et cujus conservatio magis interest . . . videtur quod Deus qui vitæ et mortis dominus est, cujusque leges nonnisi sapientissimæ esse possunt, id non jam interdicare sed permittere debeat"

2°. "Si juxta multos theologos eosque gravissimos, quando foetus per se est causa mortis, licet eum destruere in casu flagranti *quia tanquam aggressor habetur*, si sit inanimatus; eecur non erit aggressor si sit animatus? Nonne eadem ratio viget in utroque casu? . . .

3°. "Medici operationem istam sine scrupulo jam inde a saeculis semper fecerunt, ut ex Tertulliani textu patet; et Ecclesia damnavit quidem alias doctrinas de abortu, sed circa casum istum semper tacuit:¹ imo craniotomiam in recensitis circumstantiis esse licitam, libris Romae editis doceri sinit." (Berardi,—*Praxis Confess.*, No. 192, page 95.)

No wonder this author should say, when alluding to so many modern authors favouring craniotomy, "Quod mirum mihi videtur!"

B. FOR THE UNLAWFULNESS OF CRANIOTOMY.

It is time to regard now what we shall see at the close of this article is the only practically safe side of this important and vexed question.

We shall state at once that *craniotomy or the perforation of the living foetus in utero, as a means to save the life of the mother, though in any case the child must be sacrificed, is unlawful (omnino illicitum)—aye, is nothing short of murder.* For artificial abortion must be regarded as wrongful or unjust killing. But murder is prohibited both by divine and human law; therefore artificial abortion or craniotomy is prohibited. Before any attempt at further reasoning, let us see what authorities have to say.

I quoted first on the other side—Dr. Churchill—who, in an essay a few years ago, endeavoured to refute an article which appeared in the *Dublin Review* of April 1858.² It is fair, therefore, to quote a few paragraphs from that Review—

(a.) "But it will be said [the author writes] must the accoucheur fold his arms and allow both mother and child to perish, when he might probably save one of them? To this we answer once more, that he cannot commit murder; that he must not do evil that good may follow; and that the medical man, like every other member of society, must be prepared to encounter in this dim world a great many calamities which he can neither remedy nor alleviate." (*Dublin Review*, April number, 1858, page 100).

¹ Until recently.

² Written by Professor Croll, of Maynooth College.

(b.) In support of this protest against craniotomy as murder, I find Capellmann, in his *Pastoral Medicine*, as good an exponent of the common teaching of theologians as any I have read;¹ and for this reason I shall freely quote from him :—

“The moralists say [upon this question] : *Nunquam licet directe procurare abortum*. Even in order to avert danger of life, artificial abortion cannot be allowed. The objection that the well-being of the mother is *directly*, the abortion *indirectly* only, intended, does not hold good Any good effect directly intended should not result from any forbidden effect which is the cause of the former, for then this forbidden effect is necessarily directly intended Let us take the case wherein all accoucheurs would regard perforation as indicated : for instance, let it be an alternative between perforation and the Cæsarean operation,² between the necessity to terminate delivery in order to save the mother, and the mother's unwillingness to have the latter operation performed,—and even in this case it can *never be lawful* for the physician to kill the child. There is absolutely no other way open than to await the death of mother or child,—either of whose deaths he cannot avert by lawful means,³ and then to render to the surviving one every assistance his art may have taught him.”

Here, you see, is another Catholic authority admitting that sometimes “the accoucheur must fold his arms,” and “be prepared to encounter in this dim world a great many calamities which he can neither remedy nor alleviate.”

But you will say what about the trite argument of the advocates for craniotomy, that the *fetus in utero* is in such cases an *unjust aggressor* of its own mother? The same author, to my mind, disposes completely of this fallacy :—

“Each individual human being, and, consequently, the *fœtus humanus*, has the right to live. This right cannot be disputed, unless

“1°. The individual is deprived of it by acting against divine and human laws, or by trespassing on all natural or social order; or unless

“2°. By any unlawful attack on the body or life of another, this other is justified, in self-defence, to harm the unlawful assailant, even to the depriving him of his life to preserve his own.

¹ Crolly (Vol. III., No. 143) may be read with great profit.

² Or laparo-elytrotomy, see foot-note on page 121.

³ The supposition is that the mother objects to either the Cæsarean operation or the other lawful operation, called laparo-elytrotomy.

"Now as to the 1°. The child, during his foetal life, cannot forfeit its right to live by acting against the law, or by trespassing on lawful order, being in total passivity by constraint. Nobody can deserve punishment remaining passive or not acting, when he is deprived of the possibility of acting, without any fault of his own."

In face of this, how then could Dr. Churchill maintain there is "no malice aforethought," "no wicked spirit," "no murder," but rather that "it is justifiable killing" to deprive such a passive, inert and irresponsible prisoner as the *fœtus in utero* is? (*Vide supra* A—a.)

Ad 2. "Neither can it be maintained that the *fœtus* acts as an unjust assailant on the well-being and life of the mother. The embryo might eventually become a source of danger to the life of the mother (indeed, this is supposed), but it becomes so involuntarily, without any action of its own, without any act of its will. Thus 'unjust aggression' is completely absent.¹ Yet this element of 'unjust' aggression is essentially necessary to justify a defence that may extend to taking away the life of the assailant.² But it is exceedingly doubtful whether a child, which cannot be delivered without risk of death to the mother, can be considered an assailant at all. In most cases the hindrance to safe delivery lies with the mother, *propter pelvis nimiam arcitudinem*, &c. The *actus parturitionis* also does not originate in the child, but in the mother. Consequently, if, through a wilful act of the mother (*conceptio*), the embryo *in utero allocata est*; if its expulsion *ex utero* is aimed at by an action originating in the mother; if (generally at least) obstacles to this expulsion are seated in the mother—if by these circumstances all originating in the mother, the lives of mother and child are endangered, how can the child be called an aggressor, still less an *unjust aggressor*? The mother, therefore, or the physician acting for the mother, cannot appeal to the principles of self-defence. Consequently, artificial abortion must be regarded as wrongful killing, as murder." (Capellmann, A (1) on Abortus, p. 12).

IV. Having now seen what the physician both medical and sacerdotal has to say on craniotomy, let us turn to our Holy Mother the Church.

In the third series—vol. vi.—1885—page 136 of the I. E. RECORD, the reader will find the history of this question briefly given.

¹ Then again, how could Dr. Churchill and his fellow advocates declare it is "no evil" or a "lesser evil" in face of the mother's self-imposed condition of danger, to directly kill one who is certainly not an unjust aggressor, if an aggressor at all?

² Always keep in mind the killing is direct, not indirect.

He will see that, although the Holy See had been frequently asked to speak, she for a long time deferred her decision.

The Sacred Penitentiary was first directly questioned in 1869. The answer was: "*Consulat probatos auctores.*" (Lehmkuhl. Tom. I., No. 848, page 506).

The Holy Office was again importuned in 1883; when on the 10th December of that year, we received for answer that the question was then under consideration.

On the 31st May, 1884, the long-looked for decision was given by the Congregation of the Holy Office, after long and mature consideration, and that decision (in my opinion) gives the quietus to and sounds the death knell of craniotomy: "*Tuto doceri non posse.*" (See I. E. RECORD, vol. vi., page 137).

As *Roma locuta est ac proinde causa finita est*, we shall close this long and, I fear, somewhat desultory article with a corollary for *patient, doctor and priest*.

1° Obligations of Patient.

A *mater gravis*, learning that she is in the above critical condition, cannot and dare not, ask for or sanction craniotomy. She has but one of three alternatives: viz:—either (*a*) to consent to the caesarean section, or (*b*) to laparo-elytrotomy, or, if unwilling to submit to either of these operations, to await the natural course of events—to commit herself to Divine Providence—and, if it be God's will, rather to die than permit craniotomy. From this obligation it can be easily deducted what a fearful responsibility, and even risk to the salvation is it for a Catholic mother to engage non-Catholic accoucheurs, especially where skilful Catholic doctors can be procured, and whenever symptoms or the probability of such uterine complications, manifest themselves.

2 Obligations of the Accoucheur,

It follows necessarily from what we have said that the accoucheur can never have recourse to craniotomy or embryotomy, unless the foetus in utero be *certainly* dead. After advising one or other of the above lawful operations

without success¹ he too "must be prepared to encounter in this dim world a great many calamities which he can neither remedy nor alleviate. He must, therefore, quietly await the death of either child or mother, and then rally to the assistance of the surviving one, and be grateful if he succeeds even in this."

It is also his duty to secure as well as he can baptism in *utero sub conditione*; but, as the decisions of the S. Congregation leave some doubt about the *validity* of this form of baptism, the baptism should be again administered conditionally *post fœtus vivi extractionem*. (See I. E. RECORD—Vol. vii., p. 359).

In any case, where death is likely to overtake the *fœtus in utero*, baptism (conditional) should be attempted, and upon any part² (*fœtus*) possible.

In consultation with other doctors who may be called in if they should suggest craniotomy, it becomes his duty to protest against it, and share no responsibility.

3° *Obligations of the Priest.*

Firstly, it is not necessary to say that, as neither the accoucheur nor patient can have recourse to craniotomy, the priest also cannot sanction it.

Secondly, not only must he look upon craniotomy as sinful and unlawful; but I even fear he can no longer safely follow the advice of Cl. Archiep. Kenrick:

"Equidem quum utrinque periculum sit, puto haud oportere (sacerdotem) se aliquatenus chirurgi consiliis inmiscere; nil enim proderit, et in se mortis matris suscipiet odium Si mater petat quid sibi faciendum sit, videtur dicendum, oportere chirurgum orare, ut vitæ foetus, omni quâ possit ratione consulat."

It seems to me he may often be called upon to speak with more precision. Moreover, he should never fail to counsel such patients, if opportunity offers, to select from their medical men Catholic doctors, when possible, and *habiles vel periti adsunt*.

¹ That is supposing the mother to object to the Caesarean section or elytrotomy.

² Si caput non sit in presentatione.

I shall conclude this paper with a fact mentioned by Dr. Playfair, and which I deem conclusive enough of the alarming frequency of craniotomy. He states that in one hospital alone, that of the Rotunda, instead of the forceps, craniotomy was employed in twenty-one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven cases of labour during the mastership over that hospital of one doctor alone.¹ (*Science and Practice of Midwifery*, ch. v., p. 207.) And this, mark you, in Ireland. *O tempora! O mores!* Thank God some degree of reform is setting in, even among British obstetricians.

U. E. U.

LETTERS IN ANCIENT IRELAND—THE “BOOK OF KELLS.”

IN proposing here to give the reader some account of the MS. known as the *Book of Kells*, I am met with some problems in connexion with it that seem to demand a solution, namely, as to the date when it was written, and the claims of Ireland to this and other MSS. which suppose the existence of letters and the fine arts where they were produced; for some writers have denied those claims. But if it be made to appear that the learned of other countries sustain our national traditions, in regard to those claims, then the subject will be one of greater interest to the readers of the RECORD.

The first time the *Book of Kells* comes under the notice of history² is in the year 1006, when it was abstracted from the church there, where it was preserved, and found after two or three months under a sod, but stripped of its ornamented cover. It subsequently came into the possession of Ussher, while Bishop of Meath, and was by him deposited in the Library of Trinity College, where it has since been preserved with great care.

¹ I flinch from giving his name.

² See *Annals of Ulster*, and the *Four Masters* at the year 1006.

It is a large 4to. volume, of 344 leaves of vellum, the pages about 11 inches long, 9 broad. It contains the Four Gospels in Latin; and these are preceded by matters appertaining to the Prolegomena of Scripture, as the Canons of Eusebius, interpretation of Hebrew proper names, summaries of the chief matters contained in each of the Gospels, and some biographical notices of the Evangelists. Besides these there are some documents in Irish, put into vacant spaces on the reverse of the illuminated pages, and referring to property left to the Church of Kells for pious uses. These Irish documents are all in a different hand, and inserted here at a much later period, seemingly for their preservation.

To proceed in order—there are two things in our MS. that are to be considered: 1st, the style or form of the letters, which the learned call the palæography; and 2ndly, the ornamental part, i.e. the capital letters and the illuminations.

The form of the letters is called uncial, or majuscule, from their size, and by some, semiuncial, which is nearer the actual size. They are of a somewhat rounded form, beautifully turned, and written seemingly with great care. This style was not used for books in ordinary use. It is contradistinguished from what is called the minuscule or cursive hand, which was of smaller size, the letters sometimes joined, sometimes separate. This cursive style was the most ordinary form for books, and most of our ancient Irish MSS. are of that kind.

Mabillon¹ treats very fully of the form of letters used by different nations, which he classifies as Roman, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Lombardic, and gives facsimiles of each. The Roman uncial letters of the first or classical period were like the capital letters now used in the title pages of books, and in no way like our MS. But in what he calls the Second Roman period, after the Lombardic conquest, 569, the Roman style was modified by the Lombardic; and then, in the specimens he gives, the similarity begins to appear, in the form of the letters, to what we have in the *Book of Kells*. One specimen very like, amongst others which he gives, is from

¹ Mabillon, de Re Diplomatica, lib. 5.

the Psalter of Abbess Salisberga of Laon, in France, which he attributes to the seventh century. He does not mention Ireland, or any Irish style, when treating of the Anglo-Saxon ; but of this again.

In the great work on *Universal Palæography*, by Sylvester¹ and Champollion, speaking of the Anglo-Saxon style, they say it was a compound of what the ancient Britons had during the Roman occupation, and that brought into England by St. Augustine. They mention a Psalter in the British Museum that was brought by him from Rome. Facsimiles of this are given by Mr. Westwood, and the form of most of the letters is the same as in the Irish MSS. They say the form of writing in England, Ireland and Scotland was from a common type, but with differences peculiar to each ; all which forms they call Anglo-Saxon, and the Irish style in particular they hold to be unquestionably of Roman origin. The specimens they give from Anglo-Saxon MSS. are very like the Irish, but there is a mistake, I think, as they speak of the Gospels of M'Regol as if it were an Anglo-Saxon MS. while it is claimed by Mr. Gilbert to be Irish, as the writer's name indicates.

Mabillon, as I said, does not mention any Irish style, unless he understood it, as I think he did, to be included in the term Anglo-Saxon, as Champollion uses that designation for the writing forms of the three countries, while he recognises a distinct Irish style. The other Benedictines, at all events the editors of the *Nouveau Diplomatique*, do justice to Ireland. They say the Anglo-Saxon style was not peculiar to England ; that Ireland had the same form at an earlier period, both which national styles they trace to a Roman origin.²

¹ *Palæographie Universelle de tous les peuples et de tous les temps.* 4 vol. fol. Paris, 1840. The matters here referred to are from vol. iv. towards the commencement. The pages are not numbered.

² The reader should observe there is question here of the form of letters in the *Book of Kells*, and not of the antiquity of letters generally in Ireland, which it had certainly since the time of St. Patrick and earlier. There were several other forms of letters it might have had.

If any should desire to find a home origin for the letters which the Lombards brought into Italy, they should bear in mind that that people came from those countries on the left bank of the Elbe which border on the North Sea, and that Ireland had the colony of the Firbolgs, from the adjacent countries. Here is a field for the industry of experts.

I will now place before the reader the views of Mr. Westwood,¹ the distinguished Oxford professor. He holds it was the Irish missionaries from Iona, at Lindisfarne, that introduced what is called the Anglo-Saxon style of MSS. into England; and that they, and the other Anglo-Saxon missionaries, propagated it through other parts of Europe. Mr. Digby Wyatt² holds the same opinion, and cites with very warm approbation the language of Mr. Westwood; adding that as the Anglo-Saxon MSS. were the most numerous, that title was extended to them all.

I must observe that Mr. Westwood treats chiefly of the ornamental part or illuminations, and its combination with the letters then in use in Ireland, and does not enter so much on the question of the more remote origin of those letters. Mabillon on the contrary treats solely of the form of the letters, and the others I have quoted treat chiefly of that.

Here let me digress for a moment. It was while the souls of men in Northumbria were deeply stirred by the zeal of the Iona missionaries that the fame of that country from which they came induced “many of the nobility and of the middle classes of the English nation” to pass over to Ireland “for divine studies, and a more holy life;” and the generous hospitality with which they were received, and “supplied gratuitously with books and tuition,” is recorded by V. Bede,³ in terms that give undying testimony to the schools and literature of Ireland. We should not be surprised to inherit from such a period a MS. like the *Book of Kells*.

The second thing to be considered in our MS. is the ornamental part, *i.e.*, the ornamental capital letters, and the illuminations, of which I will give some brief details. But first I would request the attention of the reader to consider when and where it was written.

The *Annals of Ulster*, and those of the *Four Masters*, which may be supposed to represent the national tradition on the subject, call it the “Great Gospel of Columbkille”—an expression that would imply not only the possession, but also,

¹ Westwood, *Palæographia Sacra and Miniatures of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*

² D. Wyatt, *Art of Illuminating*.

³ V. Bede's *E. History*, m. 27.

I think, the authorship, if not by himself, at least in his times, and by his disciples. Mr. D. Wyatt is of opinion it was written by the disciples of St. Columba shortly after his death, in honour of him, as the *Gospels of Lindisfarne* were written by the disciples of St. Cuthbert. In the genealogy of our Lord, given by St. Luke, in the ornamental part, a person is represented pointing significantly to the name “Jona.” Now any of my readers who knows how Adamnan, in his *Life of St. Columba*, so fondly dwells on his name, giving its interpretation in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin—Jona, Peristera, Columba—adding, “cum Jona propheta homonymum sortitus nomen,” will see considerable force in that circumstance to connect our MS. with St. Columba and his disciples. These circumstances seem to point to Iona as the probable place where it was copied. Kells is said not to have been any way considerable till about 810, when Abbot Kellach brought there from Iona, for safety from the Danes, some relics and other valuables; and amongst these might be this MS. In that case Kells would be credited only with its custody thenceforward.

I will now call the reader's attention to the different readings the *Book of Kells* presents, as compared with the *Vulgate*; not to discuss its merits or demerits as a faithful translation—which, of course, is the principal and more important matter, but which would lead me beyond the limits I must observe, and which also would be foreign to my present subject. I will quote them only as a kind of internal evidence, the MS. itself supplies of the time when it was copied. Some of those readings are in the form of passages transferred from one place to another—sometimes from the same Gospel, sometimes from a different one. I will give some instances from the *Gospel of St. Matthew*. In chapter viii. v. 24, “Erat ventus contrarius illis” is added, taken from xiv., 24, or from *Mark* vi., 48. In ix., 15, “In illis diebus” is added, from *Mark* ii., 20. In x., 29, “Qui in coelis est” is inserted. In xxi., 31, we find “Primus et novissimus;” the addition taken probably from the parable in chapter xx. In xxv., 45, “Ambulantibus in nomine meo” is inserted after “Minoribus.” In xxvi., 26, after the words of Institution we find “Quod

confringitur pro sæculi vita;" the addition being formed, I think, partly from *John* vi., 33, and partly from the "Klomenon" of the Greek text, 1 *Cor.* xi., 24. Also in the same chapter v., 28, "Pro multis" is preceded by "Pro vobis," taken from *Luke* xxii., 20; as the Church unites both clauses in the consecration of the chalice. Again, in xxvii., 49, "Alius autem pupugit latus ejus, et exivit sanguis et aqua" is added from *St. John*.¹ These instances, to which others might be added from the other Evangelists, will suffice, I think, for my purpose, as stated above. It seems clear to me they prove our MS. to be derived from one of those less accurate copies which were in circulation before the time of St. Jerome, which he was ordered by St. Damasus to correct from the Greek text; as the readings in it are exactly such as he says those copies contained.² Here then is abundant light around the object of our inquiry. St. Isidore of Seville, who wrote early in the seventh century—he died in 636—says the correction of St. Jerome was then received everywhere, "Usquequa per omnes Ecclesias," and therefore we must infer our MS. was written before that time. About the time of St. Columba's death it was two hundred years since the correction of the Gospels by St. Jerome was published; a period long enough surely for it to be known and received everywhere. But to suppose it to be unknown here up to the eighth or ninth century is beyond all credibility.

The reader must observe that those different readings, as the learned, I believe, admit with regard to different readings generally, affect very little the integrity of the sacred text. Most of them were manifestly added for the sake of explanation; placed probably at first in the margin, and afterwards incorporated with the text by unskilful copyists. St. Jerome justly censures such liberties taken with the sacred text; but the reader should bear in mind that the fault was in those who first introduced them, not with those, as in this case, who might unknowingly copy them.

¹ In these quotations I have availed myself of Dr. Abbot's work, in 2 vols., in which he gives the different readings of the *Book of Kells* as compared with the Vulgate.

² St. Jerome's words are "Dum quod in eadem re alius Evangelista plus dixit, in alio quia minus putaverint addiderunt." *Ep. ad Damasum*.

The next thing to be considered in the *Book of Kells* is the ornamental parts. Of these several facsimiles have been published of the ornamented capital letters and the principal illuminations by Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Westwood, and others. It is only by seeing them the reader can have an idea of them; any description must necessarily be very imperfect.

In the commencement of *St. Matthew* nearly every sentence begins with an ornamental capital letter, but in the subsequent parts they are not so numerous. The designs of these are adapted to the form of the letter, and are of great variety. Some of those designs are formed from likenesses of different animals; and by the learned are called zoomorphites. Here a bird stands within the letter; projects its tail on one side of it, and raises its head over the other, with plumage sometimes that would seem too bright for our climate. Again, the slender body of some animal is woven into and around the letter, with limbs of disproportionate length; sometimes several of them coiled together. This form of ornament is called “*Lacertine*,” from its supposed likeness to the lizard (*lacerta*). A man is sometimes introduced seated within the letter, his feet hanging down, and his hands pointing to objects around. The word “*Et*” often begins a sentence, and the upright line of the second letter is completed into the form of the letter by a fish, of very slender proportions and beautiful colours, that swims in front of it. This connecting word furnished ground for what seems to have been a favourite ornament. These are a few specimens out of a great variety of the ornamental capitals. In all of them various colours are imparted, as yellow, red, purple, green. Besides these zoomorphites there are others without any animal representation. The letter is divided into compartments, each of a different colour. In all those the colours are very fresh, particularly the green.

Besides those there are what are called Illuminations, by which generally a whole page is occupied. There are about fifteen of these—seven in *St. Matthew*, and two or three in each of the other Gospels. Four of these pages contain portraits of the Evangelists; one of *St. John*, one of *St. Mark*: there are two in *St. Matthew*, one of that Evangelist,

and the other is supposed by some to represent our Lord. Each of those portraits is of large size, nearly filling an entire page. St. John holds a book in his left hand, and in the right what is supposed to be a stylus for writing. The others hold each a book, the left hand beneath the robe supporting it under, and the right hand uncovered placed on it from above. They are all in flowing garments.

The four living creatures of the *Apocalypse* are represented frequently. On each of the eight pages of the Canons of Eusebius they are placed at the head of the page, and in each of the Gospels besides there are illuminations representing them. From this frequency, and the symbols of the Trinity placed in one of them on the nimbus that surrounds the eagle's head, I think the artist must have imagined that, besides typifying the Four Evangelists, there was something divine in those mysterious beings; or at least that they symbolised those superior intelligences we read of that descend to our lower world, and are ever watchful and active for the salvation of souls.

Of the numerous illuminations in the MS. I can enter into details only of a few. The first page of each of the Gospels has one formed from the commencing letters, which are very large, nearly filling the page; and these surrounded by beautiful tracery of different designs. There are two such in *St. Matthew*, one at the first and the other at the eighteenth verse on the words "*Christi autem generatio*," which are formed into a beautiful illumination. The letters "*Chr*" are very large, so as to fill nearly the entire page; the others in smaller size are placed at the bottom of it. The vacant spaces within the large letters, and those between them and the margin are filled with ornamental work of different kinds, chiefly with circles, in each of which three smaller ones are inscribed, and in each small one three still smaller. At the left side two angels hold each a book. At the top a female head is placed looking down, I think it is the Blessed Virgin. Another head lower down, on the right side, in herma form, is probably intended for St. Joseph. On the shaft of the large letter are some beautiful specimens of interlaced ribbon and lacertine work, and other ornamental tracery. At the bottom

of the page two cats are lying on the ground with their kittens playing around them, by which familiar images it seems probable to me the artist intended to temper the austerity of the sublime mystery to which the words referred.

There is an illuminated page in the *Gospel of St. John* in form of an oblong square filling the whole page, with bars diagonally connecting the opposite angles. The sides of the square and those bars are each about an inch broad, and beautifully ornamented. At the intersection of the crossbars a figure of a diamond form is placed overlapping them, and ornamented as a separate part. Similar square figures are placed midways on the sidebars and on those at the top and bottom, ornamented also as distinct parts. In the vacant spaces between the crossbars and the sides the four living creatures are depicted. One of those crossbars is overlaid from end to end with flowers of the daisy pattern. Those that form the groundwork are white. Others, green and purple, are placed at regular intervals, so as to form an agreeable picture. The other crossbar is overlaid with lacertine ornament. The four squares on the sidebars inclose each four spiral circles on a black ground. The central diamond figure has interlaced ribbon all round. The living creatures, with extended wings, are represented here in a style much superior, I think, to those in any other part of the MS., whether they were drawn by a different artist or from some other cause. In this illumination each part may be viewed by itself, and is complete; while the entire page collectively is but one, and also complete.

The first of the portraits in *St. Matthew* is the Blessed Virgin seated in a chair, with the child in her arms. She is attended by two angels, one each side, in the upper part of the picture, each holding a staff with a round boss on the end of it. Two other angels in the lower part of it hold in their hands, one a similar staff, the other a branch of sham-rock. The Virgin's head is surrounded with a nimbus, on which are three crosses in form of those symbols that denote divine persons: perhaps, in the artist's mind, those symbols so placed were understood to refer to the Son whom she

held in her arms. Probably in so early times those artistic symbols were not limited to the way in which they are used at present. One thing at all events appears certain, there was no deficiency of honour and devotion to the Blessed Virgin.

In *St. Luke*, where the temptation of Christ is narrated, there is a portrait of a divine person, as the nimbus with three crosses indicates, and the more majestic features than in any other of the portraits. There are two angels in the air behind His head attending Him; and two others in the corners above, one holding in his hand an open book, the other a closed one. The Lord is seated, His hands extended; the left holding a parchment roll, the right pointing to Satan, who stands at the side of the picture, and, with his hands extended, is addressing the Lord. There are three groups of persons in profile to ornament the picture, but not, I think, as being present at the action represented. This illumination cannot well be understood, as some do, of Satan appearing before the Lord, as in the *Book of Job*. It would be out of place here and unsuitable. I think it must be taken to represent the temptation of our Lord while on the pinnacle of the Temple. The parchment roll would very appropriately represent the words of the Sacred Scripture, by which he repelled the tempter. But how the pinnacle of the Temple of Jerusalem would be represented by this illumination as it stands is not very clear.

We have thus in the *Book of Kells*, a noble monument of which any nation might be proud, fresh from those early times, with some imperfections, displaying proficiency in the fine arts, which they made handmaids to their loving zeal for the sacred writings. What labour and diligence and time must have been devoted by the transcriber and the artist, considering that all was done by hand, before the invention of those arts that render such work easy now! What Giraldus says of the MS. he saw in Kildare—which from his description of the interlaced patterns in it, was evidently of the same school as the *Book of Kells*—that it manifested the diligence of angels rather than of men, would be very applicable here. I would instance particu-

larly the ornamental page in *St. John* to which I have referred, and the illumination on the 18th verse of *St. Matthew*.

Let me remind the reader, before I conclude, of what we owe to the monastic orders for preserving to us the ancient learning; and in Ireland, in those ancient times, the Clerical and the monastic orders were, I believe, identical. I wish I could present him with a view of those labourers in some Irish monastery at their admirable work. But as I have not met in our Irish annals any such description—perhaps a more diligent search would discover it to me—I hope the reader will not consider as too violent the transfer of such a scene from a neighbouring country. The Abbot Odo, of the Monastery of St. Martin, at Tournay, happy to find his Prefect Radulf careful in providing for the monastery all necessaries in food and clothing, committed to him all the external affairs; and thus free from care, devoted himself entirely to the transcription of books. Accordingly, under his arrangements, says the historian,¹ “If you entered the cloister you would see more than twelve of the younger monastic brethren seated in chairs, and in silence writing on parchments that had been carefully arranged and prepared.” He adds that those of mature age were employed in transcribing ecclesiastical writings. But in what estimation such work was held let us learn from Prior Guigo² of the Carthusians, who says, “This work,” i.e. the transcribing of books, “is of an immortal kind, its fruit is not transient but enduring. It is a work by which one is never fatigued; in fine, a work that of all others most becomes religious who received a learned education.”³ So, those who esteem the poetry, the philosophy, the history of the ancients, to say nothing of sacred or ecclesiastical writings, will judge favourably of the monks who were the means of preserving them to the period of the Universities and the Art of Printing.

JOHN GUNN.

¹ Heriman de Restaure, S. Martini Tornis, c. 79.

² Guigo de Quadr. exercitio cellæ. Both these may be found in D'Achery's collections.

³ Hoc opus opus immortale est, opus si dicere licet non transiens sed manens, opus ut sic dicam et non opus, opus denique quod inter omnia alia opera magis dicit viros religiosos literatos.

THE "INITIUM CHARITATIS" AND "INCIPIENT LOVE."

"**S**ACERDOS" in an all too complimentary letter which the courteous Editor of the RECORD has forwarded, asks C. J. M. to define "what is the precise difference between that incipient charity which theologians hold to be necessarily allied to *attrition* and the '*initium charitatis*' which, he says, remits mortal sin." "Sacerdos" also asks, "does the penitent who approaches the Sacrament of Penance with attrition sufficient for the Sacrament, receive at the moment of absolution the infused grace of perfect contrition and perfect charity?" Finally he inquires "on what grounds do theologians hold that sprinkling oneself with Holy Water as well as the use of other *Sacramentals* remits venial sin?"

I. Commencing with the last question, it may be useful to reproduce without curtailment the comprehensive teaching of St. Thomas with regard to the remission of venial sin: "Triplice ratione aliqua causant remissionem peccatorum venialium, uno modo in quantum eis infunditur gratia, et hoc modo per Eucharistiam et Extremam Unctionem, et universaliter per omnia sacramenta N. L., in quibus confertur gratia, peccata venialia remittuntur. (2). In quantum sunt cum aliquo motu detestationis peccatorum, et hoc modo confessio generalis, tunsio pectoris, Oratio Dominica operantur ad remissionem peccatorum venialium. (3). Tertio modo in quantum sunt cum aliquo motu reverentiae in Deum, et ad res divinas. Et hoc modo benedictio Episcopi [vel cum SS. Sacramento], aspersio aquae benedictae, quaelibet sacramentalis unctio, oratio in Ecclesia dedicata, etc., operantur ad remissionem venialium peccatorum." This doctrine of St. Thomas and of theologians generally is, it need not be added, in strict consonance with the dogmatic teaching of the Council of Trent, which, speaking (Sess. xiv., c. 5), of the remission of venial sins, tells us that "venialia, quibus a gratia Dei non excludimur, et in quae frequentius labimur, quanquam recte et utiliter citraque omnem praesumptionem in confessione dicantur, taceri tamen citra culpam multisque aliis

remediis expiari possunt." Amongst the universally recognised *remedia* are "the sprinkling of Holy Water and the use of the Sacramentals generally."

If "Sacerdos" inquire *how* the Sacramentals produce their effect, the answer of Ferraris will be found sufficiently exhaustive: "Per Sacramentalia remittuntur peccata venialia [1] *ex opere operato*, remote tamen et mediate, quatenus nempe per preces Ecclesiae junctas rebus sacramentalibus, dum eis pie utimur, *moveatur Deus* (etsi non infallibiliter) *ut in nobis excitet* pios illos motus quibus annexa est remissio venialium; [2] *partim ex opere operantis* quatenus homo iis Sacramentalibus pie utitur . . . cum piis motibus displicentiae peccatorum, conversionis in Deum, amoris, adorationis, et hujusmodi." They therefore operate chiefly and directly *ex opere operantis*, for, as Lehmkuhl writes, the "ritus et coerectionis, et res ab Ecclesia consecratae et benedictae non fiunt immediate nomine Christi, neque effectum certum gratiae eo ipso producunt quod instituta sunt et peraguntur, sed effectum suum sortiuntur *ex impetratione*, qua Ecclesia per suos ministros a Deo auxilia utentibus implorat."

II. With this scarcely more than cursory treatment of the question of Sacramentals we must be satisfied, for, as every student of theology will remember, any discussion of the first problem, not wholly incommensurate with its practical importance and the interest with which Ecclesiastical history invests it, would far overstretch the limits allotted to any one paper in the RECORD.

"Sacerdos" in his first question seems to insinuate that theologians "necessarily" hold, and have always held, that incipient love forms an essential part of the attrition which is sufficient for the validity of the Sacrament of Penance. That this is by no means true will appear a little later on.

In order the better to understand the point of the controversy regarding the necessity of incipient love — a controversy which for generations raged with no inconsiderable warmth, "*nec absque fidelium scandalo*," as Pope Alexander VII. sorrowingly complains, it will be necessary to keep in view the words of the Council of Trent:

"Disponuntur autem ad ipsam justitiam, dum excitati

divina gratia, et adjuti . . . a divinae justitiae timore quo utiliter concutiuntur, ad considerandum Dei misericordiam se convertendo, in spem eriguntur, fidentes Deum sibi propter Christum propitium fore; illumque tanquam omnis justitiae fontem *diligere incipiunt*, ac propterea moventur adversus peccata, etc."

Assuming that the Holy Council in this chapter, which is designated the "Modus Praeparationis," explicitly and doctrinally expounds the essential elements of attrition, it is manifestly no overstraining of its words to infer that some species of incipient love is necessarily allied to all such attrition as the validity of the Sacrament requires. Indeed this interpretation of the Council's teaching has been the only rendering tolerated by a large number of theologians from the time of the Council down to the present day. When, however, they come to define that love, the dawning or inception of which constitutes an essential factor of true attrition, the more early champions of initial charity and the more modern are irreconcilably separated. The former maintained that it is the "*dilectio charitatis perfectae in gradu remisso vel absque intensitate*"—which theory the latter, in common with all modern theologians, uncompromisingly reject. For all now hold, and have held for practically the last two centuries, that the most intangibly minute act originating in the motive impulse of perfect charity, is itself an act of perfect charity. *Actus enim specificantur ex motivis*. The following brief extract from the writings of John Vigneri—one of the illustrious men of his school—affords an interesting illustration of the best palmary efforts by which the old and long since exploded theory was sought to be justified: "Contritio imperfecta est dolor voluntarie assumptus propter Deum summe dilectum, sed non cum sufficienti et requisita intentione, puta quia non est ex *toto corde* et ex *tota mente* etc.; sicut cum motus naturalis a principio fit remissus et in fine velocissimus, et tamen est idem motus qui successive perficitur." Vigneri forgot that there could be no actual motion until the principium movens (namely *vera dilectio*) had actually communicated its propelling impulse to every microscopic atom of the objectum mobile; that—laying aside

the metaphor—the whole soul thus becomes actuated by true charity; and that "*qui diligit, diligetur.*" Of this theory it will be enough to say that no one would now dare to advocate it.

Before considering the several phases of incipient love that have found supporters amongst more modern writers, it will be convenient to review briefly the doctrine which refuses to admit the necessity of any incipient love whatsoever. That such a theory should be at all tenable, especially in view of the words of the Council of Trent, must, at the first blush, have seemed perilously problematical to Melchior Canus and those other still more eminent writers who first ventured to promulgate it. In point of historical fact, however, not only was the doctrine successfully launched and defended—timorously at first, though afterwards boldly enough—but it quickly counted amongst its advocates the majority of our Scholastic theologians. Benedict XIV. (*de Synodo*: Lib. vii., c. 13) testifies that "*sententia illa vix nata scholas omnes pervasit, et tanto plausu accepta est ut plurimos ac magni nominis patronos invenerit, 'sed prae cæteris,' inquit Morinus, 'hanc opinionem celebrem reddiderunt duo Scholasticae theologiae clarissima et famosissima luminaria, Franciscus Suarez et Gabriel Vasquez, quos innumeri nunc sequuntur theologi.'*" Pope Alexander VII. in his famous Decree, published in 1657, certifies (1) that in the controversy which then divided theological writers, the question at issue was: "*An illa attritio quae concipitur ex metu gehennae excludens voluntatem peccandi cum spe veniae, ad impetrandam gratiam in sacramento Poenitentiae requirit insuper aliquem actum dilectionis Dei.*" He certifies (2) "*Sententiam negantem necessitatem aliqualis dilectionis Dei. in perfecta attritione ex metu gehennae concepta, hodie inter Scholasticos communiorem videri.*"

With this undoubted historical fact before us, and remembering that neither Pope Alexander nor any of his successors has ever felt called upon to moderate what some would call the extreme tendencies of the theory and practice it reveals, we may pause for a moment to consider that other alleged historical fact which comes to us from the olden times

and has been quite recently put forward by Father Perrone—that up to the Council of Trent, or at any rate "usque ad S. Thomam," Scholastic theologians were "unanimous" in exacting, as a disposition for the Sacrament of Penance, the incipient love that springs from the motive of perfect charity. Two conflicting facts, such as these would be, having reference to the essential elements of one of the most indispensable of the sacraments, would involve on the part of—shall I say the Church?—a *volte face* utterly and absolutely irreconcilable with the immutability divinely secured to her. The essential antagonism between these two statements of fact implies of necessity the refutation of either, and we can have no hesitancy in making our choice. Merely indicating this invincible *a priori* argument, I must be content to refer the reader, for a more interesting and developed disproof of Father Perrone's statement, to the review of the teaching of the Fathers and other ancient writers which he will find in *La Croix*.

Nor has the "sententia communior" of Pope Alexander's time yet lost or forfeited the approval of eminent and distinguished theologians. In our own day it is the key-note of those marvellous exhortations through which the illustrious Cardinal Manning has won so many souls to God. The space at my disposal will permit me to select only a few brief extracts from his Eminence's exquisite work—*The Love of Jesus to Penitents* :

"For all sinners whatsoever . . . there is but one condition—sorrow and the will to sin no more, and where this is, absolution is sure, and full [p. 21]. God requires that we should . . . bring with us at least a sorrow for our sins . . . If we can do no more, we can at least be sorry. And yet in sorrow there are many degrees so marked, that I might almost say there are many kinds, reaching from the sorrow of fear to the sorrow of love, from the sorrow which springs from the fear of judgment to come to the sorrow which flows from the love of the Sacred Heart. He might justly require from us the sorrow of love, but He requires from us only the sorrow of holy fear, that is from any supernatural motive of faith . . . with a desire of being reconciled to Him. A will not to sin is the least amends we can make, and this is no more than the retracting of the disobedient will whereby we have offended, and a returning to our obedience as children of God . . . If sinners

can come with the sorrow of faith and hope, even though they have not charity, the compassion of Christ will give them a full forgiveness, and breathe into them the breath of life once more through this Sacrament of His love [p. 24]. A penitent who brings nothing but the sorrow of Faith and Hope to the Sacrament of Penance, receives therein the sanctifying grace of the Holy Ghost, and Charity; and by the infusion of Charity is raised once more to the life of God, and elevated to union with Him" (p. 69).

If it be asked how do these writers reconcile their teaching with the seemingly conflicting doctrine of the Council of Trent, they reply that the Holy Council, in the chapter referred to, enumerates *ex abundantia* the various stages of preparation that, *ordinarily speaking*, lead up to the maturing of attrition, but that it nowhere professes to assign to each and all of them separately the character of essential elements. In point of fact we know that some of those so enumerated constitute no necessary part of true attrition. As La Croix (who, by the way, does not exclude incipient love), puts it: "Quod Tridentinum non vult omnes actus illos esse *necessario* praerequisitos patet inde, nam praemittit etiam timorem poenae: certum autem est valere poenitentiam, quamvis non sit concepta ex timore poenae, sed immediate ex spe beatitudinis aeternae, vel ex alio adhuc perfectiori motivo."

There is what may be called an intermediate school of theologians who, differing in theory from the latter while, with them, repudiating the necessity of "*aliqualis amor ex motivo charitatis perfectae*," strenuously assert the necessity of some other species of inceptive love. Of the history of this view it may be briefly stated that it has at all times had many active patrons among our eminent theologians, and that soon after the Decree of Pope Alexander VII.—though not in consequence thereof—it in turn became the "*sententia communior*." The several complexions under which this intermediate theory presents itself may be reduced to two, the first of which exacts, as an essential "*initium dilectionis*," a formal and explicit act of the "*amor spei vel concupiscentiae*." They endeavour to establish the necessity of at least thus much love, by a simple reference to the "*modus praeparationis*" described by the Council of Trent. Indeed, according to some copies of the *Acta et Decreta Concilii*, this

is explicitly set forth in the chapter under consideration, in which the wording runs: "fidentes Deum sibi propitium fore, *sicque* illum tanquam omnis justitiæ fontem diligere incipiunt." Whatever we may say of this reading, the words of the Council seem, in any natural rendering, sufficiently definitive of a love conceived in the hope of pardon and reconciliation, and sufficiently specific in excluding the necessity of love from a higher motive. It proposes as the object of our incipient love—not God as in Himself most perfect—but God as the Source of Mercy to which each man should hopefully apply for the grace of Justification. That an explicit act of hope and desire may be properly called the "initium dilectionis," is taught in terms by St. Thomas: "Ex hoc quod per aliquem speramus nobis posse provenire bona, movemur in ipsum sicut in bonum nostrum, et sic incipimus ipsum amare." "Ergo," says La Croix, "cum omnis contritio nostra sit spes, vel fundetur in spe, etiam est actus quo incipimus diligere Deum."

The words of this last-named writer introduce the doctrine now (I think) most commonly received, and, in many passages, involved in the work of Cardinal Manning, from which I have made extracts. Its latest and not least emphatic exponent is Lehmkühl, who maintains that no formal and explicit "initium dilectionis" is of the essence of attrition; but that if sorrow, arising from the consideration of the "turpitude peccati vel metus gehennæ et pœnarum," be quickened and sustained in all due supernatural strength and vigour—if it be made up "iis actibus qui ad debitam attritionem necessarii sunt"—a sufficient "affectio erga Deum ipsum in se spectatum" follows of *moral and psychological necessity*. No one indeed can "exile from his soul" all leaning to and affection towards God Himself, if he have efficaciously resolved on abandoning sin and preserving the friendship of his Creator—consciously moved thereto by the voice of God proposing to him a sorrow grounded on some supernatural motive. This is the more manifest when we remember that attrition is dogmatically described as the "Spiritus Sancti impulsus," which implies the stimulation of the soul by *illuminating and exciting* grace. Further, the intelligent and

artistic formation of *propositum* brings into our immediate prospect the duties of a Christian life, and we deliberately undertake the responsibility of fulfilling them, knowing, all the time, that amongst these obligations "the first and greatest" is to love God. In all legitimate attrition we consequently have (1) the consideration of a God justly punishing sin; (2) a hope of pardon arising from our reliance on God's bountiful mercy; (3) a resolution that henceforth we shall be faithfully obedient to God's law; with the ultimate purpose of (4) being rescued from eternal death and being admitted to the enjoyment of the Beatific Vision. Any attrition that excludes—that does not of our own knowledge include—a definite though, perhaps, an unanalysed conception of those motives, will be regarded as inefficacious and invalid. Should we secure such attrition as this, we are safe in concluding with Lehmkuhl that we have compassed "*illud dilexionis initium cujus Tridentinum specialem mentionem facit.*"

III. The next question submitted by "*Sacerdos*," though suggesting matter for an interesting paper, must, at this stage, be briefly answered. (1) The lviii. proposition of Baius was condemned, which stated, "*Peccator poenitens non vivificatur ministerio sacerdotis absolventis, sed a solo Deo.*" (2) At the moment of absolution the Sacrament of Penance, becoming operative, remits sin, the removal of which is, in *praesenti ordine*, always formally caused by the inpouring of sanctifying grace. "*Hanc dispositionem, seu praeparationem, justificatio ipsa consequitur, quae non est sola peccatorum remissio, sed et sanctificatio, et renovatio interioris hominis per voluntariam susceptionem gratiae et donorum.*" (Council of Trent, Sess. vi. c. 7.)

C. J. M.

BOSSUET AND CLAUDE.—II.

WE have seen in the November number of the I. E. RECORD that Bossuet having come up to Paris for the proposed conference with Claude, the hero of the Calvinistic party, repaired on his arrival to the residence of Mademoiselle de Duras according to appointment, in order to know from her the special subjects she desired to have discussed, and that whilst in conversation with her a message arrived to say that Claude was obliged to decline the conference by order of some superior authority, which he was bound to obey. The announcement was quite stunning to Mademoiselle de Duras, as she had staked her salvation, so to say, on the treatment of her doubts by such representative men from opposite sides. Urged accordingly by the irresistible anxiety she felt, she used every exertion, and employed all the influence she could procure to bring about the conference, and having succeeded she hastened next morning to where Bossuet was staying to inform him of the result, accompanied by a Mr. Coton, a respectable co-religionist, who had also some religious difficulties, which he desired to submit to his Lordship. He felt principally concerned about the question of the Church's visibility, as to whether it should be perpetually visible by a constant and unremitting external profession of her faith and practice of religion, or if she could subsist in an invisible state, for a time, and at different periods, without any such external profession or practice. This was a life or death question with the reformers, for if the idea of an invisible church were inadmissible, they stood alone before the world as a new self-constituted, self-created body, having no connection with any other Christian communion then on earth, or pre-existing at any assignable period before their time. They endeavoured, therefore, by all possible means to make the world believe that not only was the idea of an invisible church most reasonable, but that it was actually the case for a series of ages in the Church of Christ, and that they in God's own good time, as they pretended, were called to take her from her hidden state, and exhibit her to mankind *without*

spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but in all her primitive purity and holiness as instituted by her Divine Founder, and by way of proof they referred, as Mr. Coton and Mademoiselle de Duras observed, to what they represented as the universal defection of the Jewish Church in the time of the Prophet Elias, who complained to the Lord that "the children of Israel had forsaken His covenant, that they had destroyed His altars, that they had slain His Prophets with the sword, and that he alone was left and that they sought his life to take it away," (iii. *Kings*, xix. 14); from which state of things they argued, why might not a similar defection take place under the Christian Dispensation, and the position they insisted upon was, that the Church of Christ became in course of time so disfigured and deformed as to have lost her external identity, and retained only an invisible existence.

Bossuet had no difficulty in meeting this pretension, which lay at the bottom of everything in the superstructure they sought to erect upon it.

He showed, in the first place, that the prophet did not speak as a prophet in the passage referred to, but gave vent rather to a sentimental outburst in the excessive anguish, which oppressed him at the time, as appears from the subsequent words, in which, amongst other things, the Lord declared to him, "I have left me seven thousand men, that have not bowed their knees to Baal." (*Rom.* xi.-4). He further observed that the complaint of Elias referred only to the kingdom of Israel, whilst, at the same time, the Church was in a highly flourishing state in the kingdom of Juda under Asa and Josaphat; and going to the root of the matter he showed that, so far from effacing the covenant between God and the children of Israel in its external observance, they bore its seal stamped not on paper or parchment, but upon their living bodies, by the unbroken practice of circumcision, so that, whether they willed it or not, the covenant was always maintained ineffaceably, and in external form, amongst them. He even urged the objection farther than it was pressed by the reformers themselves by referring to the state of things in the kingdom of Juda under the wicked king Achaz (iv. *Kings*, xvi.,) who closed the temple, made Urias the

priest sacrifice to idols, and filled Jerusalem with abominations of all sorts, and still more under Manasses (iv. *Kings* xxi), who to force the people into idolatry "filled Jerusalem up to the mouth with innocent blood, besides his sins, wherewith he made Juda to sin, to do evil before the Lord" (iv. *Kings* xxi-16). He showed that all this had nothing to do with the question, that during the reigns of these impious kings Juda had its prophets, who protested against their impiety, retaining a considerable portion of the population in fidelity to their religion, as was manifestly proved by the persecutions which could not have filled Jerusalem with innocent blood if there had not been vigorous and extensive resistance, and with that power of condensation for which the great prelate was so remarkable, he passed in rapid review the entire history of the people of God from the commencement, clearly showing that the profession and practice of religion were constantly upheld, that there was an unbroken succession of pontiffs and priests and levites descended from Aaron and Levi, that, moreover, there was the extraordinary ministry of prophets as circumstances required, so that no interval could be pointed out, in which through so lengthened a series of ages the external and public worship of God was suspended or obscured, and he wound up by exposing the silliness of the argument sought to be taken from the Jewish Church in support of the pretension of an invisible Church in the Christian Dispensation.

As he was bringing these explanations to a close the Countess de Roye arrived, bearing a message from Claude to say he would be ready to meet his Lordship at her house at three o'clock, should that appointment suit his convenience.

THE CONFERENCE.

The meeting took place accordingly, and after an interchange of respectful assurances in the most graceful manner on both sides, Bossuet opened the conference on the subject of the Church's authority.

It is known, because the principle is proclaimed by the reformers, that self-guidance, or everyone's individual judgment as to what he is to believe, or not to believe

according to the Word of God is the inherent right of every Christian in forming his creed, and that consequently independent inquiry for this purpose is, at once, a correlative right and obligation. But in contravention of this fundamental principle, as they hold it to be, they insist also on an authority to control the religious faith of their members just as much as the Catholic Church. This inconsistency between principle and practice Bossuet applied himself to, in the first instance, by referring to the four acts of the Calvinistic book of discipline noticed in his *Exposition*, and treated of, as we have seen, in the conversation he had with Mademoiselle de Duras on the day previous.

It may be useful to recal these acts one by one, to see how Claude endeavoured to escape the difficulty, in which they placed him respectively.

The first is from chapter v. under the title "Consistories," Art. xxxi., where it is ordained that "disputes about doctrine should, if possible, be determined by the Word of God in Consistory, but if not, the matter is to be referred to the Colloques, whence to the provincial, and finally to the national, synod, where the entire and final decision was to be passed according to the Word of God, in which decision, if anyone should refuse to acquiesce point by point, and with an express disavowal of his errors, he is to be cut off from the Church."

The difficulty in which this ordinance placed Claude was, how it was possible to reconcile the principle of self-guidance, and private judgment inherent in every man according to the doctrine of his communion, with the obligation under pain of excommunication of submitting to the decision of their synods. On one side, freedom beyond all restriction was insisted on, whilst on the other, coercion without resource was enforced, and the question was, how were these contrary positions to be reconciled?

Claude entering on his explanation renewed his expression of respect for his opponent, and after admitting the difficulty to have been correctly stated in the words quoted, he went on to say, that these words were intended to convey that there were different degrees of jurisdiction, as

pointed out in their discipline, but that throughout the force of the decision was to be referred to the sole Word of God, and that, as to the allegation, that the Word of God had been proposed in the Consistory, from which, nevertheless, there was a right of appeal, and as to the inference sought to be deduced therefrom, that the final decision in synod, from which there was no further appeal, appertained to the Word of God, not as taken in itself, but as declared by the final decision of the Church, that allegation was not what was meant by them, because they held that the decision was altogether attached to the pure Word of God, to which the Church did no more than give expression from first to last in her assemblies, but that these assemblies were established with different degrees of authority to afford time to those, who might be in error, to set themselves right. On this account it was, that, in the first instance, they refrained from excommunication in the hope entertained by the Consistory, that in a higher assembly, such as the Colloque, and still more in a provincial synod composed of a larger number of persons, and of persons perhaps more to be respected, or, at all events, less to be suspected, the party concerned would be more disposed to listen to the truth. For the same reason the Colloque and provincial synod used similar moderation from a like motive of charity, but once the national synod had spoken, it being the last human remedy, no further hope remained, and then recourse was had to the final sentence, that of excommunication, as the extreme exercise of ecclesiastical authority. However, it was not to be inferred from this that the national synod looked upon itself as infallible any more than the preceding tribunals, but that everything else having been tried, recourse was had to the only remaining remedy.

The next difficulty was taken from the Synod of Vitré, as reported also in the book of discipline. It relates to the letter of deputation sent forward by the various churches with their deputies to the national synod containing the following oath:—"We promise in the presence of God to submit to everything, that will be decided in your holy assembly, persuaded as we are that God will preside thereat, and guide you by His Holy Spirit in all truth and equity by the rule of His Word."

The difficulty here presented was more serious than the preceding one, in as much as in the former case dissent and consent were required only *after* the synod had spoken, whereas in the present case they were required *beforehand*, that was *before* the synod had even assembled to deliberate.

Claude explained by saying that the promise made previous to the national synod was grounded merely on the hope that the synod would follow the Word of God, and that the Holy Ghost would preside thereat, which, however, did not mean that there was an entire certainty thereof, and that moreover the term "persuaded, as we are, that," was only a polite manner of expressing a condition without wounding the reverence due to so great an assembly, or the favourable presumption to be entertained as to its mode of proceeding.

The third difficulty arose from the condemnation of the sect of Independents recorded likewise in the book of discipline. They were condemned because they asserted that each particular church should be allowed to govern herself *without any dependence elsewhere in ecclesiastical matters*. This proposition had been condemned in the Synod of Charenton as hurtful to Church and State, and as opening the door to all sorts of irregularities and extravagances, doing away, at the same time, with all remedies, and leading to the establishment of as many religions as parishes.

The difficulty arising from this treatment of the Independents was, that no matter what number of synods were held, if people did not consider themselves bound to submit to them, the evil complained of with respect to the sect was still inevitable, and the door was open, not only, for the establishment of as many religions as parishes, but, as Bossuet observed, as many as there were heads.

Claude, however, endeavoured to explain by saying, that with regard to the authority of his Church and her assemblies there was something in them that agreed with the Catholic Church, and something also that agreed with the Independents, with the Catholic Church in so far as that ecclesiastical assemblies were useful and necessary, and that it was essential to maintain subordination, with the Independents in as much as such assemblies, however numerous they might

be, were not, however, infallible. This being so, they were obliged to condemn the Independents who denied not only the infallibility, but moreover, the necessity and utility of these assemblies, and of such subordination. It was in this, he observed, that Independentism consisted, and he added, that to maintain it was to overthrow order, and give room for as many religions as parishes, there being no means left for any agreement, whence he concluded, that whilst it was understood that ecclesiastical assemblies were not infallible resources, it sufficed, however, for the condemnation of the Independents, that they were useful.

These three difficulties were presented by the book of discipline printed at Charenton in 1667, and there remained but one difficulty more taken from a book of a Mr. Blondel, entitled *Authentic Acts*, printed at Amsterdam in 1655. It consisted in a resolution of the national synod of Sainte-Foi held in 1578, which appointed four ministers to assist at an assembly convened to treat with the Lutherans about a *formulary for a common profession of faith*. These ministers were empowered "to decide every point of doctrine, as also all other points that would be submitted for deliberation, and to consent to this confession of faith without even communicating further with the churches, in case time did not allow it."

Bossuet pointed out two things in this resolution, one was, that the entire synod compromised their faith by placing it in the hands of four individuals, a thing more extraordinary by far than to see individuals submitting to the whole church, and the other, that the so called reformed church showed herself but little satisfied with her confession of faith, since she agreed to its being altered, and that in points so important as those in controversy with the Lutherans, including even the Real Presence.

Claude replied by saying the object of the synod was to meet the Lutherans in coming nearer to them, the Calvinists, or at least to establish a mutual toleration, which did not require of them to make any alteration in their faith, which they held to be unchangeable, and that moreover, whilst the synod granted unlimited power to the four ministers, it should, nevertheless, be understood that acts of the kind were

subject to ratification in case the deputies overstepped their instructions, like the ratifications required in treaties agreed to by the plenipotentiaries of princes, and other cases, which always suppose the condition of ratification by the prince, a condition, which, although not expressed, is attached of their own nature to all such vicarious transactions.

Having dwelt at considerable length, and in a clear and confident manner on these difficulties, "M. Claude," observes Bossuet, "addressing himself to me, said, that just and impartial as he believed me to be, I would accept from him an explanation of the articles of the discipline of his church, and of her religious sentiments in the same way as I might well expect of him to agree with me in what I might have to explain of our sentiments and our councils, such, for example, as the Council of Trent."

"I replied," continues Bossuet, "by observing, that if there was question of simply explaining their rites, if one could employ such an expression, or their mode of administering the Word, or the Sacraments, or holding their synods, I should by all means accept his explanations on such subjects, as being better informed than I could pretend to be, but I considered that it happened to those of his religion, as to all others who went astray, to fall into contradictions with themselves by being forced to establish what they had denied, and that I knew they denied the necessity of accepting the decisions of the Church without first examining them, whilst I held the infallibility of the Church to be so indispensable, that those who denied it in speculation, could not avoid insisting on it in practice, if they would maintain any kind of order amongst themselves. But if there were question of pointing out any contradiction in the sentiments of the Catholic Church, I did not pretend to oblige him to accept from me whatever explanations I would offer him of her sentiments or her councils, and it would, therefore, be open to him to take from their words what inference he liked, and on my part I expected he would allow me the same licence, to which he had no difficulty in assenting.

"I did not intend dwelling to any great length on the synod of Sainte-Foi, as it would take me too far off from the two

propositions which I was desirous to make him acknowledge. I therefore merely replied to his explanation respecting their assemblies, that I agreed with him as to what he had advanced respecting the necessity of ratification, although such powers and compromises were somewhat extraordinary in matters of faith; and I was, moreover, willing to believe that the intention of the synod was not that their deputies should have authority to upset everything. But what struck me, and what he did not appear to have explained in his reply, was that the synod had doubts about their confession of faith, since they authorised the framing of a different one; and I could not see how this was reconcileable with what had been already stated, that this confession of faith contained nothing but the pure Word of God, which everyone knew was not susceptible of any change. As to what he alleged, that there was question only of bringing over the Lutherans to more reasonable sentiments, or, at least, of establishing mutual toleration with them, two things stood in the way. (1°) That a power was spoken of to decide all points of doctrine, which manifestly comprised the Real Presence which the Lutherans would never surrender; (2°) that to establish mutual toleration there was no necessity of framing a confession of a common faith, but simply to pass a synodal decree, as was done at Charenton.

“M. Claude replied, that the point of doctrine to decide was, if a mutual toleration could be established, and that the confession of a common faith would have done nothing more than proclaim it, which he did not deny could have been done in a synod, as I should admit it could also by a confession of faith, in which there might be an express article to that effect.

“I replied that such a thing was never termed a confession of a common faith, and I asked him if the Lutherans or themselves should retrench something in what one party said for the Real Presence and the other against it. He said, no, whence I said, that each party was, therefore, to remain within the terms of its own confession of faith, with nothing in common between them but the article of toleration. To this he said, there were several other points of agreement.

I replied 'yes,' but that it was not on these points there was question of coming to an agreement, for what was at issue was the Real Presence with some other points, on which it was impossible to make a confession of a common faith, unless one of the parties made some change, or both consented to some ambiguous phrases, which each could take advantage of in favour of its own sentiments, a thing already frequently attempted, as M. Claude himself would, in all candour, admit. He quite agreed, and even instanced the Assembly of Marbourg, and some others held for the same object. I, therefore, concluded that I had every reason to believe that the synod of Sainte-Foi had a similar object in view, and it would be only trifling with the world to give the name of a confession of common faith to what would present on the face of it such flagrant oppositions on such important points of Christian doctrine. I added yet more, that it was all the more certain, that there was question in point of fact of a confession of faith, as I said, in as much as the Lutherans had already frequently declared against toleration, and nothing could be expected of them in any other way than that which I mentioned. The matter remained so, and I only said that then every one had but to think what he had according to his conscience to believe in a confession of faith, which an entire national synod had consented to have changed.

"In reference to the letter of deputation, which the particular Churches sent to the national synod, as M. Claude was explaining that the oath comprised in that letter of submission beforehand to every thing, that would be decided in the synod contained a condition, I interrupted him by a short word, saying yes, they *hoped* well of the synod, *without, however, being certain* with regard to its decisions, and, whilst awaiting what would be done, they did not wait to swear submission to it. M. Claude having observed that I had interrupted him, and asking me to allow him to finish what he wished to say, I became silent. But after having discussed the matter of Sainte-Foi, I said that I deemed it necessary, before proceeding further, that I would tell him in a few words what I thought of his doctrine, in order that we might not be speaking in the air; and I said to him, You say, sir,

that the words, *persuaded as we are, that God will preside thereat, and will guide you by His Holy Spirit in all truth and justice by the rule of His Word*, as contained in the oath referred to, are only a polite manner of expressing a condition. He agreed; and resuming I said, let us reduce the proposition into its conditional form, and we shall see what meaning it will have. It will be this, I swear, that I will submit to everything that you will decide, *it being supposed, or on condition, that what you will decide will be in accordance with the Word of God*. Such an oath is nothing better than a manifest illusion, because in itself it asserts nothing, and I could swear it myself to M. Claude, as he likewise could swear it to me. But in this there is evidently nothing of serious import, whilst as a sign that in point of fact something more particular was meant, this oath was only taken to the synod, which spoke in the last resort, although, according to M. Claude, it could as well, and for a reason equally as good, be taken to the consistory, to which submission was just as much due as to the synod, supposing it to have the Word of God for its guidance."

Thus far Bossuet pressed his opponent on the infallibility of the Church showing, that in this as in other matters, the reformers were in flagrant contradiction with themselves by denying in doctrinal utterances what they upheld in practice with the utmost rigour; and we are now arrived at what we may call the most acute and critical point of the discussion, in which Bossuet had to establish the two following propositions:—

1°. That, whilst the reformers acted as if holding the authority of the Church to be infallible and incontestable, it was, nevertheless, a fundamental principle of their teaching, that every individual, man or woman, however ignorant he or she might be, was bound to believe that they could better understand the Holy Scriptures than all the councils of the Church, and the entire Church herself.

2°. That there was a point, at which, as a consequence of their teaching, a Christian was bound to doubt, if the Scriptures be inspired by God, if the Gospel be true or false, and if Jesus Christ was a Teacher of truth, or a public impostor.

But as the treatment of propositions so important would occupy space beyond all reasonable limits in a single number of the I. E. RECORD, I must reserve the continuation of this celebrated conference for a further number of that invaluable periodical.

THE AUTHOR OF THE "CLAIMS OF THE UNINSTRUCTED
DEAF-MUTE TO BE ADMITTED TO THE SACRAMENTS."

HAYNES' OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATE OF IRELAND IN 1600.—III.

NOW the waie to Suppresse theis Rebells, is to plant Garreson's in theis Neighbour parts, and that in this manner as the Lorde Gray had plotted, namelie, att Balemacoora, 200 Foote and 50 Horse to shutt him oute of his Countrye, Greate Glen;¹ at Knockloughe, 200 Foote and 50 Horse to answeere the Countie of Carloo at Arclo; at Wiclo 200 Foote and 50 Horse to defende that side towards the Sea; in Shileloghe 100 Foote to cutt him from the Cavenaghs and Wexford; and about the 3 Castles 50 Horse, which would defend all the Countie of Dublin, and 100 Foote at Talbotts towne which should keepe him from the Countie of Kildare. Soe that he shall stirr no way, and then will his adherents aforenamed leave him, and shall by noe meanes keepe his Countrye saufe; By means whereof he shall be so tossed that he should not be able to stand one year. But towards the Effect of this Business and Service their must be sufficient Captaines appointed, and suche as knowe the course of those Warres, and not suche as are rawe therein as often are sent out of England; By whose meanes the matter would come to ill Successe. The Service havinge a good ende and theis murthered Rebells brought under, It is necessary that proclamacion should be made, to call in suche as would come in, which will be in manner all uppon Condicion whatsoever unarminge them altogeather, and takinge theire best men for Hostages that none should revolt; and so to place them in

¹ *recte*, "out his great Glenn."

Leinster, and there to geve them sufficient Livinge, whereupon they maie Live, and use Civill Trades and manuring the grounds as good subjects, the Landes of the Birnes and Toolles which Pheagh MacHugh hath, and the Landes of the Cavenaghes which are in Rebellion nowe, and other Lands which will fall to her Majestie there, will be Large and spacyous enough for them, for yt is 20 or 30 Miles wide; and uppon like proclamacion to be made amonge them all the same tyme, upon like assurance, to transferr them to Ulster with their creete, that they maie Likewise manure that and Live as becometh subjects. For they should be Tenants to Englishmen and be placed here and there, and not dwell togeather as nowe they doe whole Nations and Sectes. Soe shall they not be able to execute their Conspiracies as they have done.

And theis Englishe shall yeld her Majestie suche a competent Rente, as they maie both well live and besides contribute towards the maintenance of suche Garresons as shall be placed and contynue amonge them, as the Romaines did att the conquest of Englande, who raised upon the Countrie a Certaine Contribucion called Taxes to maintain their Legions, which they placed in sondrye partes of the Realme, and because this course was not taken when Ireland was conquered by H. 2, the Irishe soone discontinued their obedience. And because this was not regarded at the plantinge of Munster, it stood totteringly and straungely in daunger of a Relapse. And although some maie thincke that yt were as good or better that the Rente should be whollie paid to the Queene's Majestie, and that all allowance should be defrayed by discrecion as occasion should require, It is not soe; for thereby yt growethe That in tyme of anie shewe of Peace the Garresons are discontinued, to the layinge open of Opportunitie to the evell disposed to Rebell and for foreign Enemies to invade; whereas were the Garresons contynued theis hazardes might be stopped; and to rayse sufficient allowance for theis Garresons, the Landes maie be thus rated, 7^s. vii^d everie plough Lande which is not much above 1*l*. of the Acre. And in Ulster there are, as by recorde appeareth, 9000 Plough-landes everie of which conteyneth 120 Acres at 21 Foote the Pearche. Soe that yt

conteyneth in the whole 124000 Acres, and yett the Rents amounteth yearlie to £18000. And because the Countie of Louthe being a parte of Ulster contayneth 152 Plough Landes is not whollie to Escheate to her Majestie, because they contynued dutifull in all theis Warres, there is 4 or 500 Plowlands maie paie xx^s yearlie towards the maintenance of Soldyers, Soe that 2 or £300 be to be deducted out of the £18000. It maie be raysed by the Fishinge there and by an increase of Rente upon the best Lande, and this £18000 will be Enterteynement for 1500 Soldyers, with some overplus towards the paie of the Victuallers of theis Garresons in Ulster, whiche Garresons are to be of 500 men apeece, to be placed

1. The one at Siralan¹ or about Loughfoyle there.
2. Att the Forte above Lough Erne, Out of which wardes to be taken for the Guardinge of Fermanagh, Bellick, Ballychannon and all the Straights towards Conaught.
3. The Thirde and last to be in their Forte att Monachan and Wardes to be drawn out of yt to keep the Keys of that Counttrey both downwardes and also upwardes towards Orills² and the Pale, some at

| | | |
|---------|---|-------------|
| Some at | { | Eniskelyn. |
| | | Belturbert. |
| | | Blackforte. |

And soe alonge the river.

And necessarie yt were, that by theis Forts a State of a Towne were planted and Merchants and other Members to be placed, with Charters fitt for them; which in tyme would wyne manie from Englande to place themselves there, to the greate Benefitt of her Majestie and good of the Countrey.

For by suche means Maryburghe and the Phillips Towne are growne good Townes and the principall stayes of theis partes of Leinster.

Furthermore to have the Countrey devided into hundrede Parishes and Shyres as yt was aforetyme, namelie theis :

| | | | |
|-----------------|---|----------|-------------------------|
| The Counties of | { | Downe, | Colran, |
| | | Antrime, | Monaghan, |
| | | Louthe, | Terone, |
| | | Armagh, | Farmanugh, |
| | | Cavan, & | Donergale. ¹ |

¹ Strabane, Spach-ban ² O'Reilly's ³ Donegal, Oun na-n-gall.

Which Donergall is a fitt place for a Presidente and a Councill to keepe them in awe and to administer Justice. Nowe as touchinge Conaught and the settlinge of like Garrisons and mainteyninge them there, It appeareth by recorde att Dublyn that it conteyneth in the whole 7200 Plough Landes after the former measure, and ys of late devyded into sixe Shires or Counties.

| | | | |
|--------------|---|-----------------------|---------|
| The Counties | { | Clare, | Galway, |
| | | Littrum, ¹ | Mayo, & |
| | | Roscommon, | Sligo. |

Of which all the Countries of Mayo, the most parte of Roscommon the most parte of Litrum, and a greate parte of Galway and some of Clare is Like to escheate unto her Majestie for the Rebellion of their presente possessors. The which two Counties of Sligo and Mayo are supposed to conteyne almost 3000 Plough landes which accordinge to the former Rate amounteth almost to £6000 p. Annum.

The Countie of Roscomon, having what perteyneth to the House of Roscomon and some other Englishe there planted, is all oute and therefore is whollie likewise to Escheate to her Majestie. So that Roscomon conteyneth 1200 Plough landes which amounted to £2400 p. Annum, which with the former two Counties Rente maketh about £8700; what the Escheated Landes of Galway and Littrum will be yt is not yet knowne because yt must be surveyed, beinge intermingled with the Landes of the Earle of Clanricarde and others, but they maie be supposed to be 1000 Plough Lands; Because soe either of them conteyneth which is in the whole about 10 or £11000.

The other two Counties must remayne till their Escheate appears, yett thus much is known for the Composition of those two Counties, being rated at 16s. everie ploweland, will amounte to above £13000, which togeather with the Rente of the Escheated Landes of those two Counties, which cannot be Lesse then £2000, will yeld paye Largelie for 1000 men and their victualls and £1000 for their Governor.

And althoughe the Reckoninge made upon them might be somewhat uncertayne, yett the Composition which is xx .

¹ Lathorum, Leitrim.

the Plough Lande, whereof the Acres in Ireland is 439200 it will amount to the Some of £43920, and the rest to be rated of the Escheated Landes which will fall to her Majestie in the said Province of Ulster, Conaught, and that parte of of Leinster under the Rebelles. Now for the placing of Garresons in Conaught there ought to be 1000 men, whereof 500 should be placed in the Countie of Mayo about Clan mac Costulaghes, which shall keepe all Mayo and Burlis of mac William Inter;¹ the other 500 in the Countie of Clamricard about Garadough, that they maie conteyne mac Conhors and Bourk's, the Kellyes and mac Murryes, with all thereabout; for the Garrison that is placed att Lough Earne will serve for all occasions in the Countie of Sligo, for, beinge of neere adioyninge, they maie be in one Night's march in anie place thereof when neede shall require. And as before in Ulster soe there to have two Corporate Townes and another att Athlon with a conveniente garde in the Castle there, where nowe their Governor lyeth, beinge indeede too farr of the remotest places of all the Provinces.

And for the Deputie's lying att Dublyn, the utmost partes of the Countrye, It were fitt he laye about Athie neere that unquiett Countrye where he might more easie overlooke the Moores, the Butlers, the Dempsills, the Kellyes, the Cenors, Oconor, Omoley² and all the heap of Irish Nations which lye without anie to overawe them. To come nowe to Lempster, it must be there ordered as in Ulster, leavinge Garresons in theire Forte and plantinge of Englishe in their Countrye between Dublyn and the Countie of Wexford, which although yt be full of mountaines, yett there be good Valleys and Large Feedings which will drawe Inhabitants enoughe. The Land, which is now under Phéagh mac Hugh there cannot be rated because fewe are acquainted with the Particularities thereof. But yt is devided into two Counties, the Countie of Wicklo and the Countie of Fernes. The most of which two Counties should Escheate, savinge the Baron³ of Arclo which

¹ Enter (Spenser), Euter (Description of Ireland, 1598, p. 141). *iochtair* = the Lower, *uaschtair*, the Upper McWilliam. *Recte*, the Burkes of MacWilliam Iochtair.

² Dempsies, O'Connors, O'Carroll, O'Molloy.

³ baronye.

is the Anciente inheritance of the Earle of Ormonde, and Newecastle is Sr. Henrie Harrington's from her Majestie, and the Castle of Ferns Sir Thomas Mastersone, the rest is about 30 Miles over which conteyne about 2000 Plough-landes which may be esteemed att £4000 Rente p. Annum. Of Lempser being 7 Counties.

The Counties of { Dublyne, Wexford, And Queenes
Kildare, Kilkenny, Towne.¹
Caterlagh, Kings Towne,¹

Theis all conteyne 7400 Ploughlandes amounting to £7400 for composicion for the Garreson, which maketh in the whole £11400, which will yeld paie to 100 Soldyers wantinge litle, which maie be supplied oute of other Landes of the Cavenaghes which are to be Escheated to her Majestie throughe their Rebellion, thoughe indeede they be her Majesties ancient demeasnes.

Theis 1000 men should be thus placed : 200 att Boallinglort² to keepe the evell Personnes at Glanmalore and the Fastnes thereabouts and all the mountaines of the Omenghes ;³ 200 more att Fernes and upwarde in warde uppon the Slane ; 200 at the Forte of Leyx to restreyne the Moores, Osbrigg and Onarall ;⁴ other 200 att the Forte of Offeley to curbe the Conhors, Omolough, MacCoughan, MacCrogan⁵ and the Irishe bordering thereabouts.

Now for Meth, which conteyneth East Northe and West Northe⁶ and of late the Analay now called the Countreye of Longfordes is accompted thereunto. Meth itself conteyneth after Recordes 4320 Ploughlandes, Longfords 347. In all 5267 Ploughlandes of which composicion money will amount to £5207 towards the maintenance of the Garreson.

Because Meth lyeth in the bosome of the Kingdome yt is alwaies quiett ynoughe and neede noe Garreson there, but in the Countie of Longford 200 Foote and 50 Horse at some place betweene the Annaly and the Brenny as about Loughsillon,⁷ soe that they might keepe both the O'Reiley's and

¹ King's Co. and Queen's Co.

² Cavenagh.

³ O'Connors, O'Molloys, MacCoghlan, MacGeoghagan.

⁴ East Meath and West Meath.

⁵ Ballinacorrick.

⁶ Ossory and O'Carroll.

⁷ Loch Sileann.

O'Farrolls and all the out partes of East Meth in awe, because they are Fickle People the charge will be 3400 odd poundes the overplus being £2000 will come clearlie to her Majestie.

Mounster Mounster conteyneth by record 1600 Ploughlandes the composicon whereof as the reste will be £1600 £16000 per annum and for defence thereof

1000 Soldyers were necessary to mainteyn yt which will arise to £12000 per annum, and the other £4000 maie defray the charges of the Precedency and Councill for the Province. And because the Composicon ought not to be Livyed uppon the Landes of the undertakers who by their graunte from her Majestie ought to be discharged. And therefore that xx^s for a PloughLande must be deducted out of her Majesty's Rente, which is all one because thereby her Majestye shall be discharged of the Precedency and have 1000

1000 Soldyers mainteyned. Theis 1000 men ought to be placed thus: 100 att the Bantry to withstand foreign invasion, and there would be placed a Towne, for the Haven's good and the Fishinge Plentifull. The Lande is escheated alreadye and kepte from her Majestie by force by ODonnell Mac Carty, that proclaymes himselfe the Bastarde Sonne of the Earle of Clanricarre,¹ 100 men more at Castle-mayne to keepe Desmond and Kerry, 200 men about Kilmore in the Countie of Corke to Answer both the Counties of Limericke and Corke, 100 men at Corke, 200 men at Waterford, 200 more neere to Musgrywhirk² which are the Countrey of the Burks about Killpatrick. By which places all the Passage of Theeves doe lye which convey their Stealth from all Munster downwards Towards Tipperary and the English Pale upp unto Mounster, whereof they use to make a common Trade. Necessary yt were that Tipperary had some such strengthe to withstande the evell that is suspected to fall daily there.

Waterford and Corke are too fitt receptacles for the Spanyards arrivall, and not well affected to the English Government, and therefore in them Especially Garresons ought to be placed; and because they shall not grudge at

¹ Clannicare.

² Moscrie Whirke, murcraighe churpc.

other Townes that seem to be free from that charge, there maie be a reasonable rate Layed also upon the reste, not onlie towards theis Garreson's, but also as yt shall amounte above that which maie be required thereunto, to be reserved towards other charges and the Precedency in the North, this Rate, viz. :—

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|------|--------|-----|-----------------------|-----|-----|
| Waterford | ... | £100 | } | { | Kilkenny | ... | £25 |
| Cork | ... | 50 | | | Wexford | ... | 25 |
| Limerick | ... | 50 | | | Tredaghe ² | ... | 25 |
| Galloway | ... | 50 | | | Rosse | ... | 21 |
| Dinglecashe ¹ | ... | 10 | | | Danclusk ² | ... | 18 |
| Kinesale | ... | 10 | | | Mollingare | ... | 10 |
| Yoghall | ... | 10 | | | Newry | ... | 10 |
| Killmallock | ... | 10 | | | Trime | ... | 10 |
| Clonmell | ... | 10 | | | Arthy ³ | ... | 10 |
| Cashell | ... | 10 | | | Kelly ³ | ... | 10 |
| Fedard ¹ | ... | 10 | Dublyn | ... | 10 ⁴ | | |

This charge the Porte Townes may easilie rayse by Shippinge, the Lande Townes by Corne and Cattle. For the Victuallinge of theis Forces for the first yeare yt must be whollie out of England from halfe yeare to halfe yeare, and after that the English Pale and Mounster will be well furnished towards it, and be able to supply a greate parte of that charge. And necessarie yt were, that, hereafter when more plentie is to have Stoare Howses and Milles erected in all all those places of Garreson for the Sodaine Victuallinge of Shipps and Soldyers upon all occasions. In which Englande Seemeth very Slack trustinge too much to yearlie supplye of Corne and Victualls that there is no Stoare preserved for anie Sodaine Service, which maie come unlooked for, it maie hazarde the Kingdome. Nowe when by reason of theis Garresons Ulster and Conaght is quiett and the Countrie in peace, there maie be a warr made the more easilie to reforme the abuses which bread the dangers, and yett not Sodenly to remove the forces; but rather to keepe

¹ Dingellechooishe, Daingean uí Chúir; Fethard, Fíoch-ápo.

² Drogheda, Dundalk; Droichead-Átha, Dun-Dealgan.

³ Ardy, Kells; Baile-Átha-Charthaigh, Cenannagar ⁴ 100.

them there, which shall be unto her Majestie noe more charge then nowe yt is in the tyme of most quiett. For her Majestie maie have the good Soldyer brought upp to be employed in anie good service placinge newe men in their places. And if it please her Majestie she maie withdraw some of them till she seeth the Countrey not to require them, and returne their paye into her own Threasurye.

Things beinge thus ordered for the Suppressinge of theis rebelleous People, and the Realme beinge quietted, It is to be considered howe the Reformacion of the Lawes, Customes, and Religion maie be wrought; and because it will be harde to Alter the comon Lawes there in all pointes, and to make new Statutes repealinge all the former, It were good to redresse onlie the abuses of them by Parlyament, wherein because the higher Howse will be of necessity of the Irishe, that maie perchance be even head stronge.

It must be handled as Kinge Edwarde did amonge the Lordes of the Cleargy whoe were not to be matched by the Temporall Lordes, and therefore sent 'wrytts amongst the most worthie Gent, and made them Barrons of the Parliament, whereby their Obstinacye was sufficientlie curbed, and soe yt maie be in this Business of the Reforminge of theis Irishe Inconveniencies.

And therefore for the better reforminge theis troubles yt followes in truth, the Realme should be devyded into Shires, Shires The Shires into Wappentake or hundreds, Hundreds hundreds into Tythings, as yt was in the tyme Tythings of Alured or Alfrido, when Englande was infected withlike Comon Robbers as Irelande now is, and the Borsholder or Tithingman was bound to Looke to all within his Tythinge and to prosecute all lewde personnes; yf he fayled the hundred was bounde, yf the hundred fayled, the Wappentake must, yf not the Wappentake the whole Shire wou'd endeavour to finde out suche Offenders; which wrought suche Effecte as yt soone redressed manie evells as indeede yt would doe yf yt were practized in Ireland.

But because a Borsholder or Tythingman is noe meete Officer to comande, to keepe Gent. or noblemen, who indeede have iust meanes to be looked into because of their wilfullnes

Sufferinge their Children and base Sonnes to come headlonge to manie mischeifs against the peace of the Countrey: It were good that one of them were bounde for another; That for feare of Loosinge their Landes they maie finde out the offenders, and that they were Sworne to their allegiance and fealtye to their Prince, for manie of them have taken their Oathes, and receaved the Sacrament att the handes of a Priest, which they hold a greater bande than their allegiance to their Prince.

And where heretofore yt hath bene accustomed that the Lordes and greate men have had onlie the overlookinge of the inferryor sorte, It hath bene to the greate preiudice of the quiett of the Countrey; for though att the first conquest yt was graunted them by Charter, that they should have Tenants to hold of them by suche Services, they onlie upon occasion, when the Lorde Deputies have called them, have raised greate Somes of money upon their Tenants, and gathered a Troope of Rascallkerne¹ to follow them, who have more Spoyled the Countrey where they have been, then the open Enemies would doe. And, therefore, this kinde of Government of the Nobles is most unfitt and their Graunts verye unfitt, because the Grauntes beinge formerlie made to awe the Irishe, nowe it is used to the preiudice of the Queene herselfe; and thoughte perhapps some of this great Lordes maie thincke he hath wronge yf the former course should prevent him of former Services, yett yt were most necessarie that enquirye be made by Commission under the great sealle to knowe everye man's Tenure, because manie usurpe those Services unto themselves which are due unto her Majestie, and what wardshipp they uniustlie challenge, and what Englishe holdings they have translated to Irishe and Thamistry² and manie other lawfull proffitt which they nowe wrongfully withhold from the Queene, which as is supposed will amounte into £40,000 per Annum, whereof she is nowe defeated.

In which Comission should suche discreete men be used, as might signify the should by no meanes loose their Lawes,

¹ loose Kerne (Spenser).

² Tainistrie.

but be brought to the English order, and have their Landes confirmed unto them by her Majestie, Soe that they may be the better assured of her Lande then nowe they be; For indeede they are nowe degenerate and become Irishe to whom theis grauntes were made. Soe that yf all theis grauntes were made voyde they were not wronged, because they are more to be blamed then the meere Irishe, who become more Civill, and they become more Wyld than the Irishe, and more hatinge the Englishe calling them Sasonia,¹ which is a kinde of Vyle Raylinge, affirming that they onlie have right unto their Lande, And that the Englishe onlie intrude uppon them, because their Ancestors, they saie, Conquered the Lande, and that they ought not to be touched, but to beare rule amonge themselves even as they liste, and to be deputies as their Ancestors were, and not the Englishe, and therefore yt hath bene feared to plante that Countrie with Englishe lest they should altar their nature as the Lanes^a did in Edward 2 tyme, who turned to the Scott, and favoured to bring him in and make him Kinge of Irelande.

But yt is not the nature of the Countrie that altereth men, but the badd myndes of such as revett³ to be wicked Libertines, although comonlie yt appeareth that they must wyne the Least, rather than the leaste the most to their manners. But suche is the force of good Government and discreet Carriage of men in office, that, though they be fewe that beganne to follow vertue the more will be wonne to follow them. And therefore sith in Irelande, there are most Irishe, and some Englishe; It is conveniente that a course were taken to bringe them to Conformitie of manners to be one People, And to intermingle them soe that the Irishe maie favour of the good manners and discipline intended by daylie conversation with the Englishe, and to disable the Evell ones to hurt the good, which can by noe meanes better be done than by making an Irishman Tething-man to take the Excepcions which he else might take of

¹ "Alloonagh, with as great reproach as they would rate a dogge;" *Sacjonach* = a Saxon. Cf. *eo eul co Saxoib, to go to England (Four Masters, an. 1565).*

² *Lacies.*

³ *revert?*

Partialitie *parcialitie*, But the head boroughe, namelie, the chieff of the Luth¹ to be an Englishman, or an Irishe of Speciall assurance, And as for the head of the hundred to be an Englishe of Speciall chiefe to be a Pillar to the Burough Hundred under him. A hundred after some conteyneth a hundred Villages, of some a hundred Plowlandes which the Saxons called Cantred, and Cantred as is recorded in the black Booke of Irelande² conteyneth 30 villages Ferrill³ which some call Quarters of Lande and everie Villata ront⁴ 400 Cowes and they be devyded into 4 heardes and everie Villata conteyneth 18 Ploughlands as yt is there sett down.

A Borrough Signifieth a free Towne whose principall Officer is called a head bororighe,⁵ and is to undertake for all the Dwellers underhim havinge forthe same Fraunchesies and Priveledge graunted them by the Kinge, and thereof called a Francke Pledge or franc plegium. But franc plegium is not a Free Towne att this Daie, but a mayne pledge of 100 Persones more or less and Borgh in the Saxon Signifieth a Pledge or suretie; Nowe because theis Irishe stande muche uppon their head and septe of their kynne, and contynue their surnames from one Generation to another, It were necessarie that all of them should take uppon them some name accordinge to their Qualities of Bodye or minde or other Facultye or Trade, or of their place or of their Dwelling, that in tyme they might forget their sept, and not be combyned as they are together to such mischievous practices for Love or alliance to their Kynne. And that all suche as nowe hereafter shall take uppon them O or mac, which are names given and affirmed by the head of the Septes, should be innhybited soe to doe.

Moreover everye man ought to be addressed and appointed to some Trade of Leife that cannot live of his Freehold, and should be thereunto tyed and bounde to followe yt either manuell, intellyctall or mixed, that is to husbandrye or handy Craffe Artes and merchandize to the

¹ lathe.

² villatas terrae.

³ of the Exchequer, or of Christ Church.

⁴ recte, "can maintain." ⁵ head-borough.

Handy Craffs and husbandrye; the Sroighs¹ and Horseboyes are to be trayned which use their Strength to Stealth and Villainy. And yt were good that fewer Cowes were kepte which able personnes chieffie followe, Nursinge also theeves, and that for everie xxtie Cowes a Plough might be kepte for Tillinge for yt is most cause of manie mischeiffes there and of Dearth in Englande the want of Ploughes and keepinge of two manie Cattle. The Sonnes of Noblemen and Gent. should be trayned upp in vertue and in every parishe should be an inferryor Schole-master of Grammer for Learninge is of force to Temper the vilest and rudest nature.

Emollit mores nec sunt² esse feros.

There shall be a Provost Marshall also to take upp all Bards, Carowes, Jesters, and such ronagates and to ponnish them accordinge to their desertes; althoughe the Sherriffe maie doo much good, yf he be diligente in his office, yett yt were not good to give that Power of Leife and death into his handes, because he maie be partiall and rigorous, having Benefitt by the death of such as shall be thus apprehended.

As for the Reformation of Religion yt must not be done with rigor but mildlie begone and settled among them; and because our English Ministers by their Lewde Lives and little paines have given them a cause of hatred of their Profession; It were good that some Godlie one of their owne Nation were appointed to that work, whoe shall wyne more than manie others to some inclynacon to Godlie towardnes; moreover they must be restreyned from sendinge their Sonnes to the universities beyonde the Seas, and that from beyond the Seas wyne³ over to perverte them, as indeede there are manie that Lye in sondry corners Lurkinge that carry more to Affect the Romish Religion then all our men can doe to drawe them to the Christian Religion.

The Churches also are to be repaired and to be re-edified which are even with the Grounde and most unseemelie which loathe men to enter.

It were convenient that convenient waies were made in

¹ Stocaghe, i.e., a boy attending on a kern, as Spenser says, "becommeth a horseboy or stocah on some kern."

² sinit.

³ runne?

the Woodes of 100 yardes broad for more saufe Passage of Travellers whoe are robbed and murdered therein. Also there were Bridges builte over the greate Rivers, and that all Fordes were stopp'd, Soe that all Passengers should pass over the Bridges, uppon which Bridges also should be Gates and Gate howses to Stopp Night Stealthes which are commonlie driven in by waies; And by the high waies here and there should be Townes builte Corporate and made market Townes, and the Passage soo Stoppte that Passengers should of necessitie passe through them, whereby manie Stealthes and other dangers might be the more easilie prevented, and the People by frequentinge those market Townes might learne the more Civilitie. And by those Townes the Countrie would be enriched the more, because men would bringe thither the Fruites of their Trades, and seeinge their Laboures profitable would endeavour the more Industriouslie to increase wealth by paine takinge. And in theis market Townes and not elsewhere, as nowe they doe Secretlie bringe all Cattle and Garrons¹ to be Bought and Sold, and not abroad in coverte places, which could be a meanes to stopp manie Stealthes, For feare that yf they brought them to the market they might be descryed. Manie suche Townes have been in Ireland; But when the Irishe soe prevayled againste the Englishe, they brought them to nought, whereof the Ruines yet appeare, of some of the Names onlie and nothinge else.

Nowe after this pacification the Reformation should rest as before in a Deputye or Iustice over whom it were convenient A Lorde Lieutenante were placed, a man of most noble regarde of Englande, whoe should not discountenance the Deputye but strengthen him in those things that he doth for the Establishment of Justice and Reformation. Knowinge this, that as the Case standethe nowe manie practices are wrought to the hinderance of that which might worke the good of that Realme, which by the Countenance and good Carriage of the Lieutenante would be quallified and things better managed. And the Lord Deputie to have more

¹ γεαρράν, a work-horse; γεαρράν άπο, a hobby.

absolute power and not be soo controuled from the Counsell here, but that what the Deputie and Councell doth yt should stande because yt cannot be that they maie be directed from hence what to doe. Therefore presente occasions must have such consideracions and execucion as the nature of the cause requirethe. Which can by noe meanes be foreseene here, neither maie they stay for direction from hence, Sith in the meantime opportunitie maie passe and the advantage of the tyme and occasion be loste, yett is he in some particular thinges to be restreyned, as that he shall not Sell noe Offices for money nor pardons nor protections for Rewarde, nor suche like. The Libertie whereof maie be an occasion of manie Inconueniences.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

LETTERS REQUIRED FOR ENTERING INTO A RELIGIOUS ORDER

“Quas litteras mecum habere debeo ut ingredi liceat in Ordinem. Religiosum proprie dictum?”

Nullis opus est nisi Testimonialibus. Ne ad ordines quidem sacros suscipiendos requiruntur litterae sive Excorporationis sive Dimissoriales. Professio enim Religiosa in Ordine proprie dicto excardinationem ipsa efficiet. Ante Professionem Solemnem Superiores Religiosi litteras dimissorias subditis suis dare non possunt, nisi pro prima tonsura et ordinibus minoribus.

II.

DUPLICATION.

“Could a priest duplicate on a Sunday when the following circumstances are present ?

“1. A parishioner dies on Saturday morning after the priest has broken his fast.

“2. The friends are most anxious to have Mass at the house before the burial takes place.

“3. The burial is to take place on Sunday. Very many of the

friends and relations will not hear Mass on that day, as the house is a long distance from the parish church.

"4. Should the priest have Mass at the house he is certain to have a large number of people present, the full of an ordinary country house, say between 30 and 40.

"5. Should he celebrate Mass at the house on Sunday he is certain to receive a larger Honorarium for his labour than on any other day.

"VICARIUS."

The case made by our correspondent is not one of those in which the Common Law allows a priest to say a second Mass the same day. Consequently a mere declaration from the bishop will not suffice. If then duplication be at all lawful in the circumstances stated by "Vicarius," that must be in virtue of the dispensing power communicated by the Formula vi.*

We need not delay to explain at any length that the delegated faculty is very often available when a bishop could by no means say that the circumstances were such as to warrant him in deciding that the Common Law sanctioned duplication. He has power to dispose in the Common Law; but only for a very good cause. Does such a cause exist in the case before us? The last point mentioned by our correspondent is here of no account. Neither can an affirmative reply be at all thought of, unless owing to some very special circumstances the funeral cannot be reasonably deferred. For really attendance at a wake during the time of the Mass on Sunday, can be allowed only to very few. But if the funeral must take place on Sunday, and if it would be unreasonable to expect those who attend it to go also to the parochial Mass at a distance, there is sufficient reason for seeking and granting permission to duplicate. "Vicarius," however, is supposed not to do so without receiving the faculty, and obviously, even in the hypothesis last made, the favour may be refused on account of inconveniences that may be apprehended as likely to follow if it were granted.

P. O'D.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

QUESTIONS REGARDING BENEDICTION OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT.

1. "A few evenings ago I went into a Church where devotions were going on. The door of the Tabernacle stood open and the Pyx covered with its veil, was exposed inside the Tabernacle. After the usual prayer *Deus qui nobis*, etc., had been sung, the officiating priest extracted the Pyx and gave Benediction with it. This being to me a new practice, I made enquiries, and was told that Cavalieri approved of it.

"May I ask (a) is it in keeping with the Rubrics or Decrees to extract the Pyx from the Tabernacle and bless the people with it? (b) If in the affirmative, may a priest do this as often as he thinks it conducive to the promotion of devotion among the people, or does he require the permission of his bishop?"

"SACERDOS."

2. "I would feel obliged if you would kindly answer the following in the RECORD:—

"Is it correct to have two Benedictions of the Most Holy Sacrament in the same Church on the same day;—for example, one after Mass, the other at the evening devotions?"

"A SUBSCRIBER."

3. "Would you kindly answer the following queries in your valuable journal, and oblige,

"A CONSTANT READER."

"When Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament is given at the evening devotions of Sundays, etc., it is usually preceded by the Rosary and the Litany of the Blessed Virgin. Now the following difficulties suggest themselves—(a) Is the prayer which the priest sings after the Litany to be changed according to the season as in the Missal, or is the prayer given in the Ritual *Concede nos famulos*, etc., to be used all seasons?

"(b) Is there any authority for saying the prayer of the day with the *Deus qui nobis*, etc., after the *Tantum Ergo*? Hughes, as far as I remember, speaks of saying the prayer of the day after the prayer of the Litany, but this seems contrary to what De Herdt has (vol. 3, n. 74); that without an indult it is not lawful to add to the Litany of Loretto;

though perhaps he is to be understood as referring principally to making additions to the petitions of the Litany. On the other hand, I can find no authority for adding the prayer of the day to the *Deus qui nobis, etc.* De Herdt does not even contemplate the case."

1. The practice referred to by our esteemed correspondent "Sacerdos" though rarer than it was in times past is by no means new. As early as the year 1602 it was before the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. By a decree of this Congregation bearing date 9th December of that year, and by subsequent enactments, which bring us down to the time of Benedict XIV. the rules regulating this practice were laid down.

According to these rules a priest may on his own authority open the door of the Tabernacle, and expose to the assembled faithful the Pyx or Ciborium containing the Blessed Sacrament, taking care, however, that the Ciborium be covered with its veil of silk, and that it be not taken from the Tabernacle. This, a priest *may* do without the express permission of his bishop, but it is for himself to decide, whether, especially in places where no such custom has existed, it would be prudent to do it. But without the bishop's leave a priest cannot take the Ciborium from the Tabernacle to bless the people with it or to permit them to adore the Consecrated Species which it contains.

These two statements are clearly contained in the decree of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars referred to above. "*Si quandocumque*" it says, "*privata ex causa Sacrosancta Eucharistia exponenda videbitur a Tabernaculo nunquam extrahatur, sed in Pyxide velata in aperto ejusdem Tabernaculi ostiolo cum assistentia alicujus Sacerdotis stola et superpelliceo induta, et cum sex saltem luminibus cereis collocetur.*" By a *private cause* the Congregation means a cause, not submitted for the approval of the bishop, but considered sufficient by a priest charged with the care of a church. For such a cause a priest may expose the Ciborium containing the Blessed Sacrament in the open Tabernacle, but he may not take the Ciborium out of the Tabernacle, and hence may not bless the people with it. For, to use the words of Benedict XIV. "*Si Sacramentum non debet a*

Tabernaculo educi facile intelligitur in designatis casibus non esse illud efferendum . . . et cum eodem benedictionem impertiendam," (apud Gardellini *Instructio Clementina*).

To the questions proposed by our correspondent, then, we reply : (a) It is not against the Rubrics or decrees—*servatis servandis*, of course—to take the Pyx or the Ciborium from the Tabernacle and to bless the people with it. (b) A priest may not do this as often as he pleases, nor may he do it even once without the express permission of his bishop.

2. From what has just been said in reply to the preceding question the answer to the question of "A Subscriber" may be inferred. For from the decree there cited it follows that the Most Holy Sacrament cannot be exposed publicly, that is, outside the Tabernacle, whether it be shut up in a Ciborium, or placed in the Remonstrance, unless by permission of the bishop. This is still more clearly contained in another decree of the Sacred Congregation which we sub-join : "Nullo modo convenire nec posse per Regulares neque Saeculares publice exponi (Sacramentum Eucharistiae) sine expressa licentia Ordinarii, et ideo omnino prohibendos contrafacientes." (Apud Gardellini, *loc. cit.* n. 4.) Now as far as we know there is no decree limiting the number of Benedictions of the Most Holy Sacrament in a given church to one in the day. Hence a bishop may, if he so wish, give permission to have Benediction in the same church two or more times in the same day. With such permission, then, Benediction may be repeated ; without it, or simply on the authority of the priest in charge of the church, it would not, as is clear from the decrees given above, be lawful to have a second Benediction.

3. (a) The question regarding the prayer to be recited after the Litany of the Blessed Virgin when sung at Benediction was discussed in the RECORD, third series, vol. iii, p. 314. The opinion there expressed is that the prayer should not be changed with the seasons, but should be always *Concede nos*, &c. The reason advanced seems to us unanswerable. The prayer *Concede* is the prayer, and the only prayer, given after the Litany in Pustet's edition of the Ritual, every page of which was submitted to the Sacred

Congregation. Now, it is well known that this Litany is sung at Benediction at all times of the year. Hence we are of opinion that in so accurate an edition of the Ritual as Pustet's professes to be, some note should be inserted telling us to change the prayer of the Litany with the seasons, if the Sacred Congregation considered that such a change should be made. From the absence of all note or sign to that effect we are forced to conclude that the prayer is not to be changed.

(b) The prayer of the day, that is, the proper prayer of the Feast or Office celebrated on a given day, may be recited at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, except on the Feast and within the Octave of Corpus Christi, as is clear from the reply of the Sacred Congregation to the following question :—

In Oratione quadraginta Horarum, eoque magis in Festo Corporis Christi, duplicibusque primae et secundae classis quum populo benedicitur post *Tantum ergo* etc. quaeritur.

“An unica tantum Oratione de Sanctissimo Sacramento dicenda sit vel addi possit aliqua collecta nempe Principis etc.”

To this question the Sacred Congregation replied :—

“Affirmative in Oratione quadraginta Horarum et duplicibus primae et secundae classis, negative vero in Festo et per Octavam Corporis Christi.”

Hence not only the prayer of the day but any approved prayer may be said. And furthermore it would seem that the number of prayers which may be said need not be confined to one. Indeed, according to Hughes (*The Ceremonies of High Mass*, p. 135), it is customary in Rome to sing at the Benediction the prayer of the feast, the prayer for the Pope, and all the commemorations made in the Mass of the day.

We have stated that these prayers may be said after the *Deus qui nobis*, but we see no reason why they might not just as well be said after the *Concede* which is recited after the Litany. Our correspondent is right in thinking that Hughes approves of this. Not only does he approve of it, but he says that it is actually the custom in Rome. Neither is it contrary to De Herdt. For to sing or recite a prayer after the Litany, is not to add anything to the Litany. Besides,

as our correspondent rightly suspects, and, indeed, as is clear from De Herdt himself, the prohibition only refers to additions to the petitions.

II.

ANNIVERSARY MASS "DE REQUIEM." WHAT MASS SHOULD BE SAID?

1. "Sometimes an Anniversary Office and High Mass are celebrated by the wish of a friend for a deceased person. This Office, etc., enjoys no privilege. I am anxious to know what Mass should be said on such an occasion. Should it be the Mass *In Anniversario Defunctorum*, or the *Missa Quotidiana*?

2. "Again, in some colleges a custom exists of celebrating annually a Solemn Office and Mass for deceased benefactors. Here the same difficulty about the Mass to be said occurs. I wish you to understand that in neither case does the Office enjoy any privilege.

"An answer in the RECORD will oblige yours sincerely,

"SACERDOS."

1. A Solemn Office and Mass *de Requiem* if celebrated on the real anniversary of the death or burial of the deceased is always privileged, whether it was provided for by the will of the deceased person himself, or founded by another in his behalf, or is merely asked for each year, or in any particular year by a friend. The first two cases are so well-known that it would be superfluous to quote any authority in support of them. As the third case is not so generally known, and moreover, as we are at present more immediately concerned with it, we give a reply of the Sacred Congregation of the 19th June, 1700, in which it is expressly stated that such an Anniversary Mass may be said on a double minor. The question was asked:—

"Utrum ex privata devotione parochianorum petentium saepius per annum Anniversaria pro defunctis parentibus, fratribus, amicis et aliis, Missa Solemnis in ruralibus Ecclesiis cantari possit de Requiem in festo duplici minori?"

To this the Congregation replied:—

"Affirmative, dummodo sermo sit de die vere Anniversaria a die obitus."

Now since "Sacerdos" takes such care to remind us that the Anniversary Office of which he speaks enjoys no

privilege, we must understand him to refer to an Office celebrated on a day different from the real anniversary of the death or burial. Such Office would not differ from an ordinary Office *per annum*, and hence the *Missa Quotidiana* should be said.

There is just one other sense in which we may understand our esteemed correspondent. If in the case he makes it was intended that the Office and Mass should be celebrated on the true anniversary day, but because that day was impeded by a feast of higher than double-minor rite the Office had to be transferred to another day, then it would enjoy no privilege. In this case not the *Missa Quotidiana*, but the Anniversary Mass should be chosen.

2. In the second case, as our esteemed correspondent again reminds us, the Office enjoys no privilege and consequently can be said only on a day on which an ordinary Requiem Mass is permitted. The Anniversary Mass should be said in this case as we learn from a reply of the Congregation of Rites of March 5, 1870, to a question similar to the one we are now discussing. The question was in these terms:—

“In Metropolitana Olomucensi a fundatione Capituli celebrantur quotannis quinque Missae Solemnnes, quarum una pro Benefactoribus Cum autem hi omnes recensiti non una eademque die obierunt, quaeritur utrum praedictae Missae celebrari debeant ut in Anniversario defunctorum, vel potius ut in Missis quotidianis.”

“Affirmative” was the reply “ad primam partem; negative ad secundam.”

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE ORAL SYSTEM OF TEACHING THE DEAF AND DUMB.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I am an unwilling contributor to this controversy, but having been personally alluded to by the Rev E. W. Dawson on page 1105 of the December number of the I. E. RECORD as an oralist, I feel in duty bound to set both your readers and Mr Dawson right.

Mr. Dawson while attempting to cast discredit upon the general

statements of the author of some observations on the oral system of Teaching the Deaf and Dumb, because some of them are held to be erroneous, unfortunately lays himself open to precisely the same charge. He says, "if his comment on this, the gravest of all his points, is so unfaithful to the text book, his other observations may justly be regarded with suspicion, until their truth is confirmed." So that if any of Mr. Dawson's statements are not strictly true, his others according to his own argument may also be regarded with suspicion. "Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones."

Mr. Dawson was, he says, careful in the whole of his (first) reply to make no assertion which he did not know to be true from personal knowledge. This cannot, however, be said to apply to his second letter, for in reference to my late *brother*, the Rev. Samuel Smith, he says, "since the death of this truly charitable man, his *son* who is headmaster of the public institution at Bristol, *has adopted the oral system for his school.*" The error in the relationship is a small and unimportant matter, but the assertion which I have put in italics seems to have been made in utter carelessness, for nothing could possibly be farther from the truth, and there is not the smallest particle of foundation for it. On the contrary, I am among the not inconsiderable number of those who have not been carried away by the tide of oralism, but have had the courage of their opinions, and until I have proof more convincing of the superiority of the oral system as applicable to all *bona fide* deaf and dumb children, I see no reason for abandoning a system which is capable of educating the deaf and dumb to a very high degree, and of rendering them such useful and respectable members of society as it has in thousands of instances succeeded in doing.

Again the statement that Mr. Elliott has held the head mastership of the London Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb for a period of *twenty-five* years appears to have been made equally at random, for his appointment to the mastership of the Margate Branch was made in 1876, and as head of the whole establishment in 1878, barely *ten* years ago. This, it is scarcely necessary to say, is merely to show the want of care on Mr. Dawson's part, and not to detract from the merits of Mr. Elliott.

There are several other statements that would not bear close investigation, and opinions from which I altogether dissent, but it would occupy too much time and space to follow Mr. Dawson carefully through his lengthy letter. One more I must, however, not pass over, viz., "since that time (1877) so many have changed their opinions, that now most of the English schools have adopted the oral

system." This assertion is as delusive as it is extravagant. If, as it would seem, Mr. Dawson wishes to convey the idea that most of the English schools are, as he claims for his own at Boston Spa, teaching exclusively by means of speech and lip-reading, he will create upon the minds of your readers a very wrong impression. That many of the schools have adopted *some* oral teaching is no doubt true, but that amounts in most instances to nothing more than the "combined" system, which they do not even profess to have exceeded. It must be understood that I am now speaking of the old established public institutions, and not of private schools or those "founded by foreigners." Now excluding the London and Manchester schools, which have attained to the ideal position of having two departments—one oral and the other manual, for the separation of those who can from those who cannot profit by oral teaching, the schools professing to teach on the oral system are *four* in number, and even these are not allowed by purists to be "pure oral" schools. Against these *six* oral schools we have *seventeen* combined or manual, or, including the manual departments of London and Manchester, *nineteen*, the means of instruction mainly relied upon in a large majority of these being, not speech and lip-reading, but signs and the manual alphabet. The change of opinion and practice has therefore been very small in proportion to what Mr. Dawson fondly imagines. Taking the strict definition of a "German" system, or "pure oral" school to be one that rigidly excludes signs and the manual alphabet, I venture to say that not one of the six can honestly be said to satisfy this condition; that is to say, where the manual alphabet is unknown and unpractised among the pupils.

Mr. Howard, headmaster of the Yorkshire Institution at Doncaster, recognising its value to the pupils in after life, says, in a paper on *Our Pupils and their Future*, "There is one other matter which touches upon such tender ground that, as a 'pure oral' teacher, nothing but my heartfelt conviction of its importance would permit me publicly to advocate, that is, a feeling that a manual alphabet will always prove a boon to the deaf, 'oral' or silent alike when they go out into the world and have to mix daily and hourly with hearing persons. Taking into consideration the slovenly manner in which nine-tenths of the ordinary speaking population utter their words, the deaf have but small chance of reading readily the lips of more than one-tenth of those with whom they come into contact in daily life." Mr. Dawson also advocates occasional recourse to "the means used by those educated under the sign-system, viz., writing, manual alphabet and signs." To have recourse to the manual alphabet at all, as in

most cases they undoubtedly do, is surely to acknowledge its superiority as a certain means of communication, and to admit that speech and lip-reading fail to fulfil the claim that they enable the deaf, taught on the oral system, "to dispense entirely with signs and the finger alphabet and with the necessity of using pencil and tablets."

In his reply to the "Fourth Objection"—"The oral system is wanting in adaptability in a very large number of deaf-mutes who can be taught by the sign-system," Mr. Dawson objects to the evidence or statistics of Mr. Weld because they were forty years old, and flatters himself that your readers will not allow themselves to be influenced by them. But I must remind him that Mr. Weld's enquiries were made, not in England, but in the home of the "German" system, which was not in its mere infancy, but had even then been in existence about seventy years!

In conclusion allow me to give a few brief extracts from a paper on *The Results of the Oral Method in Germany*, written by a German teacher in the organ of the German Institutions for the Deaf, for December, 1886, bearing upon this subject and the value of signs in religious institutions.

"The German school so far achieves neither what it desires nor what it promises. The same sentiment is expressed by Principal Vatter,¹ who complains in No. 1 of the *Organ* for 1885, that, "while the German method proceeds to win recognition abroad, it fails to make good its claims in the land of its birth. These censures are well founded, for they are supported by existing facts."

"The remark of Jørgensen still holds good that "hundreds upon hundreds of deaf-mute pupils leave the institutions annually with such a minimum of knowledge and of ability to speak as to be below all criticism . . . There must be separation of schools."

"Experience shows us every day that with a certain percentage of our deaf pupils, the results in articulation are almost *nil*, and yet that these children must be regarded as capable of education, since from their own resources and powers they create a gesture language, or readily adopt that already existing at the institution, use the same intelligently, and in every way give the impression of being entirely rational."

It is not a little remarkable that while Mr. Dawson sees in oral teaching such a perfect means of instruction applicable to all but about 6 per cent of his pupils, and these imbeciles, the German teachers are so painfully alive to its imperfections and shortcomings.

Thanking you for the space afforded me,

I am, your obedient Servant,

W. B. SMITH.

Institution for the Deaf and Dumb,

Bristol, 31st December, 1887.

¹ Principal of the Institution at Frankfort-on-the-Main; editor-in-chief of the *Organ*.

DOCUMENTS.

TRANSLATION OF AN INDULGENCE WITH THE FEAST FOR WHICH IT IS GRANTED.

SUMMARY.

When a Feast, which has an Indulgence attached to it, is transferred to another day of the month in *perpetuum*, the Indulgence is also transferred with the Feast.

The Calendar which one regularly follows—whether it be the Roman, or the diocesan, or the Calendar of the Order or of the Sodality—will determine for each individual the question of both the Feast and the Indulgence.

S. CONGREGATIO INDULGENTIAHUM.

Utrum indulgentiam alicui festo adjunctam lucretur quisquis die ipsa juxta Kalendarium Breviarii Romani, vel potius juxta Kalendarium unius cujusque dioecesis. Ordinis, etc.

Item qui sodalitati cuicumque nomen dederunt, an indulgentias acquirant die in qua festum celebratur in Ordine regulari, ad quem attinet dicta sodalitas, licet sit diversa a die Kalendarii Romani, vel dioecessani?

R^{ESP.} Indulgentiam acquiri a Christifidelibus die fixa et rite constituta in sua dioecesi; a regularibus Ordinibus die rite constituta in suo Kalendario; ab hominibus, qui sodalitati nomen dederint, quae ad regularem Ordinem attineat, indulgentiam acquiri die rite constituta in Kalendario dioecesis, vel in Kalendario Ordinis, si istius modi privilegio gaudeant, non tamen in utraque die.

1°. Utrum, translato festo in perpetuum et perpetuo ad aliam diem sive ex speciali decreto S. R. C. sive ex praecepto rubricarum assignato, simul ad eandem diem iterum festo assignatam transferatur indulgentia eidem festo concessa, licet festum celebretur sine solemnitate et publica functione?

Et quatenus affirmative:

2°. Utrum eadem translatio indulgentiae, fiat tam in casu quo translatio perpetua festi sit pro toto Ordine, quam in casu perpetuae translationis festi pro sola regulari provincia?

3°. Cum festum assignatum est ad quamdam diem pro provincia, et in aliqua dioecesi, vel in aliquo coenobio, ob occurrentiam alterius festi praeferendi, translatum sit et perpetuo assignatum ad aliam diem, utrum indulgentia festo tributa adscribenda sit pro singulis coenobiis ad diem quo unumquodque festum celebrat, vel potius sit

retinenda tanquam lucrabilis in omnibus coenobiis eadem die assignata pro provincia, dummodo tamen exceptio non sit facienda ratione solemnitatis vel externae publicae celebrationis?

4°. Quando aliquod festum ex novo indulto Kalendario adjungendum, eo quod impediatur die propria ad sequentem primam diem liberam transferri et assignari debet, si ei concessa sit indulgentia, utrum haec adscribenda sit diei quo festum assignatur fixe in provincia, et quoad omnia provinciae coenobia, quamvis non in omnibus festum eadem die locum habeat?

5°. Utrum indulgentiae tributae alicui festo pro universis fidelibus cum conditione visitandi ecclesias determinatas Regularium, lucrari possint ab omnibus Christifidelibus, etiamsi ejusdem festi celebratio cum indulgentia alia die in dioecesi locum habeat?

RESP. Ad 1^m et 2^m : Affirmative.

Ad 3^m, 4^m et 5^m : Affirmative juxta modum, nempe indulgentia semel tantum a singulis respective lucrari potest.

12 Jan. 1878.

A PRIEST ACCEPTING WORK OUTSIDE HIS DIOCESE.

SUMMARY.

Without the permission of the bishop of the diocese for which a priest was ordained, he cannot leave the diocese to undertake work elsewhere.

CALARITANA SEU UXELLEN. EXCARDINATIONIS ET NOMINATIONIS.

Die 29 Januarii 1887.

Sess. 21 cap. 2 De reform.

COMPENDIUM FACTI. Vacante in metropolitana Ecclesia Calaritana praebenda canonici poenitentiarum, ad concursum, legitime indictum pro die 11 octobris 1886, convenerunt Raymundus Ibba canonicus theologus cathedralis Uxellensis, et sacerdos Daniel Vidili, qui, quamvis extraneus legitime nunc in Dioecesi Calaritana dicitur incardinatus. Canonicus autem Ibba, inconsulto suo Episcopo illuc venerat.

Ex bulla *Nuper pro parte* Clementis XIV. canonici theologi electio in Sardinia competit Episcopo una simul cum capitulo. Itaque examine a concurrentibus peracto, capitulum ad scrutinium convenit; et in eo canonicus Ibba decem suffragia seu unanimitatem votorum reportavit, dum sacerdos Vidili duo tantummodo vota favorabilia retulit, cetera vero contraria.

Archiepiscopus, re cognita, a voto quidem abstinuit; et rem Uxellensi Episcopo communicans, eum hortabatur ne electioni canonici

Ibba obsisteret, plura ad hoc adducens motiva. At hic Praesul allegata motiva rejecit, et Archiepiscopo significavit, se ob ecclesiae suae necessitates haud posse permittere hunc sacerdotem discedere. Probus enim omnium consensu est ac doctus, et a pluribus annis dogmaticae ac a Scripturae lectiones in Seminario Uxellensi tradit. Imo cum scholasticus annus tunc jam inciperet, datis prius amicalibus litteris, et comminata dein suspensione, canonicum Ibba ad residentiam et ad assuetum magisterii munus revocavit.

Paruit quidem Ibba; et nuncium non misit electioni de se factae ad Calaritanam Poenitentiarium, quam imo consequi peroptat, juxta etiam capituli, imo et Archiepiscopi votum. Quapropter Archiepiscopus litteras ad S. C. C. dedit, postulans approbationem electionis canonici Ibba.

DUBIUM.

An excardinatio et electio sacerdotis Ibba ad Poenitentiarium Calaritanam sit admittenda in casu.

RESOLUTIO. Sacra Cong. Concilii re discussa sub die 29 Januarii 1887, censuit respondere: *Negative et fiat novus concursus.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THOMAS A KEMPIS. By Francis Richard Cruise, M.D.
London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

Although the *Imitation of Christ* is now known and loved in every Christian land, and even in the remotest corners of the world, into which Christianity has only recently penetrated, it is hardly too much to say that there is no country in which it is held in more affectionate esteem, than it is in this island of ours. To many an Irish heart it has brought for centuries past the sweet balm of consolation. It has taught them indeed, that those who follow Christ, and willingly bear His cross, do not walk in darkness. It has cheered them in many a struggle, strengthened them in danger, and filled them with the unction of love for the society and the guidance of our Blessed Lord. Many too it has drawn away from the snares of sin and worldliness and taught them in the beautiful words of the second book that:—

“The love of Things created is deceitful and inconstant:
The love of Jesus faithful and enduring.”

In no book that has come, as Fontenelle says, from the “hand of

man," are we lead to realize so fully, the words of the Master, "quia mitis sum et humilis corde," and that his "yoke is sweet, and his burden light." It appeals to the noblest, and at the same time to the most delicate sentiments of the human heart, as when it tells us—

"Love Him and keep Him for thy friend who, when all forsake thee, will not leave thee, nor suffer thee to perish finally."

The nature of its persuasion is so strong and withal so gentle, that it suits every age, and rank and condition, and brings all under the sway of the same divine influence; for

"What can the world give thee without Jesus."

"If Jesus be with thee, no foe can harm thee; and if thou drive Him from thee and lose Him, to whom wilt thou fly?"

"We ought rather to choose to have the whole world against us than offend Jesus."

Therefore, every thing that concerns the *Imitation* is of great importance in the eyes of Irish Catholics, but it is particularly interesting and edifying to find an Irish Catholic gentleman, actively engaged in one of the most engrossing of professions, devote so much time and labour to the study of the work and of its authorship. The result of Dr. Cruise's study, and of his own deep devotion to Saint Thomas à Kempis, is contained in this work. He divides his subject into five parts. In the first he gives some general considerations on the nature of the *Imitation*, and quotes several passages from the works of eminent writers, giving testimony to its wonderful power. In the second part we have an accurate account of the formation of the "Congregation of Common Life," and of the Convents of Windesheim and Agnetenberg. The sketches of the lives of the Venerable Gerard Groot, and of Florentius Radewyn, are particularly interesting. The third part is devoted to the life and writings of St. Thomas à Kempis. We are told in very vivid language how, while still almost a child, he left his poor parents and his humble home at Kempen, and travelled alone all the way to Deventer. From Deventer he went in search of his elder brother to Windesheim and returned again to the former place to receive his education. The fathers of Deventer were now according to the pious wish of Gerard Groot, affiliated to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. Here Thomas spent seven years of his life, surrounded by holy youths who encouraged him, and vied with him in every walk of virtue and piety. Then he betook himself to another house of the order, Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, of which his brother had been appointed Prior. He joined

the order there, and commenced at once that life of prayer and sanctity which in due time blossomed forth into the great works, the principal of which are the *Soliloquy of the Soul*, the *Elevation of the Mind*, and the *Imitation of Christ*.

The fourth part is occupied with the discussion as to the authorship of the *Imitation*. It is a clear and methodical exposition of the claims of St. Thomas à Kempis. Before reading this part of the work, we went through the arguments set forth by M. Vert in favour of the great Chancellor Gerson, and those of Mgr. Puyol and Dom Wolfsgrüber in favour of Gersen of Vercelli, and it appears to us that there is nothing advanced by them of any importance that is not met often with full, but always with fair success by Dr. Cruise. His evidence in favour of Saint Thomas à Kempis is derived from contemporary witnesses, from external proofs manifested by the manuscripts, and from the internal nature of the work itself. He then applies these three tests to the other candidates, and to the theories of M. Arthur Loth, and Père Dénifle, and concludes that there can be no doubt as to the claims of St. Thomas. The author evidently took great pains with this part of his work. He visited the Burgundian library at Brussels several times to examine the manuscripts that were brought there from Agnetenberg. He visited several other European libraries with a similar object. He shows a practical knowledge of at least four or five languages, and he evidently knows enough about paleography to be able, if not to make a good guess himself as to the date of a manuscript, at least to be a good judge of the qualifications of others.

In the fifth section we have a description of the author's visit to the scenes of St. Thomas' life and labours with pencil sketches of Kempen, Deventer, Windesheim, and Agnetenberg, and finally an authentic portrait of the saint.

This is necessarily a brief outline of the volume. It is impossible to read it without much profit and edification. A spirit of very deep and genuine piety, can be traced through it from the outset.

The faults to be found are, on the other hand, in our opinion, few and of little importance. In the first part, as the author went in for giving extracts at all, we should have been glad to see a few short ones from Fénelon, Leibnitz, St. Francis of Sales, and Joseph de Maistre. We are inclined to think that the rather morbid sentimentality of Madame George Eliot, was hardly the happiest choice that could have been made for a quotation. Again from a literary point of view we think that the extract from Brother Azarias, striking though it undoubtedly is and very beautiful, is altogether too long and dis-

proportionate to the rest of that section of the essay. When one goes to read a book of this kind, he likes to read the author himself rather than seventeen pages running of a totally different writer, especially when Dr. Cruise could have given us just as good matter in his own words with occasional assistance, if necessary, from other sources.

In the third part of the work the lives of Lubert Berner, Henry Brune, Gerard of Zutphen and John Ketel, are rather inconveniently interwoven with that of the saint himself, who is lost from the view for a long time.

In the fourth part, as we have said, Dr. Cruise displays a spirit of great research, and the patience with which he discusses each detail contrasts very favourably with the tone of most other writers on the same subject. There is a complete absence of the arrogance of Mgr. Puyol on the headlong rush of the Gersenists generally. Yet Dr. Cruise does not succeed in concealing that he regards the controversy carried on in opposition to his views as very vexatious. The emphasis with which he concludes some of his arguments, as if each one were sufficient to sustain his thesis by itself alone, takes away somewhat from the force of his proofs. Better give the argument for what it is worth, and let the reader judge. For instance there are philologists who hold that in Mgr. Malou's list of Flemish idioms there is not a single one which could not be got over by the opponents of St. Thomas; and Gence makes out a very striking parallel between the phrases and idioms of the *Imitation*, and those of Gerson's other works. Yet Dr. Cruise is very emphatic as to the impossibility of both these things, and in the contrast which he draws between the *Imitation* and *Meditatio Cordis*, &c., he makes sweeping charges of aridity and diffuse grandiloquence against Gerson, which in our opinion are not at all justifiable. These internal arguments have their weight, no doubt, in conjunction with the extrinsic proofs, which tell so convincingly for Saint Thomas, but, by themselves they would hardly be sufficient for anyone.

At page 260, Dr. Cruise gives some fatherly advice to the good Cardinal Alimonda, Archbishop of Turin, who is a supporter of the claims of the Abbot of Vercelli. It sounds rather strong in our ears to hear his Eminence referred to Jupiter's claim for existence, because there are statues of Minerva, who came out of his brain, to be found in Italy.

Finally there was a theory started in France some years ago, of which we find nothing in Dr. Cruise's book. It was supported by some distinguished writers, amongst whom were M. Michelet, M.

Victor Leclerc, and M. Ampère, and was to the effect, that as the Homeric poems were long disseminated. and sung through Greece, and were in reality the effusions of sundry bards collected by the care of Pisistratus and Hipparchus, so the *Imitation* was long known in the monasteries of the middle ages before it was brought into its present perfect shape; that in reality it was the work of many hands, and contained the condensed thoughts of many minds. This will explain, according to those authors, the vast difference of thought, sentiment and language noticeable in various parts of the work, as well as the simultaneous existence of so many manuscripts in several monasteries of Europe. There can no longer be any objection to these being "compiled" in Agnetenberg, or Mœlck, or Vercelli, by à Kempis or Gerson, by Cambaco or Gersen. Probably Dr. Cruise was convinced that this theory, plausible though it may appear, would not long stand his scientific test, and so set it aside as unworthy of notice.

These observations do not, however, modify our opinion that the book is a truly excellent one. It is most creditable to a Catholic layman, and even apart from the controversy may be read with pleasure and profit by all classes of readers. We are sure that when Dr. Cruise's fame as a physician will have perished, his name will be gratefully remembered as the author of this work. J. F. H.

JOHN CANADA OR NEW FRANCE. Sequel to THE CASTLE OF COETQUEN and THE TREASURE OF THE ABBEY. Translated from the French of Raoul De Navery, by A. W. Chetwode. Dublin: Gill & Son, 1887.

HAVING read through the pages of *John Canada*, we can safely recommend it as an interesting story. As may be seen from the title page, it is a work from the French of Raoul de Navery, translated into English by A. W. Chetwode, and intended as a sequel to *The Castle of Coetquen* and *The Treasure of the Abbey*.

Its pages give a short account of the life and labours of "John Canada," whose zeal in defence of the Catholic faith has earned for him a martyr's crown, while his patriotism has identified his fortune with that of New France.

The author has been most successful in the accomplishment of his work. The delineation of character is faithful and natural—while the events described are highly interesting. He seems to hold the reader's feelings in perfect subjection. At one time we are spellbound, when reading of the captivity of Tanguy and Halgan in the Huron camp, at another the death of our hero deeply moves us.

This interesting story has not suffered at the hands of the translator, who has been most happy in the choice of language.

To the old as well as to the young *John Canada* will prove interesting, but especially to the latter, to whom by reason of its high moral tone it is a great boon.

The manner in which the work has been published reflects the highest credit on the firm of M. H. Gill & Son.

READINGS WITH THE SAINTS. London : Burns & Oates (Ltd.)

PREACHERS ought to be very grateful to the compiler of this little book. It contains the sayings of the saints on those subjects which a priest most frequently puts before his people. Faith, Hope, Charity, Occasions of Sin; these are a few of the many headings under which the extracts are arranged. The number of extracts on each subject varies with the importance of the subject; but on an average there are eight pages under each heading. The saints from whose writings most of the selections have been made are those who were remarkable for preaching, and for their influence over their fellow men: St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Francis Xavier, St. Francis of Sales, St. Vincent of Paul, Curé d'Ars, &c. As Cardinal Manning says in his prefatory letter, this book requires no censor, for everything it contains is taken from the writings of those whose sanctity and orthodoxy have been acknowledged by the Church.

GUIDE TO THE CHURCH. Dublin : Duffy & Son.

THE *Guide to the Church* will be useful to different classes of readers. Catholics will find it an easily accessible source of much valuable information, and it may be recommended to Protestants anxious to examine the grounds of Catholic faith. It treats of "The Marks of the True Church," "The Rule of Faith," "The Authority of the Pope," and many kindred questions. It contains also some remarkable testimonies in favour of the Catholic Church given by Protestant authorities, a list of the Popes, a treatise on the "Little Virtues," a compendium of controversy, &c., &c.

MAXIMS AND COUNSELS OF ST. LIGUORI. Dublin : Gill & Son

THIS tiny volume contains maxims for every day in the year. These are all extracts from the works of St. Liguori, and the name of their sainted author is a sufficient guarantee of their worth.

THE IRISH

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THE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK,

Apostle of Ireland.

WITH A PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF THE SOURCES OF THE
SAINT'S HISTORY.

BY

WILLIAM BULLEN MORRIS,

PRIEST OF THE ORATORY OF ST. PHILIP NERI.

BROWNE & NOLAN, NASSAU-STREET, DUBLIN.

would make him a myth. The works of these writers, and of others of their class, crumble like a house of cards, under the crushing criticism of Dr. Lanigan, whose account of St. Patrick's external acts is a splendid specimen of historical criticism, though sadly defective as a picture of the inner life of the saint. In our own time, the life of St. Patrick has been treated from different points of view by Dr. Todd, and

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Fr. Shearman, both men of undoubted ability, deeply read in Patrician literature, and in Irish archaeology generally. But they have done nothing to aid towards any definite conclusion as to the life of St. Patrick. Dr. Todd revived most of the exploded theories of his Protestant predecessor. According to him St. Patrick had neither his mission nor his doctrine from Rome. Father Shearman was so amazed at the multiplicity and magnitude of St. Patrick's labours, that he considerably distributed them amongst three at least of the name, and thus we had not one St. Patrick, but three to evangelize us. Both works would be more correctly described, not as lives, but as "Historic doubts concerning St. Patrick." Just recently Professor Stokes in his *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, and also in an article in *Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography* (vol. iv), gives us his view of St. Patrick's life and works. But it is the old, old story—no Roman mission and anti-Roman doctrine, and strange to say, St. Patrick's statement, that his father was a deacon, and his grand-father a priest, is made the grounds of an innuendo against clerical celibacy; an insinuation that would be intelligible coming from a Rev. pater-familias of pronounced "Church Missionary" principles, but that is saddening and sickening when coming from one who is supposed to be a scholar.

It is a relief, a genuine pleasure, to turn away from such literature to Father Morris's excellent *Life of St. Patrick*. The present writer has even yet a distinct recollection of the impression made on his mind some years ago by the reading of the first edition of Father Morris's book. He then felt for the first time that he could regard the life of St. Patrick, not as a historic puzzle, designed to prop a pet theory, but as a real "life" of a saint—a picture of the saint as he really was—setting forth the inner life of a soul always communing with God, as well as the saint's external history. Here, he felt, was the faithful life-like record of an extraordinary, a supernatural career—a record calculated to instruct, to edify, and to stir up within the reader's mind a devotion to the saint such as must have inspired the author in the composition of his work. And this feeling is revived by the perusal of the present edition. The time elapsed since the

first edition appeared has been well and diligently employed by Father Morris. With him, to study the acts, and write the history of St. Patrick, is clearly a labour of love. He tells us that "it is now some twenty-five years since he began the critical study of the original sources of St. Patrick's history" (p. 11). And during that time "he has visited the chief places in Ireland and France, where local monuments and traditions illustrate the history of the Apostle of Ireland. He has also personally examined the so-called *Loca Patriciana* of Scotland" (p. 1). The fruits of all this study, thought, and observation, we have in this volume, to which pious Catholics, but more especially the spiritual children of St. Patrick, will accord a genuine welcome. No doubt Father Morris's labours during these years have been such as few men could endure; his path has been often thorny, and very often ill-defined. But he has been sustained by an enthusiastic devotion to his subject; and now that his work is completed—successfully completed—the consciousness that he has done well will make him soon forget that he has for so long borne the heat and burden of the day.

The secret of Father Morris's success is, that he has got the proper key to the extraordinary, the mysterious life and character of St. Patrick. He has taken the saint's own authentic writings as the foundation whereon to build. Whatever he finds in the various lives, and other records, in harmony with the saint's own words, he accepts, and arranges judiciously in its proper place in his *Life*. Whatever he finds in the lives, and other authorities, irreconcilable with the saint's own writings he rejects, if he cannot satisfactorily explain. And when he finds in the various authorities statements not contained in the saint's genuine writings, nor yet inconsistent with them, he judges such statements on their own merits, and with a calm discretion which the reader will seldom have cause to question. A *Life of St. Patrick*, built on such a foundation, and on such a plan, will be found consistent with itself, will be found singularly free from those *lana caprina* controversies that have so long disfigured the Life of our National Apostle; and best of all such a life will be a source of pleasure and profit to the pious reader.

Into the controversy on St. Patrick's birthplace, Father Morris does not enter. But he clearly regards Gaul as the saint's birthplace. His connexion with St. Martin, to whom he proceeded on his return from captivity, gives to this view a high degree of probability. Father Morris says "one mysterious witness, one abiding landmark on the line of our saint's journey, however, deserves special notice, for its own sake, as well as an evidence of the immemorial tradition which unites St. Martin and St. Patrick" (p. 73). The allusion here is to the famous tree, a black-thorn, which marks the spot where St. Patrick is believed to have crossed the Loire on his way to St. Martin's famous monastery of Marmoutier. Annually at Christmas time, and however intense the cold, this tree is covered with its celebrated flowers, the Flowers of St. Patrick. "And the tradition at St. Patrice, handed down from father to son affirms, that, for fifteen hundred years this phenomenon has been repeated at the same sacred season, since the day when St. Patrick, returning from Ireland, crossed the Loire to join St. Martin, and lay down to rest at the foot of this tree." (*Dublin Review*, January, 1883, p. 20.) Such a tradition existing for so long a time, and in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Martin's great monastery, strengthened, too, by other monuments in the vicinity of devotion to St. Patrick gives to the theory of his Gallic birth a probability which the advocates of any adverse theory will find very difficult to remove. But whatever be the value of the tradition in the controversy as to St. Patrick's birthplace, its history in the text and appendix forms one of the most attractive portions of Father Morris's book, and its perusal will repay the curiosity and gratify the devotion of the reader.

It has been already stated that the special excellence of Father Morris's book is his faithful delineation of St. Patrick's interior life. He says (p. 33) "the boy who before the dawn, on Slemish, 'was summoned to prayer by the snow, the ice, and the rain,' had already the first fruits of graces which were the pledge and promise of that plenitude of supernatural domination which flashes on our souls in those words of his Hymn of Tara, that sovereign faith and

love to which God has linked His omnipotence." God had literally led him into the desert that He might speak to his heart, and there on the bleak hill-side did He pour into the young captive's soul those abundant graces that prepared him for his extraordinary mission. Here, separated from friends and home, bereft of all earthly comfort, the young captive turned to Him who feeds the birds of the air, and gives to the lily of the field its beauty. There did he—God's grace helping him—learn that detachment from the world, which made him regard as nothing the sacrifices involved in his Apostolate: there did he lay the foundation of that profound humility which made him look on himself, as one of the least of men—"ignorant, and a sinner." There did he imbibe that spirit of prayer which, all his life long, was the secret of his power; and there too did his faith grow daily stronger, and his love of God every day more intense and ardent. No one can read, even cursorily, St. Patrick's *Confession*, without a feeling of bewilderment at the heights of sanctity to which God's grace carried him. And the reader of Father Morris's book will find this abundantly borne out by a beautiful selection of passages from the *Confession*, which he has judiciously interwoven with his text. Well and truly does Father Morris say:—"The man who, coming to Ireland in his old age, turned the current of her national life, and in the evening of his days converted a nation of warriors into a nation of saints, carrying men with him, not by flattering, but by extinguishing their passions; who looking back on his work at the end of his life, saw nothing of his own in it, so that, dazzled by the light, and oppressed by the mystery, he was fain to cry out, "Who am I, or what is my prayer, O Lord, who hast laid bare to me so much of Thy Divinity? such an one is the master, not the subject, of reason" (p. 14).

And this great sanctity, acknowledged and indisputable, of our National Apostle, affords us the best answer to many of the difficulties which captious or creedless critics bring against his history. There is a class of writers, very numerous, who discard as valueless the ancient lives of St. Patrick because of the many miracles recorded in them. Professor

Stokes is the latest specimen of this class. He says confidently:—"One universal canon of criticism is this—the more genuine and primitive the document, the more simple and natural, and, above all, the less miraculous; the later the document the more of legend and miracle is introduced" (*Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 31). And after giving some fancied proofs of his "one universal canon," he adds (p. 35), "These few specimens will, I am sure, satisfy you that valuable as these lives may be for folk-lore . . . they have no claims whatsoever to the position of real historical records." With this headlong dogmatism of the Trinity College Professor contrast the language of Father Morris. "The miracles of St. Patrick are unquestionably that part which may be fairly disputed without any dishonour to the saint himself. . . . They come to us on the authority of ordinary witnesses. It is quite possible that they were sometimes mistaken, and it is vain to attempt to prove that they were not. All that we can do is to ask those who believe in miracles why they should withhold from St. Patrick's witnesses the credence which they freely give to others. It cannot be said that miracles were unlikely under the circumstances, and as to their character, they only differ in degree and not in kind from those of other saints" (pp. 34-35). And again, "Miracles are the credentials of the heavenly messenger, and when they have secured the attention of his hearers their chief work is done" (p. 13). St. Patrick was a "heavenly messenger" sent to convert a pagan nation. Can any one, then, who believes in the *Acts of the Apostles*, deny that some extraordinary manifestations of God's power may be vouchsafed to such messengers to facilitate and confirm their work? That the gift of miracles has accompanied such apostolic labours is proved by the conversion of pagan nations from the days of St. Paul to those of St. Francis Xavier, and later even still. And the great personal sanctity of our Apostle would render it more likely that the gift would be accorded to him. It can be only a question of degree. It may be unreasonable to accept all the miracles recorded of St. Patrick, but it is certainly unreasonable to reject them all. It is merely a question of evidence, and it is no proof of great mental

powers, nor of sound mental training to put them out of court summarily as frivolous and absurd. Better, more reasonable far, to act on the principle laid down by Cardinal Newman in this beautiful passage :—" Were a miracle reported to me as wrought by a member of Parliament, or a bishop of the Establishment, or a Wesleyan preacher, I should repudiate the notion. Were it referred to a saint, or the relic of a saint, or the intercession of a saint, I should not be startled at it, though at first I might not believe it." For the supernatural events recorded of St. Patrick, which seem so incredible to those who measure the saints by their own standard, we require just as much respect as the rules of moral evidence demand from an intelligent, unprejudiced Christian who knows what a miracle is. But we can have no respect for the " one universal canon of criticism "—nor for the critic, that would discard as unauthentic—as mere folklore of recent date—ancient Irish documents for no other reason than that they record miracles and state certain points of Catholic doctrine. There were miracles and Catholic doctrines long before St. Patrick's time.

For twelve hundred years St. Patrick's character remained in the undisputed possession of his spiritual children. They lived, suffered, hoped, died in the profession of the faith which he brought them ; they invoked his intercession ; they gloried in his name. But the " Reformation " came, and to give it even a semblance of consistency it became necessary to " reform " St. Patrick himself, as well as his spiritual children. And hence the theory of the Religion of St. Patrick, started by Ussher, has been ever since the eternal ding-dong of Protestant controversialists. Into this controversy Father Morris does not enter. Why should he ? Are we not sick and tired " of routing the routed, and slaying the slain." Father Morris says :—" The Irish Church at home and abroad was proved to be Roman by her works, and by the ecclesiastical offices entrusted to her missionaries." " The fact that his [St. Patrick's] sons were founders of orthodox churches in other lands, is cogent evidence that they were orthodox at home " (pp. 25, 26). " St. Martin was St. Patrick's first spiritual master, and therefore the one most likely to make an

impression, and leave his mark on our saint's soul" (p. 84). "St. Patrick lived in what is truly called the age of the Doctors of the Church. He was the contemporary of St. Jerome, St. John Chrysostom, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine" (p. 90). "It is certain that St. Patrick was in relations with St. Germanus of Auxerre, and that under the guidance of this saint he was prepared for his episcopal consecration" (p. 102). And hence Father Morris very properly says:—"The wonder is, that with these great facts of history staring them in the face, Catholic writers should allow themselves to be entrapped and detained by the objections of those professional critics who do not take the trouble to learn the difference between a creed and a rubric" (pp. 24, 25). The truth of this remark is fully borne out by the use made of the Paschal controversy in determining the religion of St. Patrick, and the orthodoxy of the early Irish Church. It was a matter of *discipline*, not of *faith*, a "*rubric*," not a "*creed*," and as we shall just see is a very strong proof that St. Patrick had his mission as well as his doctrines from Rome. Father Morris rightly says that the Irish custom of celebrating Easter, which gave rise to a somewhat bitter and prolonged controversy in the seventh century, was nothing else than a Roman custom introduced by St. Patrick two hundred years before. (See also Smith's *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* Art. Easter, *Encyc. Theol.* of Wetzer and Welte and Jungman, *Diss.* 5). When St. Patrick came to Ireland the eighty-four years' cycle was used at Rome, and it so continued for nearly a hundred years subsequently. That cycle he brought with him to Ireland, and his disciples adhered to it. Now is not this fact of his adopting a Roman custom in preference to others then in use a strong presumptive proof of his submission to Roman authority? And the conduct of his disciples raises this presumption to a certainty. For in the controversy the Irish maintained that they got their faith and their customs from Rome, and the controversy ended by their sending a deputation to Rome to know their spiritual father's will (*Letters of St. Columbanus and Cumman*). St. Patrick spent a long part of his early life in France and in Italy. He was the disciple, probably the nephew, of St. Martin, who was so

much admired at Rome, that (as we learn from St. Paulinus of Nola), his life by Sulpitius Severus made fortunes for the Roman booksellers. And Paulinus himself says of him, that he was "a most perfect model of a Christian bishop." And with him St. Patrick spent just that period of life when his character and opinions would assume a definite shape. Then he was the friend of St. Germain, contemporary with some of the greatest lights of the Church, and must have met with many of them during his stay at Marmoutier. Surely then, no honest inquirer can hesitate in forming an estimate of the principles which St. Patrick must have imbibed from such teachers and companions, and in such circumstances. We know for certain the faith of his teachers and companions, we know for certain the faith of his disciples, therefore we can have no doubt as to his own.

This same reasoning is quite sufficient to settle the question of St. Patrick's Roman mission. A Roman mission, direct or indirect, is necessarily involved in the Roman Primacy. Now St. Patrick must have established in Ireland that religious system in which he himself was trained by St. Martin—the admired of the Roman Church, and by St. Germain, the Roman Legate, and of that system the Primacy of the Pope was the very corner stone. But such reasoning weighs little with controversialists who have a theory to maintain at any cost. The latest specimen of this class is Professor Stokes, and he deserves to be mentioned, not for the merit of his book (*Ireland and the Celtic Church*), for it has none, but because of his position. He says, "I do not indeed believe in the Roman mission of our national Apostle" (p. 48). "The writings of St. Patrick himself undoubtedly contain not even the remotest hint of such a mission" (p. 47). And he disbelieves it, "not only because his own language appears inconsistent with it, but also on broader grounds. People who read Church history through the spectacles of the nineteenth century are very apt to fancy that the Pope occupied then for the whole Western Church, the same position as he does now in the Roman Communion" (p. 49). And after informing us that, at present, the Congregation De Propaganda Fide regulates the work of Catholic missions, he

says: "But in the beginning of the fifth century it was not so [! !] The pope neither then exercised the control nor received the reverence afterwards yielded to him" (p. 49). Now what is the value of this negative argument (if argument it can be called) so much insisted on by Professor Stokes? Let the professor himself answer, as he does most truly, and effectually, in the article on St. Patrick, *written by him* for Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. "*The argument from silence is notoriously an unsafe one, there are so many reasons which may lead a writer to pass over even a burning topic in his day.*" Quite true. This "argument from silence" has been disposed of once for all in his reply to Dr. Todd by the present amiable and learned Vice-President of Maynooth College. In his *Ancient Church of Ireland* Dr. Gargan shows, in a manner which leaves nothing further to be said, that any reference to a Roman mission was altogether foreign to the scope of those writings of St. Patrick which have come down to us. Professor Stokes tells us that "the pope neither then exercised the control, nor received the reverence afterwards yielded to him." Indeed? Did not a pope restore St. Athanasius to his patriarchate? Did not another pope restore Flavian to Antioch, and another pope restore St. John Chrysostom to Constantinople? And were not many schismatics deposed from these and other sees by the authority of popes? Did not the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon pretty plainly testify their respect for the authority, and their reverence for the character of the Pope? And do not these facts prove that the pope "exercised control, and received reverence" in St. Patrick's time? Was not the Roman primacy accepted by St. Martin who instructed St. Patrick? by St. German with whom "he read the canons"? and by all the other great lights of that age? Why then is St. Patrick made an exception, or can it be that the Professor of History in Trinity College is unacquainted with the notorious facts just stated? Professor Stokes admits that "documents and traditions which date from the seventh century appear more or less to confirm" St. Patrick's Roman mission (pp. 47, 48). We find St. Columbanus in his letter to Pope Gregory II, stating that the Irish got

their faith from Rome; Cumman in his letter on the Paschal controversy reiterates the statement; Probus states that St. Patrick had his mission from St. Celestine. The Canon of St. Patrick in the *Book of Armagh*, decrees that *causae majores* are to be referred to Rome for final settlement. Now, if Professor Stokes were to find a catena of authorities of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, *denying* the primacy of the pope, how readily would he accept their denial? How loudly would he proclaim the value of his discovery? But when he finds them *affirming* that primacy why does he act otherwise? Because "all looks yellow to the jaundiced eye." Because there are "people [and the professor seems to be one of them] who read Church history through the spectacles of the nineteenth century," and who having certain reasons for denying the primacy of the pope in the nineteenth century, are anxious to involve in their heresy the saints and fathers of the fifth. Too late now to lay such clumsy snares for the children of St. Patrick, walking as they are in the meridian sun-light of the faith which he brought them. To that faith we have clung through trials of the most terrible kind, and we cling to it as tenaciously as ever, now that the long dark night is over, and the power of anti-Catholic bigotry broken—let us hope for ever. Secure now in our inheritance, we shall honour our spiritual father best by acting on the advice, beautifully paraphrased from his *Confession*, by Aubrey de Vere, to whom Father Morris pays a compliment as graceful as it is richly merited:—

"All ye who name my name in later times,
Say to this people, since vindictive rage
Tempted them too often, that their Patriarch gave
Pattern of pardon, ere in words he preached
That God who pardons. Wrongs if they endure
In after years, with fire of pardoning love,
Sin-slaying, bid them crown the head that erred,
For bread denied let them give Sacraments,
For darkness light, and for the House of Bondage
The glorious freedom of the sons of God."

Father Morris has done his work well. His book is a model of good type and tasteful execution, and will find a

place on the table of every Catholic who reveres the memory of St. Patrick. A large part of this edition is entirely new, and annexed to the work is a general index, excellently arranged, which will enable its readers to find out at a glance all the more important parts of the book. In language which the least educated can take in—and as beautiful as it is simple—Father Morris has told the history of our National Apostle. He paints, as none other of St. Patrick's biographers has painted, "the interior spirit and supernatural gifts" of our saint. He describes that extraordinary zeal, seldom equalled, even among Apostolic men, which sustained St. Patrick through his long, arduous labours—his great love for his disciples, so like that of his Divine Master, and that control which he exercised over the minds of men, attracting them, fascinating them by the irresistible force of the virtue which "went out from him." The spread of devotion to St. Patrick is one of the most patent facts of our time. All the world over, wherever the English language is spoken, his name is invoked, and churches are raised and dedicated to his honour by the sons of those to whom he brought the glad tidings of salvation fifteen hundred years ago. And just now, in that capital of the Christian world whence he got his mission, Irish generosity, prompted by Irish faith, is raising to him a worthy temple, *paying him back the deep debt so long due." And to Father Morris it must be a source of genuine happiness to contemplate his own part in that great supernatural movement. For he cannot but feel, as every one of his readers must feel, that love and devotion to our National Apostle will be intensified by the perusal of his excellent book.

J. MURPHY, C.C.

CREMATION.

CREMATION has formed the subject of many interesting and learned articles during the last few years. The question has been considered and discussed upon sanitary grounds, upon economic grounds, upon grounds of convenience and upon grounds of religion. In almost every case the process has been advocated, encouraged and approved of, yet so far at least with very little practical result. Exceedingly few bodies have been cremated, and the upholders of the more natural and usual method are silent and irresponsive to the invitation to follow the new departure. Either they regard the matter with supreme indifference, or if they are strong supporters of the earth-to-earth system, they are too confident of the strength of public opinion upon their side, to fear any immediate or extensive change in the ordinary form of burial.

Few, perhaps, take the trouble to study up the question, or care to learn all that may be said in its favour. Those few, however, who have given it due consideration will not fail to see that, regarded merely from a sanitary point of view, it is undoubtedly an improvement upon the old system. Even the economist will admit the advantage of the change almost as readily as the doctor and the town councillor. The only effective opposition that it is likely to encounter is on the grounds of religion and sentiment. Not that religion would be compromised of necessity; not that the body burned would be thereby disqualified for resurrection; but simply that our sense of the respect, and even in a certain measure our veneration for the human body would receive a severe shock, and still more because we would seem to be associating and sympathising with freemasons, atheists, and materialists, who have taken this pagan custom under their special patronage and protection. This is so well recognized at Rome, that a decree was published as recently as May 19th, 1886, prohibiting Catholics from making use of cremation in the disposal of their Christian dead. This is, after all, only in keeping with the most spontaneous of Christian instincts.

For to one who possesses the faith, the body is really a sacred thing. It is the temple of the Holy Spirit, and the medium of supernatural graces. In order that the soul may be cleansed it is the body that is washed in Holy Baptism; in order that the soul may be strengthened it is the body that is anointed in Confirmation. And as the hands are anointed with oil in the Sacrament of Orders, so in Holy Communion the tongue supports the sacred species under which the eternal Son of God Himself comes to feed and nourish our souls.

In the body too—even though it be cold and stiff—we recognise no ordinary lifeless thing. That, we argue, is not wholly and in every sense dead which may yet be roused to renewed action. Nay, that does but sleep which the trumpet's blast will awaken to renewed vigour and undiminished strength. Thus the human body possesses a nature and a destiny unlike all else. It is no common clay—no ordinary vessel which has served its purpose and has no further interest or use, and so may be flung aside. There is a history attached to it. Even its past history is wondrous and beautiful, but it has a history still to be unfolded and extending to the most distant future, far more marvellous still. We look upon the calm and placid face of the dead man, sleeping in his shroud. We scan the familiar features of a departed father or mother, and our Catholic instincts bring before our mind the words of the great Apostle:—"The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall rise again incorruptible. This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." We already hear in anticipation the solemn sound: we almost seem to witness the transformation. Before the gaze of faith the soul returns to claim its own, and the pallor of death gives place to the ineffable beauty of the risen body, now immortal and impassible. In a word the whole condition and attitude of our minds are related in an especial manner to the earthly remains of a devoted friend and we feel an instinctive reverence for every human form.

The instinct is natural and the feeling right. It is a direct consequence of our belief in a future life and a

general resurrection. To diminish this feeling, or even to disregard it, is unadvisable. It would tend to lessen the vividness and the intense realization of the great dogma itself on which the feeling rests. For it is always hard to lessen the shadow without at the same time lessening the substance. It is customary to laugh at sentiment: to ridicule and deride it. Yet sentiment is as much an element of our nature as reason, and has its share in the formation of our religious character. It is sometimes even so strong as to overbalance its legitimate rulers, common sense and prudence. This of course is sadly to be regretted. Yet it does not invalidate the truth that sentiment is worthy of a certain respect, and when not carried to excess, should be allowed its due weight. That it must not be allowed to outweigh reason, goes without saying and proves nothing—neither must an ounce outweigh a pound, but an ounce for all that has a certain value, and may sometimes turn the scale. So it is with sentiment.

To burn the body in an hour is undoubtedly a more expeditious plan, and may also be a more scientific, and a safer one, than to allow it to rot gradually under ground. There may be many considerations to recommend it, but nevertheless it wounds our sensibilities. We feel ourselves to be offending against the natural expression of the veneration due to a deceased friend. This may be deemed a foolish feeling, but we are conscious that a continuous disregard of the expression of our veneration will tend very rapidly to destroy the veneration itself. We have endeavoured to analyse the causes of this feeling. It appears to us that it may be accounted for on the grounds that we associate a certain want of respect—first, with any display of impatience to hasten dissolution; secondly, with any active and positive co-operation of our own in producing the rapid incineration here referred to.

The building of the furnace and the kindling of the flames suggest a very different frame of mind to that which would be associated with the simple lowering of the body into the grave and the leaving it there for the earth to complete the sad work of destruction, without any aid from

us, and without our offering any active co-operation. Again it may be urged, this too is all sentiment. True. But as we have already remarked, sentiment has an important office in the economy of nature. It is often the custodian of important truths, and certainly one of their most powerful indices. Our feelings are in a large sense dependent upon our belief, and our belief itself is not wholly uninfluenced by our feelings. Thus, to give a single instance, a belief in our own weakness and dependence on God is helped by placing ourselves in a position to realize it. Though humility in prayer is really compatible with any position, still, who does not find it easier to excite emotions of self abasement when prostrate in the dust than when seated in an arm-chair, or astride a high-stepping and gaily caparisoned palfrey? Neither position has *in se* anything to do with the possession of the virtue, yet *per accidens* it influences our mind. In the same way the loving tenderness towards even the lifeless body of a man helps to affect ourselves and others with a strong sense of its future destiny and ultimate resurrection.

To those who urge the advantages of cremation and its many useful consequences, we reply, We are not utilitarians. Were the advantages very great they might outweigh our reluctance. We may quite conceive circumstances—such circumstances may even exist in the vast metropolis at this present moment—in which the utility of such a rapid and economic method might force us to waive the objections of sentiment, if not of religion, and hence induce us to seek a dispensation from the decree of the Congregation of the Inquisition, but the practice would assuredly not be permitted universally, nor ever become generally adopted by the Church. We repeat, We are not utilitarians. We do not wish to be ruled and directed in every detail of life by mere tangible gains and by advantages which may be tabulated and classified. Our hearts and sentiments demand a little breathing room too and freedom for exercise. The over urging of utilitarian principles is becoming just a trifle oppressive.

Besides, if everything is to be determined by rules of

utility, and if that is to be the *summum bonum* and the criterion of all ways and means, why stop at cremation?

To hand the urn of cremated ashes to the disconsolate widow or weeping orphan is not the most profitable way of disposing of them. Indeed that too is sentimentality as far as it goes. Why not strew them over the turnip field, or enrich the crop of new year's grass by adding to the soil this valuable chemical compound? Nay, let us go yet further. Why, indeed, burn the body at all? Why not rather turn the bones into pipe-stems and needlecases, and tan the skin for winter cloaks or summer shoes; throwing only the refuse into the fire?

Why not indeed? The answer is obvious. It is not because we deny the greater usefulness of such a procedure, since its usefulness or non-usefulness does not enter for one moment into our calculations. It is wholly because we regard such a suggestion as an outrage on our feelings, and we resent the outrage. It is because it is an insult to our best and tenderest impulses, and we repel the insult with horror, pain, and indignation. We are naturally impatient at a proposal which deprives us of the natural expression and the outward signs of reverence. We would be almost inclined to doubt the sincerity even of our own declarations did we permit all external indications of them to be crushed out by motives of mere expediency. Perhaps the unpleasant suggestions we are venturing to make may be deemed offensive to good taste. Our excuse must be that it is only by pressing out a theory to its extreme consequences that we can fully realise its weakness and inconclusiveness. That very sentiment which causes us to repel the proposal of manufacturing the bones of our relatives into buttons and their fibres into fiddle strings, is the same at bottom as that which induces us to oppose cremation; it is the same in kind but differs in degree. The opposition in the former case is vastly greater, but in both cases it is reducible to a matter of mere sentiment, and a sentiment which may easily be defended and which ought to be encouraged.

Then, as if to give weight to our preference, we have the constant and universal Christian tradition. In all ages the

burying of the dead has been associated with a belief in the resurrection. The Old Testament contains abundant evidence of this, as regards the chosen people of God.¹ To one who would learn the practice of other nations let us say, "Consulat probatos auctores," since an historical digression would be too lengthy and tiresome. Cremation has never been so generally practised as ordinary earth burial, and those who made use of it were not men who looked forward to a day when the graves should give up their dead, and sinews and bones should knit themselves together and stand up a great army. The mesquite, pine, and cedar pyres were for the Pah-Utes, and the suttees for the Hindoos; but the earth received the Christian confessor and the virgin saint. In imitation of their Lord, they were laid in the tomb with the fresh earth around them and the stone-slab above, or the simple green grass. The bodies of the just are sown in the furrow as the seed is sown in season, not to perish utterly, but to await like it a glorious transformation, according to the beautiful analogy of St. Paul. And whatever practice can most readily suggest and keep alive that consoling truth in our minds is best worth preserving.

Hence we conclude that if the unparalleled multiplication of human beings and their unexampled concentration in particular spots of the earth should give rise to practical difficulties and dangers, which seem to necessitate a speedier and more effectual disposal of the dead, the Church will no doubt consider the difficulty. Especial cases must be met by especial methods. It is enough to insist upon the general principle. The objections to cremation are not such, we believe, that no consideration of expediency or prudence could ever alter them. Our only contention is, that sentiments, especially sentiments so sound and so well founded as those of which we are now treating, are deserving of some consideration and respect, both for their own sake and for the sake of what

¹ It may be interesting to note that the Jewish community at Livorno, one of the most important in Italy, applied, to the General Consistory of the Rabbins at Turin, to know if it were now lawful for the Jews to burn their deceased members. The Consistory replied that not only is it contrary to the law of God to burn the bodies of the dead, but that it is unlawful for the Jews even to take part in any such ceremony.

underlies them. To give them more than their due weight, to submit to their ruling at all times and under all circumstances would be worse than wholly to ignore them. Mere utilitarianism we hate, but mere sentimentalism we hate yet more cordially. If one or the other must be our master then, defend us, at all events, from mere vapid sentimentality.

The Church, whose word is our best reliance, it seems, rests her objection on neither of these grounds. Her opposition is due to the fact that cremation has always been regarded as a tacit negation of all belief in a future life, and, therefore, she very wisely and rightly condemns its use altogether among Christians, whose entire hope is beyond the grave.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

MAYO OF THE SAXONS.

IF the history of a country be written in its ruins, there is no part of Ireland which possesses a more interesting or a more voluminous record than the County Mayo. Interspersed with its charming scenery, which for variety and picturesqueness is unsurpassed in the world, one meets on every side, some venerable monument of the past, silent and weather-worn, still eloquently reminding us that—

“The sorrows, the joys, of which once, they were part,
Still, round them, like visions of yesterday, throng.”

The most attractive, perhaps, of these ivy-crowned relics of antiquity are the ruins of the once famous “Mayo of the Saxons.”

About midway between the towns of Castlebar and Claremorris, in the heart of a rich, undulating plain, the traveller comes upon a few mouldering walls, reigning in melancholy grandeur over a hecatomb of broken columns, pilasters and bases, scattered around in fanciful confusion. The mere superficial observer passes them by with indifference. For him they have no interest. They are a sealed volume, a sign by the wayside which he cannot read. But for the

archaeologist, and the student of history, they possess a world of fascination. Every stone is a glowing page in the Golden Era of the annals of Ireland.

Unlike many of the ancient Irish edifices of which unfortunately it must be said "*perierunt etiam ruinae*," the story of the foundation and development of Mayo of the Saxons—thanks to Venerable Bede, the Father of English History—is ample and well authenticated.

Let us go back twelve centuries. On a summer's morning in the year 668, a solitary traveller might have been seen wending his way towards the tract of country, even then known as *Magh-eo*, or the plain of the Oaks. Robed in a long, white woollen garment, wearing on his head a heavy cowl of the same colour and material, and on his feet sandals, his appearance might well have attracted more than an average share of passing notice. Arrived at the eminence overlooking the spot where the ruins now stand, he paused, as if unconsciously, and his fine face, marked with lines of habitual austerity, lighted up with a beam of pleasure, as he gazed at the beauty of the landscape before him. It was truly an enchanting picture. Mountains, plains, lakes and waving forest trees combined and harmonized in charming proportions. In the foreground the eye rested on groves of gnarled oaks, from whose rich foliage glimpses of surpassing loveliness broke upon the view. Croagh Patrick's pyramids shaped and clear-defined, smiled serenely on the placid waters which glistened like silver in the sun; while nearer still, gloomy Nephin, surrounded by a cluster of cone-shaped hills, and capped with perennial clouds, frowned like an angry giant on the radiant cheerfulness of the valley below.

The stranger gazed long and wistfully on this smiling scene, then with a muttered prayer, resumed his journey.

Who is the cowed and sandalled pilgrim? He is a man whose name is a household word, not alone in his native land, but among the fastnesses of Northern Britain and Caledonia.

He is Colman of Mayo, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Apostle of Northumbria.

Like a hundred other saints of the Irish calendar, the materials for Saint Colman's life are provokingly meagre.

The Venerable Bede, to whom we are indebted for nearly everything we know of him, leaves us altogether in the dark concerning the events of his early life. Prefacing his narrative by simply stating that Colman was a native of Ireland, he continues to say that like his predecessors Aidan and Finan, he was sent from Iona to govern the Northumbrian Church. It is evident, however, from other authentic sources, that the County Mayo, the mother of many illustrious sons in the present as well as in the past, may justly claim the honour of having given him birth. Of the date of that event we have unfortunately no record. The best authorities assure us that it probably occurred about the end of the sixth century.

Born at a time when the country was still fragrant with the odour of Saint Patrick's wonderful sanctity, and surrounded from his infancy by scenes and associations consecrated by the visible presence of the Great Apostle, the youthful Colman manifested at an early age his inclination for the ecclesiastical state. When still a mere youth he adopted the monastic vocation. Attracted by the fame of Saint Columba, who was then at the zenith of his popularity, and whose name he bore in a modified form—a name symbolical of the gentleness and purity of the Christian life,—he left his native Mayo, and entered the great monastery of Iona. So studiously did he conceal himself from the eyes of the world, in the depths of that island sanctuary, that during a period which must have extended over sixty years, only one glimpse of him, and that as if by accident, is afforded us. Adamnan, the biographer of Saint Columba, raises for a moment the veil which shrouds our saint's life, and reveals him to us in the solitude of his ocean wilderness. What does that glimpse present to us? No doubt we shall find the future founder of "*Mayo of the Saxons*" absorbed in contemplation, transcribing and embellishing manuscripts, or engaged in some other occupation which our fancy would deem in keeping with the splendour which surrounds his name. But no! Our conjectures would have been at fault. In that momentary vista, he appears to us working in the fields as a common agricultural labourer. But let no one be surprised.

These old monks knew instinctively, what some so called modern philosophers claim as a sapient discovery, the dignity and sanctity of manual labour. Ennobled and consecrated by prayer, it was by this powerful engine that they became the pioneers of civilization, that they conquered themselves and conquered the world.

A short time before his death Saint Columba, looking out from his cell, rested his eyes on some of his youthful disciples working in the fields. He affectionately blessed and encouraged them. One of these, named Colman, is not improbably identified with Saint Colman of Mayo. Then the curtain falls once more, and for over half a century the events of our saint's life are found nowhere recorded except in the annals of God. Like a ray in the sunbeam, or a drop in the ocean, his actions become absorbed in the history of Iona. And in what a brilliant halo of glory have not Saint Colman and his compatriots clothed that cold and inhospitable island?

Dr. Johnson has described it in immortal words as the "luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion." He might have also added that the greater portion of England is indebted for its civilisation and Christianity to the Irish monks of Iona, and that his fellow-countrymen, with fearful truculence, have repaid the debt by seven centuries of brutal persecution.

One of the most charming features in the history of our country during the era of its greatness was its cordial and generous hospitality towards strangers. The natural benevolence of the Celtic character, purified by religion, manifested itself by the most courteous attention to natives of other lands who flocked to the shores of Erin to drink deep draughts of knowledge and piety from the fountains which flowed in perennial streams from its schools. Invariably received with open arms, visitors from other countries were maintained, supplied with books and educated free of charge.

Among the crowds who came to Iona in the year 617 were two youths who were destined to change the history of their

nation, and link themselves inseparably with the missionary labours of St. Colman and his predecessors in Northumbria. They were named Oswald and Oswy, sons of Ethelfrid the Ravager, and of the sister of the saintly King Edwin.

About seventy years before, their great grandfather Ida and his tribe of Angles, encouraged by the good fortune of their kinsmen, the Jutes and Saxons, left their homes among the sandhills of Schleswig, crossed over the German Ocean with their wives, children, and household gods, landed in the fertile district since known as Northumbria, drove out the native inhabitants by fire and sword, and settled down permanently in the conquered territory. The interval between their landing and the date of our sketch presents anything but an entertaining picture. It is stained all over with blood. After a turbulent reign of twelve years Ida was killed fighting against the Britons, who resisted him to the last. Of his twelve sons, only six survived him, and their history is a blank. The last of these, having died in the year 594, an inheritor of his grandfather's ferocity, and an avenger of his death rose up in the person of Ethelfrid. He was able, ambitious, and unscrupulous. Disregarding the ties of kindred he banished his brother-in-law, Edwin, and united the two kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira. After a reign of twenty-four years his own turn came. In the year 617 he was killed on the borders of Mercia, fighting against Redwald, king of the East Angles. Edwin became ruler of the two kingdoms, and the sons of Ethelfrid went into exile. Eanfrid, the eldest, took refuge with the Picts, while Oswald and Oswy fled to the court of the King of Dalradia. By him the young princes were sent to Iona to be instructed in the Christian faith. So well had they profited by the lessons received in that great sanctuary, that when after an exile of seventeen years they appear upon the stage of history they show themselves possessed of Christian virtues and princely qualities of the highest order. Iona had been to them a cradle of faith and an apprenticeship to royalty.

The throne of Northumbria having become vacant once more by the death of Edwin, who was killed fighting against the Britons, Oswald resolved to leave his retirement, re-

conquer his country, and regain the inheritance of his fathers. With vastly inferior forces he encountered and defeated his enemies on the field of Denisesburn, the formidable Cadwallon, the last champion of the Britons, being among the slain.

Oswald made good use of his victory. The scion and representative of the Saxon invaders, he was like a lily blooming among thorns. Naturally upright, generous and chivalrous, his character had been ennobled by the influence of the Christian teaching received at Iona. Unlike his elder brother, Eanfrid, who renounced his faith on the appearance of the first obstacle, Oswald never forgot the lessons he had learned from Saint Colman and his brethren. During his brief reign of eight years he presents to us the perfect ideal of a Christian prince. Pious and brave, gentle and strong, firm and humble, he was, in mind and heart, a veritable king of men.

Having united the two kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira into one compact nation, and extended his sway beyond the aspirations of his ancestors, he directed all the energies of his active mind to a conquest of a higher and different order. It grieved his heart to rule over subjects who, with few exceptions, were buried in the darkness of paganism. The fair hills of his native Northumbria were crowned with idols of the blood-thirsty Woden, and the forests resounded with shouts of bacchanal revelry mingled with the groans of human victims and the yells of sacrificing priests to appease the wrath of the offended deity. The Anglo-Saxons bowed in abject slavery under the galling yoke of idolatry.

Animated by the zeal of a true Christian, Oswald resolved to ransom his subjects from this degrading bondage, and win them over to the sweet service of Christ. But how could he accomplish a task of such difficulty? Who would be his allies? Where should he find soldiers to carry on this new warfare? His mind turned instinctively to the foam-washed island, where during the seventeen years of his exile he had watched the white-robed monks—warriors of Christ—go forth fearlessly to carry the standard of the Cross into the wilds of Caledonia. Without further delay he despatched messengers—some say he went himself—to the Abbot of Iona urgently

requesting him to undertake the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. The royal invitation was cordially accepted. A monk named Corman, whose austere sanctity of life seemed to fit him for the work, was consecrated bishop, and accompanied by a train of devoted priests he set out for Northumbria. Like that of Palladius to the Irish, his mission was a failure. In a short time he returned to Iona, declaring the Anglo-Saxons to be a race of irreclaimable savages, whose conversion was almost impossible. Undismayed by this unfavourable turn of events, Seghine and his community held council to arrange their future plan of action. Their deliberations were pregnant with great results. Aidan, since known as the first Apostle of Northumbria, and who seemed to be selected by the finger of God, was commissioned to make a new and more vigorous assault on the citadel of Anglo-Saxon idolatry. The success which crowned his efforts constitutes one of the brightest chapters in English history. His episcopate lasted for sixteen years. The death of his royal friend, Oswald, in the battle of Maserfield in 642, and the murder of Oswyn, who rivalled the former by the purity of his life and the nobility of his character, were crushing blows to the great bishop. But he had ample consolation for all his sorrows in the marvellous fruitfulness with which God blessed his labours. Like a diligent husbandman he had scattered the Gospel seed broadcast not alone from end to end of Northumbria, but throughout the extensive kingdom of East Anglia, and a golden harvest was everywhere springing up. Having accomplished his work, he went to receive the reward of the good and faithful servant in the year 651, and was succeeded by St. Finan, another Irishman, and a monk of Iona. During the ten years of this holy bishop's rule, he extended and consolidated the work of his predecessor, and died in the odour of sanctity in the year 661.

St. Colman of Mayo then appears prominently for the first time on the stage of history. He had already grown old in his Master's service, but the events of his life, shrouded by the lowly veil of monastic self-abnegation, are only known to Him from whose hands alone he looked for his reward. It [is not unreasonably supposed, however, that

he was one of the missionary priests who accompanied and co-operated with the two first bishops of Lindisfarne. That he was admirably fitted to continue the work of his predecessors appears evident from the encomiums lavished upon him by the Venerable Bede. He calls him a pontiff penetrated by the same apostolic spirit which animated his predecessors. The testimony of the venerable historian is all the more appreciable, as he makes no secret of a singular dislike for the Celtic race. His estimate of the great St. Columba is not altogether flattering, and the painstaking minuteness with which he dwells on the so-called eccentricities of the abbot's spiritual children in Northumbria contrasts strangely with his usual impartiality. His Anglo-Saxon prejudices have not allowed him, however, to bias his sense of justice. Possessing all the qualities of a great historian the portraits he has left us of the three first bishops of Lindisfarne represent them to us as endowed with all the great virtues of the First Apostles.

The incidents of our saint's life, interesting in themselves, are rendered more so by the undoubted fact that in his history is epitomized the antagonism between the two races, the countless benefits conferred by the one and the ingratitude with which it was repaid by the other. This remarkable feature gives colour to his whole public career, and exercised an overwhelming influence on his life.

His entire episcopate was embittered by a controversy, which had disturbed his predecessor's closing years, and was destined ultimately to sever the bonds which during thirty laborious years had bound Iona to Northumbria. This was the famous Easter difficulty. It was not a question of recent growth. Almost as old as the Christian religion itself, it had been a perennial source of strife to churchmen, and of scandal to the faithful.

Into this oft-told dispute we need not go. Suffice it to say that the isolated position of the Christians of that part of the world now known as the British Isles, prevented them for some time from becoming acquainted with an important correction introduced into the Roman computation. Even when made known to them, many showed a decided un-

willingness to relinquish the old system. Among the Britons the new ritual was looked upon with downright aversion. It was an innovation, which right or wrong, came to them from the hands of those who befriended the detested Saxons, with whom they would have no communion here or hereafter. The correct computation met with better success in the Irish Church. After the Council of Leighlin, the new system was adopted in the southern and midland counties. Following the example of Iona, the North still held out. Strange to say the children of Saint Columba adhered to their ancient traditions, with obstinate fidelity, and one of the monks nurtured within the bosom of that famous sanctuary has transmitted his name to posterity as its special champion. Rather than relinquish the style of computation transmitted to him by Saint Patrick and Saint Columba, he resigned his position as pontiff of a vast and influential diocese, and retired into solitude.

This was Saint Colman whom in our next paper we shall follow, step by step from the heights of Whitby to the plains of his native Mayo.

WILLIAM GANLY, C.C.

(To be continued.)

BOSSUET AND CLAUDE—CONCLUSION.

SO far in our account of the memorable conference between these two distinguished personages we have seen how Bossuet showed that the reformers, whilst they denied in their doctrinal teaching the infallibility of the Church, were forced, nevertheless, to act as if the authority they exercised over their co-religionists was to the last degree infallible, as they enforced it with the utmost rigour; and we arrived at the stage, where he was to require of Claude the avowal of the two following propositions:

1st. That, whereas the reformers acted as if holding the authority of the Church to be infallible, it was, nevertheless, a fundamental principle of their teaching, that every

individual, man or woman, however ignorant, was bound to believe that he or she could understand the Sacred Scriptures better than all the councils of the Church, and the entire Church herself besides.

2nd. That there was a point, at which, as a consequence of their teaching, every Christian was bound to doubt if the Scriptures be inspired by God, if the Gospel be true or false, and if Jesus Christ be a teacher of truth or a public impostor.

Approaching the first of these propositions he accosted Claude, and said, "Sir, if I rightly understand your doctrine, you believe that an individual is free to doubt the judgment of the Church speaking even in the last resort."

"By no means," replied the other, "for there is no room for doubt when there is every likelihood that the Church will judge rightly; and more than that, knowing the promise of Jesus Christ, that they who seek shall find, it may be well presumed, that when people search well after the truth, they will decide well, and this assurance puts us beyond all doubt. But, when we see in councils such things as cabals and party strifes, we have every reason to doubt if in such assemblies there be not a mixture of what is merely human which well warrants our doubting."

Bossuet with high disdain replied: "Please, sir, lay aside these imputations, which have nothing to do with the question at issue, and can serve only to throw dust in our eyes, and let me ask you, if supposing we were quite certain there were no cabals or party strifes, or anything of the sort, but that everything went on in the most orderly manner, should the decisions arrived at be accepted without examination? According to your doctrine you should say, by no means; whence I, at once, conclude, that what you allege about cabals and party strifes is mere sham, and it comes to this, and we are arrived at the monstrous, the astounding conclusion, that an individual, man or woman, however ignorant, not only may, but is bound to, believe that it is his or her privilege to understand the Word of God better than an entire council collected, though it might be, from the four quarters of the world, and the whole Church besides, and

composed, though it might be, of men the most holy and enlightened, that could be found under heaven; nay, the individual could come before the council, and ask the question if he or she were bound to accept the decisions of the council without examination, and the council according to the Calvinistic teaching would be bound to say "no," and to add, if further interrogated, that the individual in question had a distinct right, and not only a right, but a conscientious obligation, to dissent from, and absolutely reject, the decisions of the council, if he or she thought differently."

Claude appeared not in the slightest disconcerted by the inference, crushing though it should appear, but coolly replied, that the case had already happened in the condemnation of Jesus Christ by the Jewish Synagogue, an example, which stood before the whole world, and would be remembered to the end of time as an instruction to mankind, that authority may be wrong, and individual conviction right. "For here," said he, "we have, on one side, the Synagogue, the great oracle of the Jewish church, rejecting the mission of Jesus Christ, and, on the other, the judgment you, or I, or any individual would form on the occasion. We would say, beyond all doubt, the Synagogue was wrong, and generalizing the example we would be bound to conclude in favour of the individual in conscientious conflict with authoritative teaching."

The example made a deep impression on the Calvinists present, and the inference presented by their great champion seemed inexorable. They looked at each other with evident satisfaction, as if intimating, "here is an insurmountable poser for the Bishop." Bossuet noticing the impression was for the moment somewhat embarrassed, not, as he says himself, from any difficulty in his own mind as to the solution, but for fear that he might not find language sufficiently intelligible for the audience so as to remove the impression made so manifestly upon them by the objection. He, therefore, hesitated a little, and offered up, as he states, a silent prayer, begging of God to aid him as to "*how and what to speak*:" in reply, after which he proceeded as follows: "it is a strange thing, indeed, to compare the Synagogue hastening

to its fall, when its reprobation was so clearly pointed out by the prophets, with the Church of God, which was never to fail. You say, sir, that the argument I use could have warranted the error of individuals, who relying on the authority of the Synagogue condemned Jesus Christ, whilst, on the contrary, the same argument would have held up as guilty of presumption, those who believed in Jesus Christ according to their own individual convictions rather than the Synagogue. Well then let us see if my argument warrant such a conclusion. It consists in stating, that in denying the authority of the Church no external means is left by God for dissipating the doubts of the ignorant, and inspiring the faithful with the humility so necessary for them; and to be warranted in using the argument you make as to the time the Synagogue condemned Jesus Christ, there should have been just then no external means, no certain authority, to which submission was necessarily due. But, sir, how can this be said, since Jesus Christ Himself was then on earth, the very truth, who showed Himself visibly and publicly amongst mankind, the eternal Son of God, to whom a voice from on High gave solemn testimony, saying: "*This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, hear ye Him*" (Matt. xvii. 5.)—who in confirmation of His mission raised the dead to life, gave sight to the blind, and performed so many miracles, that the Jews themselves confessed that never had any man wrought such wonders? There was, therefore, an external means, or visible authority at the time. The authority was indeed disputed; but it was, nevertheless, infallible. In the same way the authority of the Church is contested, as you yourself contest it, whilst I maintain it should not be contested by Christians. I insist that it is infallible, and I further insist that there never has been a time here on earth without a visible and speaking authority requiring obedience and submission. Before Jesus Christ there was the Synagogue. At the moment it was to fail, Jesus Christ Himself appeared, and when Jesus Christ withdrew, He left His Church after Him, to which He sent the Holy Ghost. If you make Jesus Christ come back, I have no further need of the Church; but in the same way, if you take away the Church, I forthwith

require Jesus Christ in person teaching, preaching, deciding by miracles, and with an infallible authority. But, you say, you have His Word. Yes, undoubtedly we have a Word, holy and adorable, but a Word, nevertheless, leaving itself to be explained, and treated, as every one pleases, making no objection from itself to those, who explain it badly. I maintain, it is, therefore, necessary to have some external means for solving all doubts, and that this means be certain and indubitable; and without going over again the reasons already advanced, since at present there is question only of answering your objection as to the error of the Synagogue in condemning Jesus Christ, I affirm, that so far from your being able to say there was no sure external means, at the time, or a speaking authority, to which it was a matter of necessary obligation to submit one's judgment, there was an authority, the highest and the most infallible, that ever existed, which was Jesus Christ Himself, and thus there never was a time, when there was less occasion for pressing my argument against Protestants to the effect, that they needed an external, infallible means for deciding questions respecting the Holy Scriptures."

After having replied to several other difficulties presented by Claude, and which are familiar to the theological student, who has read any of our ordinary treatises on the Church, Bossuet returned triumphantly on his proposition as irrefragably demonstrated, that whilst the reformers acted as if holding the authority of their Church to be infallible, it was nevertheless, a fundamental principle of their teaching, that every individual, man or woman, however ignorant, was bound to believe, that he or she could understand the Sacred Scriptures better than all the councils of the Church, and the whole Church herself besides.

The second proposition he undertook to prove was, as has been mentioned, that there was a point, at which, as a consequence of their teaching, every Christian was bound to doubt if the Scriptures be inspired by God, if the Gospel be true or false, and if Jesus Christ be a teacher of truth, or a public impostor.

This proposition was, indeed, the great pinch of the

conference, and Bossuet broached it by asking his opponent, if one of the members of his communion on having the Scriptures put into his hands was bound first to doubt, and then examine for himself, if they were, or were not, inspired by God, for, observed Bossuet, if he doubted, and examined for himself, he by the fact renounced his faith, and commenced the reading of the sacred volume by an act of infidelity, but if, on the contrary, he doubted not, he thereby accepted it on the authority of the Church, as she presented it to him, dispensing with all examination on his own part.

Claude replied by saying: "The member of the faithful, whom you suppose not to have yet read the Sacred Scriptures, and into whose hands they are put for the first time, does not, properly speaking, doubt; he is simply ignorant, not knowing what the Scriptures are, which he is told are inspired by God. He heard from his father, or from those, by whom he was instructed, that they were divinely inspired. For the present he knows no other authority, and as to what the Scriptures really are he does not of himself actually know, and, therefore, he cannot be called an infidel, or an unbeliever; and now I must beg of you, sir, to make to yourself the same argument in reference to the Church, that you make to me with respect to the Scriptures. For, the member of the faithful, to whom the authority of the church is proposed to be believed, either believes in that authority without examining the subject, or he doubts it. If he doubt it, he is an infidel by the fact, but, on the contrary if he doubt it not, by what other authority is he to be assured? Is the authority of the Church a thing self-evident? Is it not necessary to find it out by some sort of examination? Here is your own difficulty recoiling on yourself, and you have to clear it up just as much as I have. Either then let us both eschew it, or let us solve it conjointly, and, as far as I am concerned, I promise to reply to you in reference to the Scriptures what you will reply to me in reference to the Church."

"I quite understand you," answered Bossuet, "but before explaining to you how a Christian comes to believe in the Church, it is necessary to recognize the fact, of which there is question. Being a Christian he has been baptized, and in

virtue of his baptism the Divine virtue of faith is imparted to him, so that he is in a state thereby to make an act of faith, when an article of faith is duly proposed to him, and consequently to say explicitly, as the Scriptures are presented to him, recognized as they are to be the inspired Word of God by the entire Church: 'I believe the Scriptures, as presented to me, to be the Word of God, as I believe God Himself exists.' But you acknowledge that a Christian, who has not read the Scriptures, or heard them read, is not in a state to make this act of faith. This, sir, is a dreadful position, that a member of the faithful cannot make so essential an act of faith. This is not the case with us, for the member of the faithful receiving with us the Scriptures from the hands of the Church makes with the Church this act of faith, 'as I believe God exists, so do I believe these Scriptures to be the Word of Him, in Whom I believe,' and I maintain he cannot make this act of faith unless by the faith he already has in the authority of the Church, which presents the Scriptures to him. There are two things to be taken account of just here. One is, who it is that inspires the act of faith, by which we believe the Sacred Scriptures to be the Word of God, and you and I are agreed that it is the Holy Ghost. The other thing is, what external means does the Holy Ghost employ to make us believe in the Sacred Scriptures, and I maintain it is the Church. To establish this we have only to look to the Apostles' Creed, which is the first instruction the faithful receive. The baptized Christian has not yet read the Sacred Scriptures, and, notwithstanding, he already believes in God, and in Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, and the Catholic Church. So far he is told nothing about the Scriptures, but it is proposed to him to believe in the Catholic Church, and this immediately, as it is proposed to him to believe in the Holy Ghost, so that these two articles, the Holy Ghost and the Church enter into his mind at the same time, because believing in the Holy Ghost he must necessarily believe in the Church, which the Holy Ghost guides and governs. I, therefore, maintain, that the first act of faith the Holy Ghost inspires baptized Christians to make is to believe in the

Catholic Church together with the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and I affirm that here we find the external means whereby the Holy Ghost imparts to the minds of baptized Christians the faith of the Sacred Scriptures. If this means be not sure and certain, faith in the Scriptures must consequently be insecure and doubtful, and it is because the Catholic has always found this means to be certain, there has not been a single moment, in which he was unable to say, 'as I believe God exists, so likewise do I believe He has spoken to mankind, and the Scriptures are His Word,' and the reason he can make this act of faith is because he has never doubted in the authority of the Church, as it was also the first thing the Holy Ghost put into his mind together with faith in God and in Jesus Christ. As to your question, how does he believe in the Church, I must observe that question does not present itself here. It is enough for our present argument to see that he does constantly believe in her, because it is the first thing the Holy Ghost puts into his mind, and she is the external means the Holy Ghost employs to make him believe in the Scriptures, of which he has never doubted for the reason that he has never doubted the Church, that presented them to him. Here, sir, is our doctrine, and because it is not yours, you incur of necessity the dreadful consequences, that a point of time is inevitable, when you are unable to make an act of faith in the Scriptures, and when consequently you cease to be a believer."

The conference took rather a desultory turn here, till Claude put forth the great argument he had held so far in reserve, and which he relied upon as unanswerable. I will give it in his own words as follows:—"According to your argument you would, sir, make everyone decide in favour of his own Church, Greeks, Armenians, Ethiopians, and us also whom you consider to be unorthodox, although we are baptized, and have the Holy Ghost by our baptism, and the infused faith, which you have been speaking of. For each of us has received the Sacred Scriptures from the Church, in which we have been baptized respectively. Each of us believes that Church to be the true Church announced in the Creed, and in the commencement we know no other, and as we have,

received the Sacred Scriptures without examination from the hands of the Church, to which we belong, we should also, as you say, receive blindly from her their interpretation. This argument would go to prove that every one should remain as he is, and that every form of religion is good."

Bossuet in his account of the conference admits the full force of the objection, and, as he says of himself, "although the solution appeared to me quite clear, I felt nervous lest I should not make it clear likewise to those present. I, therefore, trembled as I spoke, feeling the salvation of a soul to be at stake, and I begged of God to vouchsafe to me the words, that would put the matter in its clearest light, for I had to do with a man that listened patiently, spoke with precision and force, and pushed his objections to the last degree of strictness."

He entered on his reply by telling Claude that his cause should be set apart from that of the Greeks, Armenians and the others he had mentioned, who, indeed, were in error by taking their respective churches to be the true Church, but who, nevertheless, held as indubitable, that it was necessary to believe in the true Church whichever it was, and which could never deceive her children. "But you, sir," addressing himself to Claude, "are far more out of the way; for I can accuse you, that not only as the Greeks and Ethiopians you mistake a false church for the true one, but what is beyond all dispute, and what you yourself admit, you would not allow us to believe even in the true Church. Taking with us, then, this necessary distinction, let us come to deal with your difficulty. We are to distinguish in the faith of the Greeks, and other false churches what is true, and what they hold in common with the Catholic Church, what, in a word, comes from God, on one side, from what comes from human prejudice on the other. God, by His Divine Spirit, puts into the souls of those, who are baptized in these several churches, that there is but one God, one Jesus Christ, one Holy Ghost. Thus far there is no error. They believe also, that there is one Catholic Church, and are ready to believe without examination all that the true Church proposes to them to believe. This, sir, is what you do not approve of, and in this you

estrangle yourself from all other Christians, who unanimously believe that there is one true Church, that can never deceive them. United with them in this belief I believe it to be amongst the truths, that come from God. But human prejudices commence when the baptized Christian, being led astray by his parents or his pastors, believes the Church, in which he is, to be the true Church. It is not the Holy Ghost, assuredly, who puts that into his soul, and at this point he begins to go wrong, and the Divine faith infused by baptism begins to give way. Happy they, in whom human prepossessions are in unison with the true faith, which the Holy Ghost imparts. They are exempt thereby from a great temptation, and the dreadful difficulty of distinguishing between what is Divine and human in the faith of their Church. But whatever may be the difficulty in making this distinction, it is known to God, and there shall be an eternal difference between what the Holy Ghost imparts to the souls of such as are baptized, when He disposes them interiorly to believe in the true Church, and what human prejudice adds thereto in binding up their faith with a false church. How people thus baptized may be able, in course of time, to disengage themselves from this state of things, and free themselves from the prejudices, that caused them to confound the idea of a false church, in which they are, with the faith of the true Church, which the Holy Ghost had imparted to their souls together with the Creed. But all this does not come within the scope of the question engaging us at present, for it is enough for us to have seen in those, who are baptized, a belief coming from God in the Church, as distinguished from the ideas they receive from man. This being so, I maintain, that to this belief of the Church, which the Holy Ghost imparts to our souls with the Creed, is attached a firm faith, that we are to believe this Church with the same certainty as we believe in the Holy Ghost, to Whom the Creed immediately annexes it, and it is in virtue of this faith in the Church, that the faithful never doubt in the Scriptures, whereas, on your side, you should see the difficulty, into which you cast your faith, as you see how I avoid it, you saying not only, that one should not believe in a false church, but even in the true Church

without examining what she says, and maintaining this ground you differ from all other Christians; and from the moment that you insist that the Church, even the true Church, can be deceived, the faithful can no longer believe on the sole faith of the Church the Scriptures, and the Word of God."

Just here Claude fell back on what he had already observed, that in his view, and according to the teaching of the reformers, a person, to whom with them the Scriptures were shown for the first time, was simply ignorant of their contents as being the Word of God, and that this ignorance did not involve the consequence of doubting in them. Bossuet, however, held to the word doubt as properly expressing the state of mind of the person in question. "However," said, he, "laying aside mere words, you must agree with me, that, at all events, he does not know whether the Scriptures, as they are presented to him, be true or false, whether the Gospel be inspired by God, or be a story invented by man. He cannot, therefore, make an act of faith upon the point, and say, 'as I believe God to exist, so do I believe these Scriptures to be from Him,' and, therefore, the conclusion is inevitable, that there is a point of time, when, according to your system, every Christian knows not if the Gospel be not a mere fable. It is given to him to examine it, and not to believe in it, and we may talk on to the end of the world, but we have said all that can be said on both sides, and it only remains for each of us to examine his conscience how he can maintain, that a baptized Christian can be for a moment without knowing whether the Gospel be true or a mere fable, and that amongst the other questions, that may occur to him during life, he has this momentous question to examine and solve for himself."

It may be said the conference ended here. What remained consisted in desultory observations at the request of Mademoiselle de Duras on the subject of the separation of the reformers from the Catholic Church, rather than in serious argument, that had not already been disposed of. It lasted five hours with the most earnest attention of all present. "We listened to each other," observes Bossuet, "with

patience, spoke with conciseness, except that in the commencement M. Claude was somewhat diffuse. Beyond this he went straight to the question, and faced the difficulty unflinchingly, and unquestionably he said all that his party could say on the subjects, to which our discussion was confined. But I came away, I must confess, in fear and trembling, lest my want of ability might have put a soul in peril, and exposed the truth to doubt. I was, however, relieved next morning, as Mademoiselle de Duras called on me, and told me she had quite understood me, and felt fully satisfied as to the doubts, that had given her so much trouble; and in further conversation she informed me, that she felt in a state of mind to carry out her resolution after a little, and that in the meantime she would pray God to assist her in so momentous a step.

"A few weeks witnessed the result, as on the 22nd of March following I found myself invited to Paris to receive her abjuration."

AN EPISODE.

May I be permitted to add a little episode somewhat of a personal character, which, as I look back on "the days of my years," frequently brings with a painful interest this memorable conference before my mind, and which, I trust, will be accepted as an apology, to a certain extent, for occupying so much of the valuable space of the I. E. RECORD?

When a student in Maynooth, nigh sixty years ago, I enjoyed the friendship of a fellow student, with whom I associated very much in hours of recreation. He was a model of regularity, and was looked up to as amongst the most exemplary students in the house. However, after finishing his philosophy he left the college, having to the amazement of every one given up all idea of the ecclesiastical state. Time passed on, and several years after I became a priest he called to see me. As he was announced, I was delighted to see my dear old college friend. But how changed, how different a man did I find him. Instead of the composed and subdued manner he had in college, he exhibited a light and jaunty air, and his tone and style of speaking

made it evident, that he had gone through a checkered career. The *dénouement* was not long delayed, for after a few friendly interchanges, he said: "Since you and I were such good friends in Maynooth a great change, which will surprise you, has come over me. I not only abandoned the idea of the priesthood, but I have given up religion altogether." I felt appalled, and after I had expressed what came to my lips to say on such a frightful announcement; "Yes," said he, "I have given up all religion, and you may judge of my state of mind on the subject, when I tell you, that, some weeks ago, it was thought I was dying, and I declined seeing a priest, quite resolved to pass out of life in that state. And would you know what produced this condition of mind? It was reflecting on the conference, which you are, I am sure, so well acquainted with, between Bossuet and Claude. I said to myself, here are two master-minds in collision. How can this be? If there be any truth in religion they should have seen it, and have understood each other about it. But noticing how 'yes' was 'no' and 'no' was 'yes' between them, I came to the conviction, that there can be nothing but mere sentiment in what is called religion, without anything real or certain for the intellect to lay hold on, and embrace."

I disguised my emotions as well as I could, and seeing that he was not just then in a mood to be reasoned with, I refrained from doing so, praying him to come again and again, that we might resume our former friendship. Unfortunately he never returned, and I never heard any account since of what may have been his after course of life, or how he passed away, for I take it for granted, that having been a man of frail constitution he is long since dead. But the sad recollection of him has frequently haunted my memory with the reflection of how the spirit of error is capable of imposing on a poor mind abandoned to its own thoughts by perverting and distorting an argument from its obvious import to quite a contrary and opposite inference. For, of all the reasons, that prove the necessity of the authoritative guidance of the Church in matters of faith, there is none more convincing than the divergences and differences of great

minds however sincere, whilst the strayings and errings of superior intellects, such as Claude and other pseudo-reformers, bring before us men, who according to the description of St. Paul "*are ever learning, and never attaining the knowledge of the truth*" (2 Tim., iii. 7) and of whom St. Augustine would say, as he said of the heretics of his own day, that ravings more nonsensical or absurd never passed through the heads of patients in the delirium of a burning fever, than seize on the minds of those, who forsaking the guidance of the Church, cast themselves on the ever shifting principle of private judgment in matters of faith, a result so sadly evidenced in our day in the multifarious forms of religion we see around us, all taking their origin from this baleful principle, according to which every one judges the sect to which he adheres to be better than any other, whilst still he reserves and retains what he considers his right to dissent from his co-religionists, as well as from whatever authority they allow their ministers or pastors in pursuance of the personal view he may take of any religious questions that may spring up for discussion among them.

As to my dear friend whenever he comes before my mind, as he does frequently, I try to console myself with the hope, that in merciful consideration of the purity of soul, and fervour of heart, with which I knew him to be animated, the God of mercy has had compassion on him, dissipating the cloud, which the spirit of darkness had cast over his poor mind, and shed once more upon him the light of His Divine countenance, "*Calling him out of darkness to His admirable light*" (1 Peter ii., 9); and "*restoring to him the years, which the locust, and the bruchus, and the mildew, and the palmerworm had eaten*" (Joel ii., 25); that is repairing the ravages of sin by a revival according to the law of the Divine bounty of the merits he had acquired when in God's grace and friendship. FIAT, FIAT.

THE AUTHOR OF THE "CLAIMS OF THE UNINSTRUCTED DEAF-MUTE TO BE ADMITTED TO THE SACRAMENTS."

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART IN IRELAND.¹

WE cordially congratulate the gifted authoress of the above work, and we sincerely hope that a new edition will be soon demanded enriched with additional matter. Miss Stokes has happily succeeded in bringing out an admirable hand-book in connection with ancient Irish Art. Her laudable efforts cannot fail to popularise a subject hitherto not known or appreciated as it ought. It seems indeed, to be only a labour of love on her part to make known to an admiring world the surprising and priceless treasures found in the rich mine of ancient Irish Art. If the attention of the learned throughout the world is now attracted towards it, that is principally due to Miss Stokes, and earnest workers like her in the same noble cause. Her investigations in the hitherto so much neglected field of Irish archaeology are simply indefatigable, and are deserving of every encouragement. Some calling themselves children of Erin, who have both time and means at their disposal, are, we are sorry to say, more congenially employed in discussing Cuneiform and Egyptian inscriptions, than learning anything about the deeply interesting antiquities of their own country. The matchless works of art found in our museums, and also in private collections, amply demonstrate Erin's claims to be considered as a generous patroness of the fine arts in the remote past, and show how she fostered them under the most trying circumstances. Though mute, these heir-looms of the past tell us, that there was a time in the chequered history of our beautiful island, when she was the home of the arts and sciences. Until quite recently we might say, so deplorable was the ignorance concerning Ireland and everything Irish, that many firmly believed this country was sunk in the lowest depths of barbarism, until the arrival of Strongbow. Nor was this idea confined solely to the unlearned; for we find it preponderating with those who have already made a name for

¹ *Early Christian Art in Ireland.* By Margaret Stokes. London: Chapman & Hall, 1887.

themselves in intellectual pursuits. On a certain occasion, when that justly celebrated antiquarian, Dr. Petrie, a man who has deserved so well of his country, was reading a paper in the Royal Irish Academy on the arts and sciences in ancient Erin, he was asked by a distinguished scientist, Dr. Brinkley, did he mean to tell them, "that there exists the slightest evidence to prove that the Irish had any acquaintance whatever with the arts of civilised life anterior to the arrival of the English in Ireland." What a subject for reflection when we contemplate those exquisite and indescribable works of art still extant in illuminated manuscripts, metal work, sculpture, and also those architectural gems which have escaped the destroying hand of Time, the plundering Scandinavians, and the still more ruthless Anglo-Normans. These master-pieces, the mere waifs of Keltic love and genius in the cause of the fine arts, conclusively prove that their fabricators were genuine artists in the true sense of the word. We may strive to imitate such productions, but never can excel them. It is, indeed, matter of surprise to us all, that we possess so much of them, considering the constantly destroying agencies to which they have been subjected.

This is manifest by way of contrast, if we reflect on what occurred in other countries. The Romans occupied Britain for four hundred years, and what now remains of the stupendous works which they executed? How little of ancient Grecian art has survived the vandalism of the unspeakable Turk. Trustworthy historians assure us that in the Middle Ages, Ireland was a shining light in the western world. Art having then attained its highest degree of perfection was destined to receive a rude shock from the plundering Lochlans, who for a long period laid waste the country with fire and sword. Had Ireland been allowed to work out her own destiny, after the expulsion of these merciless marauders, she would undoubtedly have easily maintained her old supremacy in the world of art. But scarcely were they gone from her shores when a more terrible enemy appeared. The Anglo-Normans soon after invaded the island, already exhausted from centuries of warfare, and not sufficiently organised to resist effectively

such a formidable foe. It is an unquestionable fact, that all the Keltic works of art worth mentioning were produced before the Invasion. As a consequence of the chilling and blighting influence of that disastrous event on the country at large, the fine arts have ever since manifestly declined. From that period to the present the island has been unhappily in a chronic state of insurrection. It is self-evident, that such a deplorable condition of affairs must be ever hostile to the true interests of civilisation; and eventually tend to plunge a nation into barbarism. Considering all the discordant elements, constantly jarring in our midst, it is nothing short of a miracle in the moral order how Ireland held her place amongst the civilised races of mankind. As A. Thierry well observes, "such could not be accomplished, were it not for the buoyancy and recuperative power inseparable from the Keltic character." An eminent art critic John Ruskin speaking on the subject, says, "the Irish being an artistic people, the English are therefore unfit to rule them." Speranza, the gifted Lady Wilde bitterly lamenting the decay of Keltic art in presence of the Anglo-Norman freebooters and their descendants in Ireland thus gives utterance to her feelings on the subject:—"The gorgeous missals and illuminated manuscripts, instinct with life, genius, holy reverence, and patient love, were destined to be replaced soon after by the dull mechanism of print; while Protestantism used all its new-found strength to destroy that innate tendency of our nature, which seeks to manifest religious fervour, faith, and zeal by costly offerings and sacrifices. The golden-bordered holy books, the sculptured crosses, the jewelled shrines were crushed under the heel of Cromwell's troopers, the majestic and beautiful abbeys were desecrated and cast down to ruin, while beside them rose the mean and ugly structures of the reformed faith; as if the annihilation of all beauty were thus considered to be the most acceptable homage, which man could offer to God, who created all beauty, and fitted the human soul to enjoy, and manifest the spiritual, mystic, and eternal loveliness of form, and colour, and symmetry. Since that mournful period, when the conquering iconoclasts cast down the

temples and crushed the spirit of our people, there has been no revival of art in Ireland. It is not wonderful, that we cling with so much of fond, though sad, admiration to the beautiful memorials of the past, and welcome with warm appreciation the efforts of able, learned, and distinguished men to illustrate and preserve them."

All admit that the Egyptians of old must have been well acquainted with the elements of chemistry. This fact is at once obvious from scanning the colours on their monuments, now so vivid, after so many centuries of existence. The same may be maintained concerning the ancient Kelts judging from their unrivalled illuminated manuscripts, which have come down to us along the stream of time. How the latter mixed their colours, and rendered them so durable as to withstand the rough usage of so many centuries, is undoubtedly a lost secret. As we learn from *The Book of Rights* and *The Brehon Code*, ages before the Christian era the Irish were renowned for the beauty and brilliancy of their dyes. If additional proof of this were wanting, we have it abundantly supplied in our most ancient caligraphy. Until quite recently, we might say, very little attention was given to Ireland's claims as a patroness of the fine arts in the remote past. So great, indeed, was the ignorance and prejudice concerning the subject, that the moment anything was advanced in its favour it was simply treated with scorn and contempt, and at once laughed out of court. But now all competent to give an unprejudiced opinion on the question are unanimous in assuring us that a style of art completely national and brought to the highest degree of perfection flourished in this country ages ago; and not only that, but for a long period influenced in a pre-eminent manner art throughout the different countries of Europe. An eminent artist, Henry O'Neil, a man who has made Keltic art a speciality, speaking of our ancient artists says: "The Irish artists of the early Christian ages excelled the artists of all other nations of any age. Their works, which remain prove that in fertility of invention and a profound knowledge of the principles of their art, in practical taste and most wonderful dexterity of execution, the Irish artists have never been equalled. These are the qualities that constitute

greatness, and we have no hesitation in saying that the Irish artists are entitled to rank with the best that ever existed."

The Irish illuminated manuscripts, preserved in the different libraries and museums, can, at a glance, be distinguished from all others, as they are simply unique in the domain of art. Until quite recently, it was customary to designate all pictorial art, which prevailed throughout Europe from the fall of the Western Empire to the period of the Renaissance as Byzantine. But now when the subject is thoroughly investigated, it is found that the use of the term is unwarranted, and has no foundation in fact. The only pictorial art worth mentioning in those times in Europe was certainly Keltic. This school, guided by certain fixed principles, was superior in originality of design, wonderful powers of delineation, happily combined with chromatic effect. When, or where, in the annals of painting, do we find artists using so few colours as the Irish, and at the same time producing such marvellous results? The indescribable interlacing pattern so peculiarly Keltic, simply stands alone and unrivalled in decorative art, and at once proclaims the school from which it emanated. Its beautifully illuminated borders, by far more exquisite and pleasing to the view than the finest jewell-wrought mosaic, are admirably suited to fulfil the true object of all ornamentation. No wonder indeed that these Keltic masterpieces should have been attributed to the angels themselves. How fresh and charmingly harmonious are the colours on them after so many centuries of duration! In modern times certain artists undertook to copy with great care some of their initial letters, and left nothing undone in order to secure their durability; but after a few years we find them fast fading away, and destined to disappear altogether at no distant date. What instruments did our illuminators use? Who made them? Had they the use of magnifying glasses? It is only when we have recourse to such means, that we see revealed the miraculous perfection of ancient Keltic art. The more the subject is investigated, the greater does the mystery become. But who is able to attempt anything in the way of an explanation? A striking feature in this style of ornamentation is the presence of a

large number of curiously intertwined serpents. Such a fact is very remarkable, as reptiles of this kind are not indigenous, and would go far to prove the Eastern origin of the Kelts, whose ancestors were addicted to ophiolatry, and no doubt introduced it here, where it lingered until the coming of St. Patrick, and then disappeared. Hence, it is conjectured, originated the legend of our saint banishing snakes from the soil of Erin. It is also worthy of observation, that in Keltic decoration properly so-called, there is an utter absence of Christian symbolism, a fact which would go far to prove its pagan origin, and that it flourished here long before the introduction of Christianity. Art as we learn from its history is naturally a plant of slow growth. We cannot admit that it had a mushroom origin here more than anywhere else. It never could have arrived at the perfection it did in the comparatively speaking short period that elapsed from the arrival of St. Patrick until our greatest masterpieces were produced. Therefore, our conclusion is that it must have been well cultivated, and long in existence in the pre-Christian times.

From whence did our remote ancestors derive this beautiful form of decoration; or did it originate with themselves? This is one of those insurmountable mysteries that extend far back into the gloomy night of Time, and concerning which we have no satisfactory evidence.

When we reflect on what was done in the early days of the Irish Church in the way of copying and illuminating books, we are at once convinced that our ancient writers did not exaggerate when they spoke of "the countless hosts of the books of Erin." We are told in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, sixty-one remarkable scribes flourished in Ireland before the year A.D. 900.

St. Adamnan in his life of St. Columba assures us that the latter copied and illuminated with his own hand three hundred copies of the Gospels. Our ancient historians often-times mention that the Scandinavians always took a fiendish delight "in burning and drowning the books of Erin." Hence we can infer how our literature suffered during the incursions of these marauders.

A hostile critic Giraldus Cambrensis, who came to Ireland about the time of the Anglo-Norman Invasion, declares that he travelled in different countries of Europe, and no where had he seen books so abundant, or beautifully decorated as in Ireland. Speaking of *The Book of Kildare*, long since lost, he says—"Amongst all the miraculous things of Kildare, nothing surprised me so much as that wonderful book, said to have been written from the dictation of an angel in St. Bridget's own time. This book contains the four Gospels according to St. Jerome's version, and is adorned with as many richly illuminated figures as it has pages. On close examination the secrets of the art were evident; so delicate and subtle, so laboured and minute, so intertwined and knotted, so intricately and brilliantly coloured did you perceive them, that you were ready to say that they were the work of an angel, and not of man. The more intensely I examined them, the more I was filled with fresh wonder and amazement. Neither could Apelles do the like. Indeed mortal hand seemed incapable of forming, or painting them."

All palaeographers worth naming are unanimous in declaring, that amongst the illuminated manuscripts of all nations, *The Book of Kells*, that miracle of art attributed to St. Columba, holds the premier place. Mr. Wyatt in his admirable work, *The Art of Illuminating*, having traced the effects of this peculiarly Irish School of Art over Europe, and how it was the cause of raising it to a degree of perfection heretofore unknown, says—"It is to Ireland that the rich style of manuscript ornamentation is due. Irish art was original and of marvellous perfection. . . . In delicacy of handling, and minute but faultless execution, the whole range of palaeography offers nothing comparable to these early Irish manuscripts, and those produced in the same style in England. When in Dublin some years ago I had the opportunity there of studying carefully the most marvellous of all, *The Book of Kells*; some of the ornaments I attempted to copy but broke down in despair. No wonder that tradition should allege, that these unerring lines had been traced by angels. We freely confess, that in the practice of illumination at least, they (the Irish) appear in advance

both in mechanical execution, and originality of design of all Europe, and of the Anglo-Saxons in particular." Westwood in his noble work, *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria*, observes :— "Ireland may be justly proud of *The Book of Kells*. This copy of the Gospels traditionally said to have belonged to St. Columba, is unquestionably the most elaborately executed manuscript of early art now in existence. At a period when the fine arts may be said to have been almost extinct in Italy, and other parts of the Continent, namely, from the fifth to the end of the eighth century, the art of ornamenting manuscripts had attained a perfection almost miraculous in Ireland. Another circumstance equally deserving of notice is the extreme delicacy, and wonderful precision united with extraordinary minuteness of detail, in which many of these ancient manuscripts are ornamented. I have examined with a magnifying glass the pages of the *Gospels of Lindisfarne*, and *The Book of Kells*, without detecting a false line, or irregular interlacement; and when it is considered that many of these details consist of spiral lines, and are so minute as to have been impossible to have been executed by a pair of compasses, it really seems a problem, not only with what eyes, but also with what instruments, they could have been executed. One instance of the minuteness of these details will suffice. I have counted in a small space, scarcely three quarters of an inch in length, by less than half an inch in width, in *The Book of Armagh*, no fewer than one hundred and fifty-eight interlacements of a slender ribbon pattern formed of white lines, edged with black ones. The invention and skill displayed, the neatness, precision, and delicacy far surpass all that is found in ancient manuscripts executed by Continental artists. The designers and sculptors of the stone crosses were likewise the illuminators of the manuscripts; as the style of ornamentation in both classes of monuments is essentially the same."

Sir W. Betham thus expresses himself :—"It is a singular fact, not generally known, that the oldest European manuscripts now existing are in the Irish language; and the most ancient Latin ones were written by Irishmen. The *Psalter of Columkille*, *The Book of Dimma*, and *The Book of*

Armagh are monuments of which all Irishmen may be justly proud, and may exultingly produce as evidences of the civilization and literary acquirements of their country, at an age when other nations of Europe, if not in utter ignorance and barbarism were in their primers." Henry Shaw, who has borne a distinguished name in connection with ornamental art, says—"The Hibernian school of illumination is of a peculiar and marked style, characterised by a design and execution not found in the manuscripts of other nations." Dr. Keller of Zurich, says—"The Irish, at an early date, manifested a taste for caligraphy, miniature painting, carving, and music. They far excelled other Europeans in learning and civilization. It must be admitted that Irish caligraphy, in that stage of its development which produced these examples, had attained a high degree of cultivation, which certainly did not result from the genius of single individuals, but from the emulation of numerous schools of writing, and the improvement of several generations. There is not a single letter in the entire alphabet which does not give evidence, both in its general form and minor parts, of the sound judgment and taste of the inventor. The fineness, sharpness, and elegance of execution of their works, borders on the incredible." That celebrated critic on fine arts, Dr. Waagen, commenting on Irish illuminated manuscripts, remarks—"The ornamental pages and borders, and initial letters, exhibit such a variety of beautiful and peculiar designs, so admirable a taste in the arrangement of colours, and such an uncommon perfection of finish, that one feels absolutely struck with amazement." If such is the enthusiastic praise in favour of ancient Keltic art, from these two eminent critics, who had not seen the finest specimens of Irish illumination, what would it have been if they had seen our masterpieces? In an eloquent passage in his history of architecture, Mr. Freeman speaks in a most felicitous way about what the ancient Irish did on behalf of the fine arts :—
' Her early life rigorous in Gospel light, and in arts directed to the adornment of the visible emblems of her faith, was far indeed beyond her more powerful, and then pagan neighbour. Her wonderful series of annals are both copious and truthful

Her illuminated manuscripts, the chalices, croziers, and other vessels and ornaments of the church, are to this day prized for their taste and delicacy of execution." Of all the eminent authorities, whose fame is world-wide, cited in favour of Ireland being considered a generous patroness of the fine arts in the distant past, not one is an Irishman. Hence they cannot be suspected of partiality when they unanimously declare that in fertility of invention, and a profound knowledge of the principles of their art, the Irish artists simply stand unrivalled. When the art of illumination had attained to the acme of perfection amongst us, Ireland was the great school of the Western World. No wonder that Sulgenus Bishop of Menevia in Wales, writing about A.D. 1070, should say,—"*Exemplo patrum conmotus amore legendi, Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros.*"

To Ireland in the eloquent language of Professor Goerres, the German philosopher, "the affrighted spirit of Truth had flown during the Gothic irruptions into Europe; and there made its abode in safety, until Europe returned to repose, when those hospitable philosophers, who had given it an asylum were called by Europe to restore its effulgent light over her bedarkened forests." "Fourteen hundred years ago," says the present Protestant Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Wordsworth, "Ireland was a burning and shining light in Western Christendom, in the arts and science she was then in advance of all other nations." That learned antiquarian, Dr. Milner, observes:—"The Irish in the Middle Ages were the instructors of the English, French, and Germans, in science, music, painting, and architecture."

What a cause for exultation, to think, that the richest treasures in the way of illuminated manuscripts found in nearly all the principal libraries of Europe are the work of Irish hands. These triumphs of pictorial art can at once be distinguished from all others of a similar character; just as easily as the different styles of architecture. Some palaeographers speak in no stinted terms of praise concerning the Hiberno-Saxon School of Art; but as Miss Stokes and others conclusively point out, there never existed such a school. The works ascribed to it, still extant are evidently from a purely Keltic

source. The glory of the British Museum, *The Book of Lindisfarne*, is an enduring monument of Irish genius. The same may be said concerning the *Gospels of St. Chad* in Lichfield Library; those of M'Regol, at Oxford, and M'Durnan, in the Archbishop's Palace, Lambeth. On the Continent, the borders of all the great manuscripts are the work of Irish hands. One of the greatest treasures in the Imperial Library, Paris, is a beautiful illuminated Irish copy of the Latin Gospels. The renowned Gospels of Treves claim closest kindred with the Irish school of painting. In a word, the principal illuminated manuscripts in the libraries of Stockholm, St. Petersburg, Copenhagen, Utrecht, Louvain, Brussels, Basle, St. Gall, Berne, Schaffhausen, Fulda, Wurzburg, Cambray, Milan, Bobbio, Turin, &c., &c.,—are unquestionably the works of Keltic artists.

P. A. YORKE.

(*To be continued.*)

THE UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA.

A PAPER giving a short historical sketch of this once renowned seat of learning, cannot fail, however jejune written, to be of interest to the readers of the RECORD.

The mention of the University of Salamanca carries the mind back to the time—some three hundred years ago—when Spain was the foremost nation in Europe, foremost in wealth, in power, in chivalry, and if not foremost, at least among the foremost in learning and sanctity; it carries the mind still further back to the time when Europe began to emerge from the dark ages—when the light of learning, after being so long extinguished or confined to the monasteries, was rekindled and began to blaze forth at Rome, Paris, Bologna, and Oxford. Five hundred years had passed since the Arab invaded the Peninsula, and drove the Spaniards to the fastnesses of the North; during those years

the Spaniard, impatient of his barren hills, and yearning for the smiling plains of his ancestors, had poured down on the infidels and driven them back step by step, now to the Douro, again to the Tagus, until at length in 1212 was fought the decisive battle of Navas de Tolosa, which left for ever the preponderance of power in Spain to the Spaniards and confined the Moors, during the remainder of their residence in Spain, to the province of Granada. About this time when the nation began to breathe freely after its long and exhaustive wars, and to direct attention to its internal improvement and its culture, was established the University of Salamanca.

It is impossible to fix the exact date when the schools which had already long existed at Salamanca, were chartered into a university, but it was during the early years of the thirteenth century, for there is a letter still extant in the university written by St. Ferdinand III. in the year 1243, in which he refers to the establishment by his father Alphonso IX. of the university, and in which he confirms its laws, customs, and privileges. So that if we construe the word university in the strict meaning of a legal corporation, Salamanca is only a few years behind Paris, and almost contemporary with Oxford. Alphonso X., surnamed the Wise, the most learned prince of his age, who has gained a lasting fame by his collection of laws and his astronomical tables, in every way encouraged the university, confirming and enlarging its privileges and immunities, and endowing it in 1254 with twelve professorships, one of which, it is interesting to remark, was of music. Other endowments were made by successive kings of Castile, who from its beginning watched over it with paternal solicitude, and supported it with royal munificence. The fame of the university soon spread, and students flocked to it from all the provinces of the Peninsula. It soon attracted the attention and gained the approval of the Holy See. We find Pope Innocent IV. paying it high eulogiums so early as 1245 at the Council of Lyons. Pope Alexander IV., in a brief dated the 26th April, 1255, calls it "one of the four luminaries of the world" and gives it many distinctions and prerogatives. Boniface the Eighth, in 1298 brought it

under his immediate jurisdiction and gave it statutes. John XXII. created the office of Chancellor, to whom belonged jurisdiction over the university, the care of the statutes, and the conferring of degrees.

It is interesting to remark the manner in which the rectors and professors were chosen. The students were divided into ten sections—each section comprising the students from one or more provinces of Spain and Portugal; these sections elected representatives from their own body, and these representatives appointed the rector. The election of the professors was of even a more radical character—it belonged directly to the students themselves—each class, when a chair became vacant, appointing its own professor, not, however, without a concursus in which the students were the judges. Of course there were certain specified conditions and qualifications required in the candidates without which they could not compete. This system which modern educationists will probably laugh at, and students naturally admire, and of which perhaps much could be said on both sides, lasted in the university for more than two centuries, and on the whole gave satisfactory results. The ablest candidates were generally chosen, irrespective of local or personal considerations. A notable example of this occurred in the election of Fray Luis de Leon, one of the greatest scholars that Salamanca or Spain has produced. In 1561, while still young and comparatively unknown, he stood for the chair of St. Thomas, having against him four competitors who were already professors of high standing. He displayed such marked ability that he was elected by a majority of 53 over his four opponents. The same representative principle extended to the government of the university, which was conducted by the Rector and a Council composed of ten professors and ten students representing the ten sections.

The classes were first held in the cloisters of the old Cathedral, cloisters which were very extensive and which stand in good preservation to the present day. But as the throng of students increased, the place became too small and the present university buildings were erected in 1415. I cannot make out the number of students at this time or until the

year 1552 when the number of students matriculated was 6,328. Of these 1,707 were canonists and theologians, and 776 students of civil law. The figure has been sometimes put much higher—one English authority I have seen putting it to 14,000—but I think the number never exceeded that given above, as the middle of the sixteenth century appears to have been the most prosperous time of the university.

An idea of the work and progress of the university can best be obtained by taking a glance at its principal colleges. Not long after its foundation, these colleges began to appear and went on increasing until at the end of the sixteenth century they numbered thirty-two. The first in order of time and perhaps of importance, were those of the religious orders. When the fame of the university had spread through Spain, the Orders established houses at Salamanca, got them incorporated with the university, and made them distinguished teaching centres of their orders for the whole country. Their subjects attended the lectures and their ablest members filled chairs. Of all the members of the religious orders in Spain up to the middle of the sixteenth century, scarcely one can be found who was not either a professor or a student of this university. At the head of these stood the Dominicans. Connected with the university almost from the beginning, no other order or college contributed so much to its lustre and fame. Among its most distinguished professors were Diego de Deza, the friend and advocate of Columbus, and afterwards Archbishop of Seville; Vitoria, who, educated at Paris, came to Salamanca to contest the chair of first theology, and of whom it is said that his love of study was so great that he gave but three hours of the twenty-four to sleep; his two disciples Melchior Cano and Soto, who require no introduction to the student of theology. Soto was one of the theologians of the Council of Trent, and his countrymen say he was the first to speak at it, and that he compiled its decrees. The Spaniards assisting at the Council considered him (as they testify by letters written at the time) if not the greatest light of the whole Council, certainly the greatest from the Peninsula. His fame in Spain was so great that Philip II. on the day of his marriage

at Salamanca went to the halls to hear him lecture. Among the many other notable men this convent produced, I must not omit the mention of Bañez, the confessor of St. Theresa, who was the first in the field with the Thomist doctrine against Molina. Christopher Columbus, after his first application to Ferdinand and Isabella had been rejected, was warmly received and hospitably entertained in this convent, when he came to solicit the approbation of the university doctors for his New-World ideas. The room is still pointed out to the inquisitive traveller, where he slept, and the little hill behind, where deep in meditation he took his lonely walks. Whether his schemes were approved of by the university or rejected, is not yet a settled question—Spaniards strenuously maintaining that they were approved, and all the rest of the world as strenuously, that they were rejected. Certain it is at any rate that Columbus had no abler, and, with the exception of Cardinal Mendoza, no more influential advocate than Deza, at that time prior of the convent, and already high in the Royal favour.

Another distinguished visitor was entertained in this convent, but not quite so hospitably as Columbus. In 1527 St. Ignatius of Loyola came, with four companions, to the town in order to attend the university. He was no sooner come than, animated with his usual zeal, he proceeded to a church and began to preach. The Dominicans hearing of the occurrence (for he had created a great sensation among the people) sent for him and examined him, and finding he had only studied philosophy confined him in a cell for three days, when they handed him over to the bishop, who handed him over to the public prison, where he was kept in chains for twenty-two days. He was then liberated under certain conditions, in view of which the saint, *excusso pulvere*, left Salamanca with his companions and returned to Paris.

Next in order of time come the Franciscans, of whom I can find nothing of sufficient importance to merit a place in so short a sketch.

The Augustinians deserve more than a passing word. Of the many illustrious members of this order connected with the university I shall mention three. St. John of

Sahagun, called the Apostle of Salamanca, was first a student and afterwards for three years professor of Sacred Scripture in the university. St. Thomas of Villanova, after graduating as Master of Arts, and for a short time professing at Alcalá, taught moral philosophy for two years in this university. The name of Fray Luis de Leon¹ is peculiarly dear to the Spaniard, and especially to the Salamantine. Distinguished alike as a profound theologian and philosopher, a great orator, and one of the first of Spanish classical poets and prose-writers, he has been always venerated by the university as one of its brightest ornaments, while with the people the story of his wrongs and suffering, after the lapse of three hundred years, keeps his memory still green. His concursus in 1561 for the chair of St. Thomas is considered one of the most remarkable in the whole history of the university. He afterwards taught first Scripture. The great fame which he soon acquired, roused the envy and set to work the malice of some members of the university, who, being mediocre themselves, could not bear to witness the fame and popularity of genius. Leon being accused of heretical doctrines in his writings and lectures, was seized and thrown into prison by the Inquisition—that dread tribunal established by well-meaning kings for the extirpation and prevention of heresy, but much more frequently (if indeed not nearly always) used at the instance of wicked or envious accusers, to satisfy private hatred or to suppress rising genius. The list would be very long of distinguished Spaniards, afterwards pronounced innocent, who suffered under the Inquisition, some of whom died in its dungeons. Leon lay in prison for five years—such was the tardy course of justice in the Peninsula—when, his cause being completed, he was pronounced innocent and liberated. Of his works the most celebrated is his *Nombres de Cristo* (Names of Christ), written (during his imprisonment, without the aid of books) with all the accuracy and learning of the theologian and scripturist, the eloquence of the orator, and the unction of the saint.

¹ Commonly called by English writers, I know not why, *Ponce de Leon*.

The Jesuits naturally held high rank in the university. A branch of the order was established in the city in 1548. They met with so much opposition from the other Religious Orders, especially from the Dominicans, that they had to appeal to Rome, not in vain, for protection. After some time and trouble they got incorporated with the university. They very soon gave it some of its brightest names. One of their first novices at Salamanca was Francis de Toledo, at the time professor in the university, and afterwards cardinal—the first member of the order, by the way, that was created cardinal. Then followed Suarez, probably the most illustrious son and professor of the university in all its history, Maldonado, Valencia, Ribera, names that require no eulogy, and many others. The Queen of Philip III. took the Jesuits of Salamanca under her special patronage, and set about building them a college to accommodate four hundred Jesuits. For this purpose she procured immense sums from the Treasury, and left by will a large annual rental. To provide a suitable site whole streets had to be cleared of houses in face of the most bitter opposition. The work was begun in 1617 and, after the lapse of one hundred and thirty-three years, was finished in 1750, having cost, according to the most reliable computation, 29,000,000 reals or more than £290,000. It is in truth a noble building, and fully comes up to the intentions of its royal foundress. The Jesuits held it till their expulsion from Spain in 1767, when by law they forfeited it for ever. One part of it was afterwards given for an ecclesiastical seminary, another was occupied for a time by the Irish College. In 1854 the Jesuits returned to their college, but only as conductors of the seminary, and have since, except for one short interval, remained.

These were the religious orders most prominently connected with the university, but there were many others,¹ for Salamanca when at the height of its prosperity boasted of four

¹ As a proof of the number of regular clergy at Salamanca, I give the numbers attending the local obsequies performed at Salamanca on the death of Philip IV. in 1665: 36 Minor clerics, 60 Carmelites, 30 Capuchins, 36 de Mercede, 36 Trinitarians (discalced), 30 Augustinians (recolite), 28 Minims, 36 de Mercede (discalced), 50 Trinitarians, 40 Carmelites (discalced), 50 Jesuits, 18 Calvarians, 100 Franciscans, and 150 Dominicans.

twenty-fives—twenty-five parish churches, twenty-five convents (of women), twenty-five colleges, and twenty-five houses of regular clergy (not all however incorporated with the university). No other order requires special mention except, perhaps, the Discalced Carmelites, who produced the *Salmanticenses*. The only thing mentioned of them in local annals in connection with this work, is that being very poor they compiled a kind of encyclopedia of theology from other authors, sold it well, and with the proceeds built a church. Whatever may be thought of the *Salmanticenses* in other places they are thought little of at home, and are seldom or never quoted or mentioned.

Besides the religious orders, there were twenty-five other colleges incorporated with the university. These were founded and amply endowed, some by rich and pious laymen, but more by high ecclesiastics in several parts of Spain, who as lovers of learning and children of the university, made it their highest ambition, by founding a college, to forward the work of education, and increase the fame and prosperity of their *Alma Mater*. According to the constitutions given to such colleges by their founders, none were admissible but poor and deserving students—students of promise who could not of their own means follow the university course. Of these four were what were called *Colegios Mayores* (*collegia majora*)—institutions that gained the greatest celebrity and played a most conspicuous part in Spanish history for three centuries. There were six of this class in the whole country—four at Salamanca, one at Valladolid, and one at Alcalá. They were called *Mayores* on account of their rich endowments and the special privileges and immunities conferred on them by popes and kings. To give an idea of their results, I may mention that one of them, “*El Viejo*” of Salamanca, established in 1401—the first, and on account of its success, the cause and basis of the others—numbered among its students, never reaching thirty at a time, six canonized saints, fourteen venerables, seven cardinals, eighteen archbishops, and more than seventy bishops, besides very many laymen who rose to the highest civil posts in the kingdom. Soon admission to these colleges

became the sure stepping-stone to the most exalted offices in Church and State, and consequently the highest aim of ambitious youth. It is recorded that young noblemen renounced their inheritance in order to qualify for admission, and one ambitious youth, having failed in every other attempt, went to England and obtained from Queen Catherine of Aragon a letter to Cardinal Ximenes, begging him to use his influence and procure the youth admission. The trouble was not in vain; he was admitted, and afterwards became Viceroy of Peru. So long as the constitutions of their founders were observed, and only poor students of talent admitted, these colleges flourished and gained European fame. It would be tedious to record the high eulogiums bestowed upon them by popes, kings, and historians; but when the richest prizes fell so often to the lot of these students, the rich and noble began by intrigue and influence to get their sons admitted. Patronage succeeded merit and the colleges began to decline. The quiet industrious life of the first students began gradually to degenerate into the idle and boisterous and finally dissipated life of the rich usurpers. Still for a long time the colleges maintained their ancient prestige, and the students reaped the fruits of a fame which worthier men had made. It would be amusing, were there space, to relate the disputes which these colleges carried on with the city authorities on the point of their privileges and immunities, and with the university on the point of honour and precedence, for which of course Spaniards will fight to the death—disputes which were not unfrequently referred to the Royal Court, and were, owing to their name and influence, decided in favour of the colleges. They succeeded also in appropriating a large number of the chairs in the university, and with their own demoralization demoralized and partially ruined the university. Efforts, however, were not wanting to reform them. From the reign of Philip II. to that of Charles III., numerous Royal Commissions were sent to investigate and report on the state of these colleges, and royal orders followed to bring them back to their original purposes, in accordance with the intentions of their founders; but the colleges either obstinately resisted and through the feeble-

ness of the authorities were victorious, or bending to the storm for the time, afterwards resumed their position when the storm had passed. But Charles III. was more determined. After fully investigating the case, he in 1778 exiled the rectors and expelled the students. The colleges were then refilled with students chosen for their merits after a rigorous examination. But the reform came too late. The colleges and the university were no longer what they had been, the sun of their glory was setting for ever.

The only one of the minor colleges, I need refer to is the Irish. It was established in 1592 under the care of the Jesuits, one of whom was always rector until the Jesuits were expelled in 1767. They now occupy what was formerly one of the Colegios Mayores—one of the handsomest buildings in Salamanca. After all the other colleges have disappeared it alone remains, but remains, I fear I must add, almost as a mere relic of the past. Yet though the number of students is small, and of late years growing rapidly smaller, the college has many advantages, and it is strange that it should decline. The students attend the classes of the Jesuits in the seminary, so that it is superfluous to add there is every facility for a good education—the opportunities especially for a good knowledge of dogmatic theology not being easily excelled.

The religious orders and the colleges although the more prominent, were not of course the more numerous part of the university; they were in fact only a small minority, for the whole town of Salamanca was little more than a vast boarding-house of students. Among the other more prominent historical characters connected with the university was Cardinal Ximenes who, born of poor parents, became by his great ability and austere virtue, Archbishop of Toledo and Chancellor of Castile—a dignity, considered at that time, after the Papacy, the first in the Catholic Church—and for nearly two years Regent and virtually king of Spain. He studied at the university for six years, and afterwards founded its great rival Alcalá. Another was Miguel de Cervantes, the author of *Don Quixote*. He holds somewhat the same position, in point of fame and popularity, in Spanish literature that

Shakespeare holds in English. The old house in Salamanca is still pointed out where he lived while attending the university. Again we have Gonsalvo, the Grand Captain of the Italian wars, and Hernan Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico; Lope de Vega and Calderon, the famous poets and dramatists. I could give the names of many other distinguished students, who, however, though famous in the history of Spain, are not, so far as I am aware, much known in these countries.

The university went on increasing in numbers and fame, from its foundation to the middle of the sixteenth century. Then after, for a time, holding its own, it began about the beginning of the seventeenth century to decline. The causes of its decline are manifold. It was no longer the one great university of Spain; there were, besides many others, Valladolid and Alcalá. The surfeit of colleges also injured it, as the colleges, insisting on their rights or claiming rights they never had, kept up continual disputes. The Colegios Mayores by their preponderance for a time injured its repute. The Inquisition too did its part, for as it so often happened that to become famous was to graduate for the dungeon, quiet men of parts often kept in the background where if there was not fame there was security. But the main cause was the general decay of the country. The progress of the Spanish kingdom from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century is unexampled in modern history; from being an obscure it rose to be the first power in Europe. This was the brightest period of the university. At the end of the sixteenth century Spain, delivered into the hands of weak and misguided kings, began rapidly to decline, until wasted by civil wars and corrupt governments it has now become almost zero in European politics. And with the decline of the kingdom came, and very proportionally, the decline of the university. A cursory knowledge of Spanish history will show how with the rise and fall of Spain, rose and fell its university. The reign of Charles III. indeed threw a gleam of prosperity and hope over both country and university, but as he was neither preceded nor succeeded by worthy kings,

the gleam was only transitory. However, the university dragged out an existence with some show of its ancient splendour to the beginning of this century, when it still counted 2,000 students. We find Grattan, when advocating the Catholic claims at Westminster, quoting, in answer to calumnies on Catholic doctrine, the opinions of Salamanca, Paris, Alcalá, Louvain, &c. (putting Salamanca first). At the beginning of this century Salamanca sustained great injury from the Peninsular war; it was in turn taken and occupied several times by both armies. The result was that when the war was over, the whole western part of the town, including many colleges, churches, and convents, was a heap of ruins. Soon afterwards the other colleges were suppressed—their funds being applied to different purposes—and the religious orders have since either died out, gone away, or been expelled. One thing more was wanting to completely prostrate the once proud university, and it came, when about the middle of the century the faculty of theology was taken from it, and given to the seminary. It now counts only some three hundred students; fallen like Spain itself in power and name, it is never likely to be again anything more than what it is now—a mere provincial school.

P. M. S.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

OBLIGATION OF RELIGIOUS TO RECITE THE DIVINE OFFICE.

“What is the obligation of professed religious (not *in sacris*), as regards the recital of the Divine Office? The Abbé Leguay, in his book entitled *The Path of Perfection in Religious Life*, makes a statement which seems to need explanation. ‘When the constitutions of an order, approved by competent authority, ordain the recitation of Divine Office, the religious are bound, under pain of mortal sin, to recite it unless they are legitimately dispensed.’ Is this statement correct? In what sense is it correct? As the constitutions of religious orders do not usually bind under sin, how can one of these

constitutions, from the fact that it regards the Divine office, come to have the force of a grievous obligation? No rule surely should be said to have such a strict binding force unless there were some plain indication thereof in the rule itself. If it be said that the obligation arises not from the rule, but from a custom, which has the force of a law, how then does this custom or law affect religious,—what does it impose as obligatory upon them, both as regards attendance at choir, where choir is customary, and as regards the private recital of the office on the supposition that the safer and more correct doctrine has it that religious are bound *sub gravi* to at least the private recital? Could it be maintained that the opposite doctrine is solidly probable, and such as that one could safely follow in practice? Father Baker, in his admirable and well-known book *Sanata Sophia*, teaches that ‘no religious persons, except they be in holy orders, are bound to the reciting of the Divine Office in private under mortal sin,’ and as to the custom which is said to induce this obligation he quotes Cajetan as doubting whether *de facto* there exists such a custom at all, and he adds that even if the custom does exist, still it has not the force of a law. Is Father Baker correct in these statements? Could one safely accept, teach, and act upon his doctrine? Granting the existence of the grievous obligation regarding the private recital of the Divine Office, what would be the general nature of the cause that would suffice for a dispensation from the obligation. Might superiors quite readily dispense their subjects, especially in the case of a community whose members are engaged in active work?

“G. M.”

Our respected correspondent, we assume, confines his queries to the recital of the Divine Office by members of a religious order properly so called. Otherwise, we could only reply by saying that the solution turned in each case on the constitutions and customs of the congregation to which the person belongs.

Again, it is well to premise that what follows can apply only to orders in which the practice of reciting the Divine Office has been enforced. For canonists expressly make exception of religious among whom the custom does not exist. Thus Craisson instances the Visitation Nuns as bound to the *Small Office*, and no other.

Moreover, as religious in holy orders are unquestionably under the usual obligation for clerics *in sacris* with regard to

the canonic hours, so beyond all doubt those members who have neither received subdeaconship, nor are destined for choir service, remain perfectly free from any such burthen.

With these preliminaries in view, we proceed to discuss the important issues suggested in our correspondent's letter. St. Liguori (Lib. vi. n. 142), treats the subject at some length. After stating three different opinions with the authorities in support of each, he adopts the third, rightly calling it *sententia communis*. He holds that choir-religious, though not in holy orders, are bound *sub gravi* to the daily recital of the Divine Office at least in private.

To show that the custom of repeating the canonical hours was observed with the object of inducing a serious obligation. St. Alphonsus appeals to the way in which religious, often under grave difficulties, are in the habit of discharging this duty, as well as to the fact that the superiors of Regulars are wont to enforce fidelity in regard to it by using every power at their command. As regards attendance in choir, he considers the duty to exist for each member, but *per se sub levi* only. Absence would not involve a mortal sin unless it prevented the choir service. This appears to us the true view, and any more lenient opinion we would not venture to regard as solidly probable.

It does not matter much, for this particular case, whether custom introduced the obligation or whether it should be looked upon as evidence of a law once enacted and now no longer preserved in any more tangible form that constant usage can exhibit. Whichever view is taken, the two reasons given by St. Alphonsus are important. We may add that the decrees of Popes and Congregations seem to distinctly imply a grave obligation. For while fully acknowledging the various privileges religious enjoy in regard to reciting the Divine Office, they speak of its discharge and exemption from it just as they do when they deal with similar matters with respect to clerics in holy orders. Accordingly we do not think that the duty of reciting the Divine Office is at all on the same level as the ordinary obligations of the rule among religious men or women.

But since the important legislation of Pius IX. in 1857,

what we have said requires qualification. Simple vows are now taken at the end of the novitiate, and solemn vows three years later. Now it is only for those who are solemnly professed that this grave obligation exists. While the vows are simple the choir obligation, when the constitutions impose it, is the only one to which a member is subject in respect of the Divine Office. Hence such a person is not bound *sub gravi* unless when, as already mentioned, his or her absence will have the effect "*ut chorus tollatur*."

The local superior is *per se* competent to dispense in particular cases for a sufficient cause. What the cause should be may be gathered from the following words of St. Alphonsus:—"Concedunt autem communiter D.D. quod praelati etiam inferiores, possint ex causa, puta studiorum, et simili, dispensare sicut in aliis observantiis cum suis subditis, ut non recitent officium."

CONDITIONAL FORM IN ADMINISTERING THE SACRAMENTS.

"Does the opinion which holds that mere external application of matter and form of a sacrament suffices for the validity of the sacrament possess probability sufficient to make one take it into account when conferring a sacrament conditionally and consequently express it in words? Every theologian of late years holds the opinion to be *parum probabile* or being contrary to the *Rubr. Missalis*, but they nearly all finish with *totius conditio ore reprimitur*. Of course this should be done where the Rubrics prescribe. I do not refer to the *licitas* but to the *validitas*. If the condition is to be expressed, where is it to be expressed in Extreme Unction? in one sense, or in the five senses, or in all anointings?

"SACERDOS."

We understand our correspondent's question to regard the form one should employ when re-administering a sacrament rendered doubtful, if not null, owing to the fact that the minister confined his intention to what is known as the *intentio externa*. Well, as the opinion of Externalists has no small amount of authority and reason on its side, we conclude at once that the form should be conditional.

Conditions, as "Sacerdos" rightly says, need not be ex-

pressed in words, unless when the Rubrics so direct. This direction is given for Extreme Unction, and should be carried out by putting the condition immediately before the words *per istam sanctam unctionem*. The Rubric would appear to indicate that the condition should be orally expressed throughout the unctions. But it does not seem sufficiently clear to impose an obligation after the first. It may be well to add that no condition should be made in the administration of this sacrament unless it be doubtful whether the subject can *validly* receive it.

P. O'D.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

DOES A CHALICE WHEN INAURATED REQUIRE RECONSECRATION?

WILL THE USE OF A CHALICE IN THE HOLY SACRIFICE
BE SUFFICIENT TO CONSECRATE IT?

"Is it quite certain that a newly inaurated Chalice requires reconsecration? If a Chalice, whether new or newly inaurated, is used by mistake in the Mass is it thereby sufficiently consecrated? An early reply will oblige.
"P. P."

(a) It is now quite certain that a chalice which has been inaurated requires to be reconsecrated before it can be used in the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice. Until comparatively recent years, however, authorities were very much divided on this question. Thus, for example, while Suarez and Vasquez held for the necessity of reconsecration, Lugo and Layman held that a chalice once consecrated remains consecrated no matter how often it is inaurated. Those in favour of reconsecration argued, that if a chalice after being inaurated is not reconsecrated the new surface, which comes in immediate contact with the Precious Blood, is not consecrated, and consequently, that the chalice might as well never have been consecrated. For the reason for consecrating a chalice at all is precisely because it immediately touches the Consecrated Species.

To this it was replied that, since the chalice has been once consecrated, and since by inaustration it does not cease to be morally the same chalice, it must still remain a consecrated chalice. Now when the thin coating of gold is spread over the interior of the chalice, it also becomes consecrated from its union with the material of the consecrated chalice. A newly inaustrated chalice, therefore, according to these authors stands no more in need of reconsecration, than does a church, which has been newly painted or whitewashed. "Ergo si manet idem calix, qui consecratus fuit, non oportet consecrare, illam novam superficiem, sicut neque in ecclesia, quae de nova dealbatur, oportet de novo consecrare superficiem novam." (Lugo. De Sacramento Eucharistiæ. Disp. 20. n. 95.)

By a reply of the Congregation of Rites of June 14, 1845, the controversy was set at rest, and reconsecration declared to be necessary. The Congregation was asked, "ut declarare dignaretur, utrum calix et patena suam amittant consecrationem per novam deaurationem, et sic indigeant nova consecratione?" The reply is in these terms:—"Sacra eadem congregatio rescripsit: Affirmative; amittere nimirum, et indigere juxta exposita."

(b.) Though a chalice may be *sanctified* by being used in the celebration of the Sacred Mysteries, yet it cannot be regarded as thereby *consecrated*. For by being consecrated a chalice is not only sanctified, but is also formally set apart for a certain use, according to a special and solemn rite. Hence, though it be granted that the sanctification, which the chalice receives from its use in the Mass, be equal in every respect to that which is imparted to it by consecration, still the special deputation contained in the rite of consecration is wanting.

Neither here, however, have theologians been unanimous, though the great weight of authority has always been on the negative side. "Aliqui volunt" writes Lugo (loc. cit. 91-92) "si bona fide aliquis celebrarit in calice et patena nondum consecratis, non indigere jam alia consecratione." Having examined and refuted the arguments brought forward in support of this opinion, the same author concludes, "unde merito illam (sententiam) rejiciunt omnes alii."

The opinion of modern theologians and rubricists is thus expressed by Lehmkühl (vol. 2, n. 228, 3) "neque pro practice probabili haberi potest aliquorum veterum opinio vasa vel vestimenta sacra si ante consecrationem vel benedictionem, sive bona sive mala fide sacrificio missae servierint, pro jam consecratis haberi posse."

II.

THE SECULAR CLERGY AND THE "OFFICIUM DEFUNCTORUM,"
"PSALMI GRADUALES," ETC.

"The Rubrics of the Breviary direct the *Psalmi Graduales* to be said on the Wednesdays of Lent; the *Psalmi Poenitentiales* on the Fridays; and the *Officium Defunctorum* on the Mondays,—Monday of Holy Week excepted. Now is their any custom justifying the secular clergy in omitting these ?

"VICARIUS."

It is not merely by custom that the Secular clergy are excused from observing the rubrics referred to by our esteemed correspondent. In the Bull, *Quod a nobis*, by which Pius V. sanctioned and confirmed his edition of the Breviary, the Pontiff expressly states that he removes all obligation of reciting the psalms and office mentioned by our correspondent. "Quod vero," he says, "in Rubricis Nostri hujus officii praescribitur quibus diebus officium beatae Mariae semper Virginis et defunctorum, item septem Psalmos Poenitentiales et Graduales dici ac psalli oporteat; Nos propter varia hujus vitae negotia multorum occupationibus indulgentes peccati quidem periculum ab ea praescriptione removendum duximus."¹

From these words it would seem to follow that not only Seculars, but Regulars also, whether bound to choir or not, are released from all obligation of reciting the above-mentioned psalms and offices; but the Congregation of Rites has more than once laid down that the obligation still remains for those bound to choir. Thus, for example, in reply to the Bishop of Nola in 1660, the Congregation declared—"Praedicta (officia, etc.), non esse omittenda (in choro) et contrariam consuetudinem post Bullam Pii V. introductam

¹ See full text of Bull in beginning of Breviary.

esse abusum impræscriptibilem." But no one has ever thought of doubting that the obligation has been entirely removed from all the clergy who are not obliged to recite the office in choir. The Congregation of Rites has itself declared that even Canons and others bound to choir, if legitimately dispensed from the obligation of choir, are *eo ipso* dispensed from the recitation of the offices and psalms, of which we are speaking. "Quæ quidem officia," says the Congregation, "sunt onera tantummodo ex præcepto implenda in choro."

While removing the obligation of reciting these offices and psalms, St. Pius strongly urges the clergy not to take advantage of the remission granted them. "Omnes vehementer in Domino," he continues, "cohortamur, ut remissionem Nostram quantum fieri poterit sua devotione ac diligentia præcurrentes illis etiam precibus, suffragiis et laudibus suæ et aliorum saluti consulere studeant." To incite the clergy to follow this counsel he has granted an indulgence of one hundred days for the recital, on the days mentioned in the Rubrics, of the Office of the Blessed Virgin, or of the Dead, and an indulgence of fifty days for the recital of either of the two collections of psalms.

III.

THE REVERENCE TO BE MADE AT THE "VENEREMUR CERNUI" WHEN SUNG AT BENEDICTION.

"Please say is it sufficient to make an inclination of the head only at the verse *Veneremur cernui* of the *Tantum Ergo*, when it is sung during Benediction. Baldeschi says, "all profoundly incline, but do not prostrate themselves," but I think he makes a distinction between this inclination and that to be made before the celebrant rises to put incense into the thurible.

"SUBSCRIBER."

There is a profound inclination of the head, as well as a profound inclination of the body, but to which of these Baldeschi refers is not quite clear. From the words, "but do not prostrate themselves," we would be inclined to infer that he speaks of a profound inclination of the body; for when one is directed merely to incline the head there is not much necessity for warning him not to prostrate himself. We cannot, however, with our esteemed correspondent, see

any difference in the direction which Baldeschi gives here, and that which he gives regarding the inclination to be made before rising to put incense into the thurible. For in the latter place he simply says, "having made a profound inclination the officiant, etc."

If we interpret Baldeschi rightly as directing a profound inclination of the body at the *Veneremur cernui*, it must be said that he differs from most other authors. Vavasseur lays down that only an inclination of the head should be made at these words, and an inclination of the body before rising to put the incense in the thurible, and in a note he states that such are the directions given by all authors—*tous les auteurs* are the words he uses. It must be borne in mind, however, that there is no rubric, no authoritative declaration of the Congregation of Rites, governing the practice in this case. Hence rubricists are free to recommend what appears to themselves most becoming, or what they find to be the practice in the churches with which they are acquainted.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR.—It is hardly necessary to draw your readers' attention to a manifest error in the *Statistics* quoted at the conclusion of my article on "Craniotomy," which appeared in last month's number.

In justice, however, to the Hospital in question, I must acknowledge that there is a mistake somewhere. I took the numbers quoted from a renowned work. Perhaps the author inadvertently put *thousands* for *hundreds*.—I remain, yours respectfully,

U. E. U.

[We desire to express our thanks to the writers of the annexed correspondence for their kindness in correcting the serious mistake to which they call attention.—ED. I. E. R.]

REV. DEAR SIR.—My attention has been drawn through the kindness of Canon O'Neill of Clontarf, to an article on "Craniotomy,"

in the ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, for the month of February, signed U. E. U., in which a remarkable statement is made, on the authority of Dr. Playfair, that in the Rotunda Hospital, Craniotomy was employed in twenty-one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven cases of labour, during the mastership over that hospital of one doctor alone.

On looking up the reference, I find the statement depends on an entire misconception of what Dr. Playfair said.

Dr. Playfair when discussing the relative frequency of Craniotomy and Forceps (*Science and Practice of Midwifery*, ch. v., p. 207), says : "During the mastership of Dr. Labbat at the Rotunda Hospital, the Forceps was never once applied in twenty-one thousand, eight hundred and sixty-seven labours : " this is an entirely different thing from the statement that Craniotomy was performed in twenty-one thousand, eight hundred and sixty-seven cases. Dr. Playfair makes *no mention* of how often Craniotomy was employed, and as a matter of fact, these twenty-one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven cases, represent the total number delivered in the Hospital during the seven years of Dr. Labbat's mastership, beginning November, 1815—three generations ago.

I am sure no one will rejoice more at the explanation than your contributor, U. E. U.—Believe me, yours sincerely,

ALFRED J. SMITH,
Assistant-Master.

REV. SIR,—My attention has been called to an article in the I. E. RECORD for February, 1888, on "Craniotomy," by U. E. U., in the concluding paragraph of which he says, on the supposed authority of Dr. Playfair, "that in one hospital alone, that of the Rotunda, instead of the forceps, craniotomy was employed in twenty-one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven cases of labour during the mastership over that hospital of one doctor alone."

.. This quotation is altogether misleading, it conveys the impression that one doctor had performed Craniotomy 21,867 times, whereas Dr. Playfair merely intends to state that this doctor performed Craniotomy in cases of difficult labour occurring among these patients, instead of having recourse to the Forceps, as is now the universal practice.

I have no intention of entering to the discussion of the question of ethics raised by U. E. U., but merely wish to point out that it really refers to the past. Craniotomy as defined by him "to imply

a destruction of the life in the fœtus," page 120, is virtually, at least in this city and among all well-informed practitioners, now never performed. I filled the office of Master of the Rotunda Hospital from 1875 to 1882, during which time nearly 20,000 women must have been delivered under my superintendence. I am unable to give the exact numbers, as the records are not in my possession, and it would be tedious to go over all the cases, but I can assert with certainty that—

1. Craniotomy was not performed a dozen times during my Mastership.

2. That it never was performed in any single case in which absolute certainty did not exist that the child was dead.

3. That in not one of these cases was the Laparotomy (that is the Cæsarian Section) justifiable.

It is right to add that the doctor to whom Dr. Playfair refers is dead these fifty years, and it seems to me out of place to discuss the line of practice carried on in the Rotunda near a hundred years ago.

In conclusion permit me to state that during my Mastership of the hospital, in consequence of statements made to him, the late Archbishop M'Cabe directed enquiries to be made as to the practice in cases of difficult labour in the Rotunda. The enquiries were made by Dr. Donnelly, now Bishop of Canea, then one of the clergymen attached to Marlborough-street Cathedral, and as the result of these enquiries, I was informed that the archbishop was perfectly satisfied.—I am, sir, yours obediently,

LAMBE ATTHILL, M.D.,

Ex-Master of the Rotunda Hospital.

94, MERRION-SQUARE,

16th February, 1888.

REV. SIR,—In the February number of the I. E. RECORD, a paper on Craniotomy appears from the pen of U. E. U.

In the concluding paragraph the following sentences occur. "I shall conclude this paper with a fact mentioned by Dr. Playfair, and which I deem conclusive enough of the alarming frequency of craniotomy. He states that in one hospital alone, that of the Rotunda, instead of the forceps, craniotomy was employed in twenty-one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven cases of labour during the mastership over that hospital of one doctor alone." In a foot note the writer says, "I flinch from giving his name."

Now as this is a total misrepresentation of what Dr. Playfair says, I will quote from his work the exact words.

"It must be admitted that the frequency with which Craniotomy has been performed in this country constitutes a great blot on British Midwifery. During the Mastership of Dr. Labbat at the Rotunda Hospital, the Forceps was never once applied in 21,867 labours."

Dr. Labbat became master of the Rotunda in the year 1815, and continued in office until 1821. During his term of Mastership 21,867 women were confined in the hospital, but although he did not use the Forceps in a single instance, it does not follow that every patient that was admitted into the hospital was subjected to Craniotomy. We have also to recollect that it is more than seventy years since he became master, and the power of the Forceps was very little known then as compared with the present day.

During the four years I was connected with the Rotunda, some 10,000 women were delivered. Craniotomy was performed on four occasions, and then only when the foetus was known to be dead.

I desire only to state the above facts, as otherwise an erroneous impression as to the frequency of Craniotomy might be conveyed by the paper above referred to.

ANDREW J. HORNE, F.R.C.S.P.

Ex-Assistant Master, Rotunda Hospital.

24, HARCOURT-STREET, DUBLIN,
18th February, 1888.

THE CHURCH ABROAD.

THE Germans are fond of titles. They have, on the whole, great respect for authority and find it quite natural that the grades of the world's hierarchy should be marked by appropriate modes of address. Nor are these distinctions confined to the upper classes. As it is the pride of the German artisan to lift his hat in the streets to his fellow worker with as much grace as any knight or baron in the land, he likewise takes pains not to omit any of those formalities which usage prescribes either in conversation or correspondence. Without being so gushing as the Italians or so formal as the French, he is yet strictly polite, and his politeness is often marked with the peculiarities, the quaint traditions of his native town or province. This is true, in a special manner, of those districts in which the Catholic church still holds her time-honored place, and is able to make her ever-civilizing influence felt over the people. She who has always clung to whatever was worth holding of the past, keeps alive and

fresh the best remnants of old Teutonic manners, interwoven with many customs of the Middle Ages that come down to us with all the weight of respectability and years. No doubt there are partisans of a different civilisation here as elsewhere. Those who wish to level the world downwards look rather askance at such practices and titles; but should these, through any accident or chance, happen to be denied what they consider their own peculiar claims to the deference of the neighbour, then of course the affair assumes a different complexion altogether. Others there are who regard these ways and usages as a rather harmless indulgence of human nature provided they be not called upon to be over particular themselves. But such personages are not confined to Germany. One of the most successful characters in Goldoni's plays is a certain Signor Pancrazio who protests against his servant calling him "Illustrissimo." After repeated disclaimers he insists with energy :—

"Io vi dico una volta per tutto che non mi curo di titoli superlativi. Mi basta aver de' danari in tasca. Con i danari si mangia e con i titoli spesso volte si digiuna."

Molière too has immortalized with ridicule the "Bourgeois Gentilhomme," who felt so elated when an obsequious attendant first addressed him "Monseigneur," as well as the peasant "George Dandin" who had so much reason to repent of his ambitious notions. And has not our own Oliver Goldsmith, in his characteristic way, reproved that excess of honor which often passes current for imaginary worth and "shifts in splendid traffic through the land?"

"For while this softer art their bliss supplies,
It gives their follies also room to rise."

In Germany, it must be said, there are not a few who go far beyond the limits of this good-natured criticism. In their idea the days of the titled class are gone, and the hour is near at hand when they shall have to pay the penalty of many a hardship long imposed upon the poor.

Time, indeed, may have a great many changes in store for the world, but into such speculations it is no part of our object to enter, and we shall endeavour to give an account of what is done at present, not either of what was done in the past or is likely to take place in years to come.

Taking first, as usual, the addresses of ecclesiastics, the envelope address to a Cardinal may be written as follows, *v.g.* :—

An den Hochwürdigsten,
Herrn Kardinal Melchers,
Erzbischof von Köln,
zu Köln.

It might also be written as follows :—

Sr. Eminenz dem Hochwürdigsten
Herrn Kardinal Melchers,
Erzbischof von Köln,
zu Köln.

If the Cardinal were a prince by birth the address should be written as follows :—

An dem Hochwürdigsten und
Durchlauchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn,
Herrn Albrecht von Schwartzenberg,
Kardinal-Erzbischof von Wien,
zu Wien.

Finally, if the Cardinal were a Prince-bishop, thought not a prince by birth, he should be addressed—

Sr. Hochfürstlichen Eminenz,
dem Hochwürdigsten Herrn,
Herrn Kardinal Ganglebaur,
Erzbischof von Wien, &c.

An Archbishop or Bishop, who is a prince by birth, is generally addressed—

Sr. Durchlaucht,
dem Hochwürdigsten Herrn,
Herrn Leopold von Gleichenstein,
Erzbischof von N.

If he be a Prince-bishop or Prince-archbishop then it would be, *v.g.*—

Sr. Fürsterzbischoflichen Gnaden,
dem Hochwürdigsten, Hochgebornen Herrn,
Herrn Karl-Ludwig Stottzengel,
Erzbischof von N., &c.

It often happens in Germany and Austria that an Archbishop is also a Minister of State in the province or kingdom to which he belongs, or at all events holds the rank and title of a Minister of State, and then he is addressed—

Sr. Erzbischoflichen Excellenz.

An Apostolic Nuncio is generally addressed—

Sr. Erzbischoflichen Excellenz,
dem Hochwürdigsten Herrn,
Herrn Ludovico Ruffo Scilla,
Apostolische Nuntius in München,
zu München.

A letter to a Bishop is generally addressed, *v.g.*—

Sr. Bischöflichen Gnaden,
dem Hochwürdigsten Herrn Klein,
Bischof von Bamberg.

If the Bishop be a Coadjutor we have only to add—"Coadjutor der Diöces von N.;" if he be an Auxiliary Bishop, for instance in the diocese of Munich, we should put—"Weihbischof in München."

A domestic Prelate is addressed, *v.g.*—

Sr. Hochwürden Herrn Krieg,
Hausprälaten Sr. Heiligkeit des Papstes, &c.

A Canon, Cathedral Curate, Superior of religious house, &c., is addressed, *v.g.*—

Sr. Hochwürden,
dem Herrn Kanonikus Schneider, or
Sr. Hochwürden dem Herrn Domkapitular N.
Seminardirector N., Hofkaplan N., &c., &c.

An Abbot of a monastery is addressed, *v.g.*—

Sr. Gnaden,
dem Hochwürdigsten Herrn N.,
Abt des Benedictiner-Stiftes,
zu Gratz.

A Parish Priest would be addressed—

Seiner Hochwürden,
dem Herrn Pfarrer N., &c.

On a letter to a Curate or to the Priests who administer part of a parish we should only have to substitute the words "Vikar" or "Kaplan" for "Pfarrer" in the above.

The Rector of a university is addressed, *v.g.*—

Sr. Magnificenz
dem Hochwohlgeboren Herrn N.,
Rector der Kaiserlicher Universität,
zu Leipsig.

A Professor would be addressed—

— Sr. Hochwohlgeboren
Herrn (Dr.) N., &c.

With regard to the laity, the Emperor is addressed simply—

An Seine Majestät,
den Kaiser Wilhelm,
in Berlin.

The Empress of Austria, *v.g.*—

**An Ihre Majestät,
die Kaiserin von Oesterreich,
in Wien.**

A king is addressed, *v.g.*—"An Seine Majestät, den König Ludwig von Bayern, in München." The people of Wurtemberg when writing to their king write simply, "An den König." A grand duke is addressed, "An Seine Königliche Hoheit, den Grossherzog von Baden, in Karlsruhe." A prince might be addressed, *v.g.*—"Sr. Fürstlichen Durchlaucht, dem Prinzen Friedrich von Sachsen-Altenburg," &c. An earl or count can be addressed, *v.g.*—"An Seine Hochgräfliche Erlaucht, den Hochgebornen Herrn Grafen von Lichtenstein," or, "Seiner Hochwohlgebornen, dem Herrn Grafen," &c. A baron or "Freiherr" may be addressed—"Seiner Hochfreiherrlichen Gnaden, dem Hochwohlgebornen Herrn Baron von N," or simply "Sr. Hochwohlgebornen, dem Herrn Baron von N." A minister of state is addressed—"Seiner Excellenz, dem Königl. (or) Kaiserl. Minister (der Justiz), (des Innern), Herrn (Grafen) (Baron) (Freiherrn) von N." A rich merchant or business person is addressed, *v.g.*—"Sr. Wohlgeboren, dem Herrn Hermann Herder, Verlagshandlung, zu Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden," or, "Sr. Wohlgeboren und Hochwürden Herrn Friedrich Pustet, Verlagshandlung, zu Regensburg (Ratisbon) Bayern," or, "An den Hochwürden Herrn Kaufmann Mayer," &c. A great many of the superior officers of the army are addressed, "Sr. Excellenz," &c.

We shall now proceed with the other forms, giving a few of those at the commencement and the end of the letters. We shall write them consecutively on the same line to economize space, as any person writing to Germany will have intelligence enough how to place the words themselves.

At the commencement of a letter a Cardinal is addressed "Eminenz," or, "Eure Eminenz." This form, however, is not considered over polite, especially when coming from an inferior; hence the form, "Hochwürdigster Herr Kardinal, Gnädigster Herr" is much more common. Doubling the titles in this manner is now almost universal. If the Cardinal be a prince by birth, the second part of the address would be—"Durchlauchtigster Fürst und Herr." An Archbishop who is a prince by birth is addressed—"Hochwürdigster, Durchlauchtigster Herr Erzbischof! Gnädigster Herr." A prince-archbishop is addressed—"Hochwürdiger Herr Fürst-Erzbischof! Gnädigster Herr." An Archbishop is generally addressed

—“Hochwürdigster, Hochgeborner Herr Erzbischof.” If he be a minister of state, even in the local government of a province or kingdom, or a privy councillor of a king or prince, he generally gets the title “Excellenz.” The other form is then also added, and often even “Gnädigster Herr.” A Nuncio is generally addressed with the three titles—“Excellenz, Hochwürdigster Herr Nuntius, Gnädigster Herr.” A Bishop—“Hochwürdigster Herr Bischof! Gnädigster Herr.” A prelate of the Pope’s household—“Hochwürdigster Herr Prälat.” A parish priest can be addressed—“Hochgeehrter Herr Pfarrer.” A doctor in Theology—“Hochwürdigster Herr Doctor.” A professor of a university—“Hochwürdiger Herr Professor.” For all others we have only to add the special title to the words “Hochwürdigster” or “Hochgeehrter Herr,” or, both, thus—“Hochwürdiger Hochgeehrter Herr Domkapitular, Kanonikus, Kuratus, Vikar, Kaplan, Superior, Prior, Rector, Dompräbendar, Hofkaplan, Abt, Probst, Konsistorial-Rath, Oberhofprediger, Dechanten, Kooperator, &c.” With regard to the laity, the emperor is addressed—“Allerdurchlauchtigster, Grossmächtigster Kaiser und Herr!” A king—“Allerdurchlauchtigster Grossmächtigster König! Allergnädigster König und Herr.” A grand-duke—“Allerdurchlauchtigster Grossherzog! Allergnädigster Grossherzog und Herr.” A prince of the Royal family—“Durchlauchtigster Prinz! Gnädigster Prinz und Herr.” An ordinary prince—“Gnädigster Fürst und Herr.” An archduke of Austria—“Durchlauchtigster Erzherzog! Gnädigster Herr.” A Duke—“Durchlauchtigster Herzog, Gnädigster Herzog und Herr.” An earl of the three upper classes (reichstandig, reichsunmittelbar and mediatisiert, who possess what is called “Standesherrschaft”) “Erlauchter Graf,” or “Erlauchtigster Graf und Herr.” An earl or baron (ohne Standesherrschaft) may be addressed: “Hochgeborner Herr Graf! Gnädiger Herr.” A baron or “Freiherr” who is not a “Standesherr,” should be addressed: “Hochwohlgeborner Freiherr,” or “Hochwohlgeborner Herr Baron! Gnädiger Herr.” A knight (Ritter) and people who have “Hoffähigkeit,” i.e., admittance to court, and all those in the lower grades of the nobility (Edelstand), may be addressed: “Hochwohlgeborner Herr.” A minister of State is: “Hochgeborner Herr Minister.” Judges and legal functionaries in the higher grades (“Regierung’s—Appellation’s-Rath,” “Landesgericht’s-Rath,” “Hof-Rath,” “Ministerial-Rath,” “Kabinets-Sekretär,” “Bürgermeister einer grossen Stadt,” “Oberamtsrichter,” “Forstmeister,” “Aktuar,” “Advokat,” “Registrator,” “Protokollist,” “Magistrats-Rath,” &c.), all these may

be addressed : " Wohlgeborner, Hochzuverehrender Herr," adding after " Herr " the specific title. The same too is used when addressing artists, bankers, and rich merchants (Kaufleute). A shopkeeper or a respectable tradesman, artisan, &c., can be addressed : " Hochgeehrter Herr." There is a principle in German which says : " Die Frauen erhalten den Titel ihrer Männer so dass also wen der Mann 'Hochwohlgeborner,' ' Wohlgeborner ' und dasgleich bekommt, die Frau dasselbe Prädicat erhalte." Hence the addresses of ladies can easily be determined from those given, as *e.g.* : " Hochgeborne Frau Gräfin ; Gnädigste Frau." " Hochwohlgebornes, Gnädiges Fräulein." " Durchlauchtigste Herzogin ! Gnädigste Herzogin und Frau," &c.

The terminations of the letter are even more varied than the addresses. We shall give only a few. A letter to a Cardinal, especially from an inferior in rank would end—" In tiefster Ehrfurcht verharret Eurer Eminenz, unterthänigster Diener N." To a bishop who is of princely origin : " In tiefster Ehrfurcht, verharret Eurer Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht, unterthänigst, gehorsamster Diener N." To an archbishop we should have only to change the " Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht " in the above into " Erzbischöflichen Gnaden." To a bishop we should substitute in the same place : " Ew. Bischöflichen Gnaden." To a nuncio : " Ew. Excellenz." To a prelate : " Eure Gnaden," or " Eure Hochwohlgeboren." To a clergyman in an important position we should say : " Mit der vollkommensten Hochachtung verharret Eurer Hochwürden, ergebenster Diener N." Another form for ecclesiastics generally is : " Achtungsvoll zeichnet Eurer Wohlehrwürden, ergebenster Diener N." To the Emperor the form is very elaborate : " In allertiefster Unterwürfigkeit, erstirbt Eurer Kaiserlichen Majestät, allerunterthänigster, treugehorsamster Diener N." To a King : " Kaiserlichen " in the above is changed into : " Königlichen." A letter to a nobleman of superior rank would end : " Genehmigen, Hochdieselben, die Versicherungen der tiefsten Verehrung, womit zu beharren die Ehre hat Eurer Hochgräflichen Gnaden, ergebenster, ganz gehorsamer Diener N." To a rector or chancellor of a university one might write : " Mit der ausgezeichnetsten Hochachtung empfiehlt sich Eurer Magnificenz, gehorsamster Diener N." Another common form in general use is : " Mit aller Hochachtung verbleibe ich Eurer Wohlgeboren, ergebenster Diener N," or " Mit der vollkommensten Hochachtung habe ich die Ehre zu sein, Ew. Wohlgeboren, ergebenster, &c." The following is a more subservient form : " Erlauben Sie dass ich mich Ihnen empfehlen darf und mit der wahrhaftesten Hochachtung mich unterschreiben, Ew. Hochwohlgeboren, ganz gehorsamsten N."

These general indications will suffice. It will be seen that the grades of rank are numerous in Germany. In the struggles of life there the respect for position and honor is an incentive to industry. For as the worthy pastor says in Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* :—

“ Ich weis es, der Mensch soll
Immer streben zum Bessern ; und, wie wir sehen, er strebt auch
Immer dem Höheren nach, zum wenigsten sucht er das neue
Aber geht nicht zu weit ! denn neben diesen Gefühlen
Gab die Natur uns auch die Lust zu verharren im Alten
Und sich dessen zu freun, was jeder lange gewohnt ist
Aller Zustand ist gut, der natürlich ist und vernünftig
Vieles wünscht sich der Mensch, und doch bedarf er nur wenig
Denn die Tage sind kurz und beschränkt der Sterblichen Schicksal.”

J. F. HOGAN.

DOCUMENTS.

ADDRESS OF THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND PRESENTED TO HIS HOLINESS LEO XIII. ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SACERDOTAL JUBILEE.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Perjucunda filiis Tuis adest dies anniversaria, et per totum orbem terrarum Christi fideles una voce gratias Deo Optimo Maximo agunt quia quinquaginta abhinc annis Tu ad Divinum Sacrificium litandum prima vice admissus, hodie, “lumen in coelo,” toti Ecclesiæ Catholicæ effulges, radiisque sanctitatis et doctrinæ mundum universum illustras. Scilicet qui sol tantis abhinc annis oriebatur, crescente jam lumine ad splendorem usque meridianum progressus est, et gloriose effulget. Et quidem tunc temporis in uno templo resonabant laudis cantica, quando voci tuæ Deus obedivit et super aram descendit—nunc autem in omnibus gentibus et in omni loco, Ipse Deus vices suas Reatitudini Tuæ commisit, ita ut Vicarius Christi, et nomineris et sis ; et ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, Ille qui potens est, nomen Tuum, Beatissime Pater, et per Te Nomen sanctum suum magnificavit.

Ceterum speciali modo dies ista faustissime nobis, Hibernis, illucescit, et lumine singulari oboritur. Namque dilectione peculiari Hiberniam nostram semper prosecutus ad summum Pontificatum

mira Dei Providentia vocatus, amorem istum novis et inusitatis significationibus ostendere non desinis. Quid dicendum de itinere nostro annis duobus abhinc ad Sacra Limina suscepto, quando Tu, Pater Optime, nos filios Tuos vocasti, ut nobiscum os ad os loquereris et monita salutis a labiis Tuis Apostolicis nos audiremus. Quid de jugi Tua pro nobis et gregibus nostris vere paterna sollicitudine! Quid de nova ista amoris ostensione, quando in hisce ultimis diebus Virum Illm̃m et Rm̃m., Archiepiscopum Damiettensem ad oras nostras misisti, uti de statu rerumstrarum praesenti plenissime cognosceret et Beatitudini Tuae referret de Hiberniae nostrae necessitatibus, de plebis nostrae Catholicae votis, de spe futurorum proventuum.

Et quidem in Te, Beatissime Pater, fiduciam maximam habemus, quod sicut in temporibus anteactis, ita et nunc et in posterum populo Hibernensi S. Sedes Apostolica semper erit columen et tutamen, et quod in persona Beatitudinis Tuae Parentem Optimum, egenorum defensorum, in legitimo plebis nostrae pro suis juribus certamine auxilium potentissimum, patriae denique nostrae in necessitatibus omnibus praesidium tutissimum inveniemus.

Ad Pedes igitur Beatitudinis Tuae, Nos, Archiepiscopi et Episcopi Hiberniae, provoluti, una cum Clero et fidei populo curis nostris commissis, Deo gratias agimus, Tibi autem, Beatissime Pater, gratulamur atque humillimas Omnipotenti Largitori omnium bonorum preces effundimus, ut quibusque Tibi tanta et tam eximia bona ad Ipsius gloriam et Ecclesiae decus donavit, potiora adhuc in dies tribuens beneficia, et in praesenti per plures annos et aeterna in regno coelorum bona concedere dignetur. Interea humillime rogamus Te, Beatissime Pater, ne cesses vocem Tuam Apostolicam attollere, sicuti a felice die erectionis Tuae in Cathedram principalem semper fecisti, ut per os Tuum, id est Petri qui per Leonem loquitur, audiant gentes verbum Evangelii, et credant. Monita salutis et regibus et populis tradere ne desinas, ut ad vitam una cum grege Tibi credito pervenias sempiternam.

Interea S. Pedes exosculantes Nobis, Cleroque nostro et populo fidei Benedictionem Apostolicam efflagitamus.

REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS.

Non longo vos sermone morabimur, verumtamem significare placet, quod ceteroquin sponte intelligitis, vehementer nos praesentia vestra vestrisque sententiis delectari. Quod declaratis Quinquagenaria Sacerdotii nostri memoria vos quidem civesque vestros singulari

affectos lætitia, perlibentes voluntatem istam accipimus, neque vos dubitare volumus quin reddamus parem.

Certe vel in ipso Summi Pontificatus exordio animum paterno cum studio ad Hiberniam adjecimus; eam quippe apud nos multiplex causa commendabat, sed potissimum Catholicæ incolumitas fidei quam scilicet Beati Patritii labore et virtute satam, invicta majorum vestrorum fortitudo retinuit, vobisque sancte custodiendam transmisit.

Ac jure quidem in vobis est stabilis benevolentiae nostræ fiducia. Hibernos enim ea quæ æquum est caritate prosecuturi sumus itemque eorum tranquillitati, prosperitatique studere perseverabimus. Et sane ut quam habetis spem in nobis positam perpetuo sustinuisse judicemur, cujusmodi animi nostri, vel hoc tempore exstat locuples testimonium, in eo videlicet quod venerabilem fratrem Archiepiscopum Damiettensem certis cum mandatis in rem præsentem misimus ut liceret nobis quo res statu sint et quid vobis maxime expediat illo etiam auctore cognoscere. Verum his insidentibus difficultatibus ex epistolis quas superioribus annis ad Archiepiscopum Dublinensem dedimus tuta ac firma agendi norma sumatur. Id sane postulat non solum religio quæ princeps est Hiberni generis laus sed ipsa quoque communis utilitas, quia nullum potest tempus accidere ut intersit reipublicæ fundamentum ordinis omniumque bonorum justitiam violari. Nuperrime in Germania feliciter re trepida Catholicos evasisse videtis moderatione legumque verecundia, nobis suasoribus atque auctoribus, adhibita. Similem in Hibernia modum quidni fructus similes Dei munere consequantur?

Quare plurimum Hiberniæ episcoporum auctoritate sapientiaque confidimus, plurimum etiam virtute populi cujus obsequio Sedis Apostolicæ in obtemperacione episcopis suis est laudata voluntas. Qua spe freti propitium vobis divitem in misericordia Deum adprecamur; et cœlestium munerem auspicem ac singularis benevolentiae testem, vobismetipsis quotquot adestis, universæque Hiberniæ Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

COMMENTARIUS IN ISAIAM PROPHETAM. Auctore Josepho Knabenbauer, S.J. Parisiis: Lethielleux, 1887.

The Commentary on Isaias by Fr. Knabenbauer is a further instalment of a complete *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae*, on which he, with a number of learned fellow-labourers of the same Order, has been for some time engaged. An advertisement printed on the fly-leaf of one of the volumes before us gives an idea of the scope of this undertaking. "Cette importante production, qui aura plus de quarante volumes in 8° raisin comprendra comme son titre l'indique tout ce qui peut être utile dans l'étude des Saintes Ecritures. Introductions, Commentaires, Grammaires et Dictionnaires spéciaux des Langues et des Antiquités bibliques, etc., et une édition critique des textes sacrés en hébreu, grec et latin." Several volumes of this *Cursus* have been already noticed in the pages of the RECORD,¹ among which were the Commentaries on the Book of Job, and on the Minor Prophets by the author of the present Commentary on Isaias.

The Jesuits have already done immense work in every department of ecclesiastical literature, but we venture to say that their illustrious Order has never rendered a more timely service to an important branch of sacred science than the publication of this *Cursus* promises to be.

Since the great revolt of the 16th century the enemies of the Church have many times changed their point of attack and their methods of warfare. At first it was loudly proclaimed that the Catholic Church feared the Bible, and that she kept her members ignorant of its contents lest the utter untenableness of her own position should become known to them. "The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible," was the shibboleth of the opponents of the Church, who went so far in their pretended reverence for the Bible as to hold that every word, nay, every letter and point, had been written under the immediate direction of the Holy Ghost. This strict view of Inspiration was soon abandoned. Even sentential Inspiration was found inconvenient. For even this comparatively lax view of Inspiration made it necessary to admit that the Holy Spirit had taught doctrines at variance with their practices and professions. Besides, their ablest theologians "searched the Scriptures" through and through for the

¹ See Vol. vii. Nos. 7 and 9. (July and September, 1836).

purpose of drawing up an unanswerable indictment against the Church of Rome. But their labour was vain. Their weapons turned against themselves: for, though they changed and twisted the meaning of words and phrases, their best efforts did no more than afford Catholic theologians an opportunity of heaping confusion on them and ridicule on their doctrines, by showing to the world the unsoundness of their arguments and their irreverence to the Sacred Book for which they professed such unbounded respect. At length the enemies of the Church came to realise, reluctantly enough, no doubt, that the Written Word of God, so far from being an object of fear, or a source of danger to the Church, formed an impenetrable armour for her, and was, besides, an armoury whence she could bring forth at will arms to crush and destroy every form of heresy or unbelief that might assail her.

A change of tactics became necessary, and a change was made. Inspiration of every kind was rejected; the authenticity of the various books of the Bible doubted or denied; miracles treated as myths, and the very existence of some of the chief biblical characters called into question. Outside the Catholic Church such is to-day the prevailing teaching regarding the Bible. What a change since the days of Luther!—A change, however, of which Luther's principle of private judgment contained the germ. Now-a-days it is fashionable for so-called, or, if you will, self-styled, scientific men, to regard the Bible as a tissue of absurdities and a mass of contradictions. No single book, according to them, is the work of one hand. Each one is made up of scraps contributed by different authors, at periods separated, in some cases, by centuries. Such blasphemous opinions about the word of God we are sorry to see adopted, at least in part, by some who call themselves Catholics. These men are not ashamed to recommend, as the only safe guides to a true knowledge of the Scriptures, men like Renan, Ewald and Strauss, whose only desire would seem to be to vilify the pages they pretend to illustrate. But, we are told, these men have subjected the language, history, archaeology, &c., of the Bible to a careful examination on strictly scientific principles. Consequently, their conclusions are far more worthy of our respect than the teachings of the Fathers of the Church who had the misfortune not to be "men of science."

To defend the authority of the Bible against the malignant and persistent attacks of such men some work was needed in which their falsehoods should be exposed, their arguments refuted, and the truth about the Bible—about its origin, authorship and inspiration—derived

from tradition and from modern research, stated and proved. The labours of the Jesuits bid fair to give us such a work.

The Commentary on Isaias, of which it is high time to say a word, is published in two parts, containing together upwards of 1,100 pages. The first part contains the interpretation of chapters one to thirty-seven inclusive; in the second part is given the interpretation of the remaining chapters. In an introduction prefixed to each part Fr. Knabenbauer discusses the usual questions about the authorship, scope and style and subject matter of that part. Speaking of this division of the Book of Isaias we cannot help asking, why does Fr. Knabenbauer introduce a division at the end of the thirty-seventh chapter instead of at the end of the thirty-ninth, as is usually done? The four chapters, 36-39, may be regarded as an historical appendix to the preceding portion of the book. They narrate the chief events of the reign of Ezechias, and Fr. Knabenbauer has, we think, failed to give any satisfactory reason for introducing so marked a division in the middle of this narrative. Moreover, he admits that chapter 40 contains the prologue of the second part, and finds the "argument" of this part in the second verse of that chapter. "*Completa est miseria ejus, expiata iniquitas, suscepit de manu Domini duplicia.*" Again, those who deny the authenticity of the second part, mean thereby, as is well known, the part beginning with chapter 40. Hence, both friends and enemies see some reason for making a division at the end of chapter 39, while hardly any one but Fr. Knabenbauer himself sees any reason for making the division at the end of chapter 37.

Fr. Knabenbauer's method differs somewhat from that usually adopted by commentators. He subdivides the two leading divisions of Isaias into sections, each of which contains what he terms a *series oraculorum*. To the interpretation of each section he prefixes a synopsis of the matters treated of therein, but does not give, as is generally done, the text of the section. This we consider a disadvantage. It is very important that the student of the Bible should have the text in a continuous form under his eyes while reading his commentary. Better still, then, than printing the text of the section in full immediately before the commentary, would it have been to give the text of the subsections into which the larger sections are again subdivided, at the head of the commentary on each. Fr. Knabenbauer does not, however, omit altogether the words of the Prophet. He weaves them into his commentary, thus giving to it partly the character of a paraphrase. To illustrate. The author thus begins his explanation of chapter 12, which, by the way, forms

one of the subsections mentioned above, and is headed—"Hymnus laudis et gratiarum actionis."

"Iam aequissimum est ut qui tanta gratia et liberalitate divina redempti sunt, sicut Israelitae Aegyptiis in mare submersis, hymnum laudis et gratiarum actionis cantent. . . . Unde v. 1. '*Et dices in die illa confitebor tibi Domine quoniam iratus es mihi, conversus est furor tuus et consolatus es me.*' Verum haec propriae infirmitatis cognitio cui Deus tam amanter remedium attulisse et solatium cognoscitur fundamentum est solidum et inconcussum summae in Deum fiduciae animique alacritatis unde v. 2. '*ecce Deus salvator meus fiducialiter agam et non timebo, quia fortitudo mea et laus mea Dominus et factus est mihi in salutem.*'"

This method may have advantages over that followed by Maldonatus, à Lapide, Estius, &c., but we confess that we fail to appreciate them. Indeed we are of opinion that to it is due the one great defect in Fr. Knabenbauer's undoubtedly able and learned commentary—namely, the painful obscurity of the style. We regret to be obliged to find any fault with a work to which so much labour has been given, but were we to pass over in silence this defect we should not be just to our readers. The more willingly, too, do we point it out because we feel that Fr. Knabenbauer's attention should be called as early as possible to any defect in his style likely to lessen the value of the very large share in the preparation of the *Cursus*, which, on account of his extensive acquaintance with biblical literature, must necessarily fall to him.

The authenticity of the second part of *Isaias* has, as we have already remarked, been denied. The arguments on which this denial is based are both absurd and illogical. The style of this second part, say the Rationalists, differs, *toto coelo*, from that of the genuine parts of the Book of *Isaias*. Again, prophecy, they say, is impossible. Therefore those portions in which events, that did not happen for centuries after the time of *Isaias*, are actually described, could not have been written by *Isaias*. Fr. Knabenbauer has little difficulty in answering these arguments. The first is too childish to deserve serious refutation. In replying to the second the author does not content himself with merely proving the possibility of prophecy. The Rationalists, were they not so irrational, should long since have been convinced of this. He shows, in addition from the very words of the Prophet, whoever he may have been, that the prophecies objected to by the Rationalists must have been uttered long anterior to the events, nay, about the very time at which *Isaias* is known to have flourished. (Vol. 2, pp. 6, *et. sq.*)

As might be expected from the exhaustive nature of the work, we find a very learned and lengthened disquisition on the well-known

text (vii. 14) "*Propter hoc dabit Dominus ipse vobis signum : ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel.*" The interpretation adopted by the author is first stated briefly, and afterwards developed and defended. We quote the interpretation—

"Rem jam nunc praeoccupatione quadam breviter declaro : promittitur *Messias nasciturus* ; ita cum ille oriri debeat secundum humanam naturam ex domo David haec domus servabitur ; promittitur *conceptus ac partus virgineus*, in qua re uti cernitur magnum Dei miraculum, ita pignus datur et symbolum, quo Deum posse ea efficere quae naturae viribus fieri nequeunt, Deum posse inter maxima pericula incolumitatem etiam tunc praestare, luculentissime constat, cum humana subsidia plane desint. Sed *Messias ille praedicitur adolescere in conditione aerumnosa procul a sede et urbe regia*, in terra Israel, qua re imperium et splendorem domus David interiisse, domum regiam David e sede regia pulsam, regimine privatam in obscuritate et quasi in exsilio misero latentem satis clare innuitur." (Vol. i., p. 165.)

Our space will not permit us even to point out the arguments by which the author establishes this interpretation. Suffice it to say that they are sound, thorough, and convincing, though marred by that obscurity and roundaboutness of style of which we have just spoken.

We notice that a doubt is cast on the derivation of עלמה—*Almah*—*Virgo*—given by St. Jerome and very generally accepted. According to St. Jerome it is derived from עלץ—*alam*, *abscondere*, whence the holy Doctor concludes, "*Ergo alma non solum puella et virgo—sed cum ἐκκρύβεται virgo abscondita dicitur et secreta.*" But עלמה Fr.

Knabenbauer remarks, is the feminine form of עלץ *puer, adolescens* ; and he adds, "*Sed valde incredibile videtur, puerum, adolescentem juvenem dici ab absconsione*" (p. 172). But really it does not seem at all incredible to us. Had we no other guide than Forster, quoted by Fr. Knabenbauer, we should be inclined to accept this derivation. Forster says—"Hebraeis est *elem* adolescens seu juvenis quamdiu est privatus et privatam vitam agit neque in publico aut politico officio et administratione existit, congrua derivatione a verbo quod *absconditum* esse significat, etc" (ibi).

Fr. Knabenbauer adopts the interpretation of the words "*butyrum et mel comedet*" given by Rosenmuller, which he expresses thus : "*Jam lacte spisso [the Hebrew word, which is rendered butyrum in the Vulgate, more properly signifies lac spissum, which our author here uses] et melle vesci est signum terrae vastatae et in solitudinem redactae*" (p. 185). This will appear a bold interpretation when we remember that one of the signs of the surpassing richness and fertility of the Land of Promise was, that it was a land flowing with milk and

honey. Besides, Patrizi declares that if that be the meaning of these words they cannot be applied to Christ. "*Verba butyrum et mel comedet* de Christo dicta esse non possunt, si his ea significatio subesset" (De Evang. diss. 16, c. ii. pt. 2). Nevertheless our author shows both that this is in all probability the true signification of the words, and that they do apply to Christ.

In concluding this lengthy notice let us express a hope that this Commentary on Isaias will soon find a place in every priest's library. For, though the arrangement might be better, though it might have been written in a more readable style, still it is a treasury of Scriptural lore, in which everything will be found that is either necessary or useful for a right understanding of the text. Isaias is *par excellence* the book for the priest who wishes to rebuke, console, correct, or exhort his people in the inspired language of Sacred Scripture. By the aid of the light which Fr. Knabenbauer's Commentary will throw upon it, he will be able to penetrate to the very depths of the expressive phrases of "Isaias the great Prophet and faithful in the sight of God," who "with a great spirit saw the things that are come to pass at last, and comforted the mourners of Sion." (Eccus. xlviii. 25 and 27).
D. O'L.

NOVISSIMA; OR WHERE DO OUR DEPARTED GO? By Bernard O'Reilly, D.D., D. Lit., *Laval*. Baltimore: The Baltimore Publishing Company.

Novissima is a beautiful and very instructive and entertaining book on heaven. Treating of the supernatural destiny of man, and God's infinite generosity as manifested in the graces bestowed on us in this life, but especially in the happiness reserved for the children of God in heaven, its title would have been misleading had it not been the author's purpose "to verify it, by treating, in a future volume, both of the punishment and purification to be undergone after death."

In meditating upon the happiness in store for us in our heavenly home, many people are apt to build up a heaven of their own, which naturally takes the shape and colour which their present wants, their sorrows, and their sufferings lend thereto. The poor man, for instance, looks upon heaven as a place of rest, where neither care, nor toil, nor trouble shall be any more. The invalid, as a place of perpetual health of body and mind. The man who, in the practice of virtue, has had all manner of temptations, delights in viewing heaven as a place wholly free from trial, where neither sin shall be, nor the possibility of sin.

Obviously these are very imperfect views of the happiness of heaven. They all ignore the Beatific Vision, which is the essential constituent of heavenly bliss. It is, therefore, important to know what faith and theology teach concerning heaven.

It is important for another reason: daily life—to the very best of us—is but a series of trials and difficulties; a battling with the forces of evil from without, and the frailty of the flesh within. Spread this struggle not over weeks and months but over a life-time; make it to comprehend the two spheres of human action commonly known as the “natural” and the “spiritual,” and you have verified as well as illustrated the well known saying of Job, “*Militia est vita hominis super terram.*”

The better to enable us to wage this incessant warfare, God has prepared for us an exceeding great reward. Knowing well the selfishness of the human heart, He has mercifully intended that the hope of reward should sustain us in our weaker moments—when sorely pressed and wearied with the life-long struggle. Hence it is that meditations on the eternal truths are invaluable to souls who are on the point of yielding to temptation. Such meditations have a wonderful power of infusing into them new courage to battle manfully against the obstacles which beset their path, by reminding them that “our present tribulation, which is momentary and light, worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory.”

To interpret this “eternal weight of glory;” to explain the magnificence of God’s rewards—their fitness and sufficiency—and thus to still the tempest of troubled souls, was the task which Dr. O’Reilly set himself to accomplish. To the manner of its accomplishment we can, in most particulars, give an unqualified approval. To some few of Dr. O’Reilly’s speculations on abstruse questions we cannot subscribe. Nor are we concerned to do so. If fanciful, they are also consoling. And it only remains for us to express our conviction that *Novissima*, as the author hopes, will bring “light, consolation, strength, and rest to the homes that might welcome it, and the troubled of heart who would chance to peruse its pages.”

J. P. M'D.

A LAMP OF THE WORD AND INSTRUCTOR’S GUIDE. By the Very Rev. Canon Carr, V.G., President of St. Edward’s College, Liverpool. Liverpool: Rockliff Brothers, 44, Castle-street.

Few, it may be said, of those who have no experience in teaching the Catechism know the many difficulties with which the teacher has

to contend. Many indeed consider it quite an easy matter to take up a chapter of the Catechism and to explain it sentence after sentence to a class of children and afterwards to put before them an orderly, simple account of its contents. Experience teaches those who so think a useful lesson. It brings them face to face with difficulties they had not expected. They soon learn how careful they must be in the selection of their words and phrases, they soon become convinced how necessary a clear, distinct knowledge of the subject matter of instruction, how indispensable a well ordered, connected arrangement of the parts of their subject is, for obtaining any fruit for their labours. They must know precisely what is to be taught, they must arrange the matter to be taught, they must select, and select carefully, their words, their explanations, their examples, if they wish their hearers to understand them. All this, however, demands careful preparation, and in this preparation not a few difficulties have to be surmounted. Canon Carr in *A Lamp of the Word* set himself to mitigate these difficulties by arranging the details of a subject in the form of a chart, or carefully ordered plan.

His work therefore consists of a series of charts, or detailed plans, on all the subjects of the Christian Doctrine which the teacher will have to treat of. Drawn up originally for private use these charts got into the hands of teachers and managers of schools who repeatedly urged the compiler to complete the series and publish it. The result of their wishes is the volume before us.

There are one-hundred and twenty-one charts in the compilation. Each chart is occupied with either a subject or a division of one. Thus we have nine charts treating of the Blessed Eucharist. To one casually glancing over the pages the first thing that would appear striking is the order that pervades the entire. Examining any of the pages minutely one must feel delighted to find such a field of information on subjects so necessary. Space would not permit us to give anything like a fitting description of the charts, or detailed plans, but we may give an idea of the mode in which they are drawn up by taking as a specimen the first one, that on FAITH No. I. The subject is thus divided:—The Nature, Effect, Qualities, Motives, Kinds, Necessity. Under each of these divisions it is again divided and references are frequently given to texts of Scripture which may be of use to the teacher. The pages are printed only on one side of the paper. An Index of Subjects is prefixed; in this index, as perhaps throughout the book, we would prefer the Arabic notation.

We hope the reverend compiler will be soon in a position to

make the work still more perfect in an edition of larger size and type. We commend his series of charts to the careful consideration of all who are called upon to explain the Christian doctrine. The author of the volume before us lays down in the following propositions the four corners of one's faith :—

(a) A necessity of my reason constrains me to believe in the existence of God.

(b) My moral sense, or moral reason, or conscience, constrains me to believe that God has revealed Himself to me.

(c) My reason and moral sense constrain me to believe that this revelation is Christianity.

(d) My reason is convinced that historical Christianity is the Catholic faith.

These truths are demonstrated in a manner which the ordinary reader will appreciate. No subtlety of thought, no vagueness of expression is to be met with. It is true many things are left unsaid, but what is said is well ordered and simple.

THE LITTLE FLOWERS OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI. London :
Burns and Oates.

THIS is the second edition of a book already well known to many of our readers. Translated from the Italian by one to whom English Catholic literature is deeply indebted, it comes to us with the highest recommendations of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, its editor.

The Little Flowers, though the work of an unknown author, and not written till half a century after the death of St. Francis, has always been highly esteemed by the hagiographers, but it is in another aspect than that of merely historical value we would wish to call attention to it. In a remarkable way it brings the reader into the society of St. Francis and his holy companions. He witnesses their heroic mortifications; he sees the proofs of their child-like humility, their zeal, and their burning charity; and how can he fail to draw from such a union with these chosen servants of God some of that spirit which made their lives such perfect copies of the life of their divine model, and gained for them, even in this world, such an abundance of heavenly favours.

Among those books which exhibit the Christian virtues in practical working *The Little Flowers* will always hold a foremost place.

THE CHRISTIAN STATE OF LIFE ; OR SERMONS ON THE PRINCIPAL DUTIES OF CHRISTIANS IN GENERAL, AND OF DIFFERENT STATES IN PARTICULAR—Namely, of young people towards God, their parents, and themselves, as far as the care of their souls and the selection of a state of life are concerned ; of those who intend embracing the married state ; of married people towards each other ; of parents towards their children, in what concerns both the temporal and spiritual welfare of the latter ; of heads of families towards their servants ; of servants towards their masters ; of subjects towards the spiritual and temporal authorities ; of lay people towards priests ; of the sick towards God and the poor ; on the state, dignity, and happiness of the poor ; on the use of time, and making up for lost time ; on the good and bad use of evening and morning time, &c., &c. In seventy-six sermons, adapted to all the Sundays and holydays in the year, with a full index of all the sermons, and an alphabetical index of the principal subjects treated, and copious marginal notes. By the Rev. Father Francis Hunolt, Priest of the Society of Jesus, and Preacher in the Cathedral of Treves. Translated from the original German edition of Cologne, 1740. By the Rev. J. Allen, D.D., Chaplain of the Dominican Convent of the Sacred Heart, Kingwilliams-town, and of the Dominican Convent, East London, South Africa. In 2 Volumes. New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis : Benziger Brothers. London : R. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son, O'Connell-street.

WE took up these volumes with certain misgivings. Most sermon-books are failures. Some are too dry ; others too ornate ; some too short ; others again too diffuse, while, generally speaking, all lack that most essential element—solid matter. If this be true of books of limited compass and well-defined purpose, we argued, there is all the greater reason to fear that the volume before us—with 1,000 octavo pages by way of compass, and a purpose large enough to comprehend “the principal duties of Christians in general, and of different states in particular”—will be characterised alike by diffuseness of style and poverty of matter. In this rather unfavourable frame of

mind we took up Father Hunolt's *Sermons*. It needed but little reading to convince us that our fears were ill-founded. Page after page continued to undeceive us. We found the reciprocal duties of parents and children, husband and wife, masters and servants; the duties of subjects towards the spiritual and temporal authorities, of lay people towards priests, of the sick towards God, and the poor, &c., treated with a simplicity of language and a directness of style, a freshness of thought and a wealth of illustration, as rare as they are desirable.

Father Hunolt has been very careful in the selection of his subjects. They are all very practical, while his treatment of them is at once exhaustive and methodical.

To our mind the distinctive feature of the work before us, lies in its wealth of illustration. The author's wonderful knowledge of human nature—its follies and its weaknesses—has been largely utilised in this respect. The value of these illustrations is that they render a sermon interesting and impressive; and, moreover, they help the audience to retain afterwards what they hear. On this account Father Hunolt's *Sermons* are valuable to priests and people alike.

The present edition is enriched with valuable marginal synopses, and contains two very full indexes—one of subjects, and one showing for what Sunday or feast each Sermon may be used. These indexes greatly enhance the value of the work.

The translator's part has been well done.

J. P. M'D.

WHAT CATHOLICS HAVE DONE FOR SCIENCE. With sketches of the great Catholic Scientists. By Rev. Martin S. Brennan, A.M. New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis: Benziger Brothers.

By the publication of the above, the author can justly lay claim to be numbered amongst those who by their writings have ably defended the Catholic Church against the many false accusations which have been and are daily made against her.

It is hard to conceive how, in this age of knowledge and refinement, charges can be brought forward which are utterly unfounded and in direct opposition to the records of history. To expose then such false statements the present volume has been given to the public. In a few pages the author clearly shows that the Catholic Church is and has been, not the enemy, but the friend and patron of science—that within her fold are to be found men who rank first amongst the foremost of those distinguished in the scientific world.

The plan of the work is of the simplest kind. Different sciences are taken up in order ; an account of the development of each one is given, with a short sketch of the life of those Catholics who are prominent in each department. It is in no way argumentative, and therefore will commend itself to the most ordinary capacity.

The simple, yet choice language used, the order observed, and the vast amount of knowledge therein contained, will render the perusal of the work pleasing and instructive.

We wish Father Brennan's work every success, confident that it is well suited "to confound the ignorant slanderers of the church, as well as to edify her devoted children."

FREQUENT COMMUNION. London : Burns & Oates.

THIS is a translation from an extract from the French of Père Boone, S.J.

In a compass of fifty pages, besides explaining the operation of the Eucharist in the soul and discussing the important question of the dispositions required for the frequent reception of the sacrament, it treats of the advantages of frequent communion and replies to the arguments sometimes advanced against it.

Although wanting in the fulness and precision which would make it a complete handbook of direction on the subject of which it treats, this little volume contains much that will be useful to pastors, whether for the general instruction of the faithful from the pulpit, or the direction of individual souls in the sacred tribunal.

HOPE AND CONSOLATION IN THE CROSS. By F. Alexis Bulens, O.S.F. London : R. Washbourne. 1887.

"To place before the thoughtful reader the various means of sanctifying himself in the midst of the afflictions of life," has been the object of Father Bulens in writing this little book. Twenty years' experience of missionary life in England, sound learning, and solid piety have well qualified him for this task. By way of question and answer he describes graphically for us the various trials and afflictions of every state in life, of the rich as well as the poor, of the unmarried as well as the married, of the young as well as the old, of the pious as well as the impious ; and in each case he prescribes for us the easy remedy whereby we can make them all serve to the sanctification of our souls. This little book comes to us at a very opportune time. We hope to see it widely circulated among our people ; we are sure it will help to sanctify many of them in the afflictions they are undergoing.

THE MOST HOLY ROSARY. Translated from the German of the Rev. W. Cramer, by the Rev. Eugene Grimm, C.S.S.R. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THE author puts clearly and forcibly before us the many reasons *why we should honor Mary, and how we should honor her.* He also briefly explains the prayers of which the Rosary is composed, and *why* it is composed of those prayers. But the principal object of the author is to "render easy for those that say the Rosary the meditation on the mysteries of Jesus and Mary." This object the author has most successfully accomplished. We were somewhat disappointed at finding no reference whatsoever to the very remarkable history of this popular form of devotion. Miracles of the most extraordinary kind have marked each step of its progress. Pope after Pope, and notably amongst them our Holy Father Leo XIII., have given it their solemn approval and enriched it with indulgences. The glories achieved by St. Dominick; the victories of Lepanto, Peterwaradin, and Belgrade; the many other miracles wrought by means of the Rosary: are not *these* memories worth recalling? What greater motives could we have to urge us to practise the devotion of the Rosary? It also occurs to us that in the Appendix, in addition to the very useful matter which has been added, a few words might very appropriately have been said on the many indulgences of the Rosary, on the conditions necessary for gaining them, and also on the societies connected with the Rosary. Nevertheless we have no hesitation in saying that this little book will help to procure for Mary many devout clients, and will be of the greatest assistance to all her clients in helping them to meditate on the mysteries of the Rosary.

"IN THE WAY." London: Burns & Oates.

"IN the Way to the Catholic Church" would be the full title of this little book. It is a well-told tale of the gradual progress of simple earnest Protestants in the direction of Catholicity, and closes when it leaves the principal characters inside the gates of the true fold. Some of those Catholic doctrines, about which there is a grave misconception on the part of persons outside the Church, are clearly explained and skilfully defended. The exposition of the Catholic doctrine regarding the Eucharist is particularly good, and the proofs adduced are put clearly and forcibly, and so simply, that they can be grasped by the most ordinary mind. In the beginning of the book there is mystery enough to excite curiosity, and throughout there is incident enough to keep the attention fixed.

VICTORIES OF THE MARTYRS. By St. Alphonsus Liguori.
Translated by the Very Rev. Bonaventure MacLaughlin;
S.T.L., O.S.F. Dublin: Duffy & Sons.

THE works of St. Alphonsus are too well known to Catholic readers to need any special recommendation from us. "There are few of his works which bear more strongly the impress of the holy author's mind, his high devotion, and ardent love of God," than the present. The author does not propose to himself to give us a history of all the martyrs, but only of a few of the most remarkable, selected from every rank and station of life, "to show that the firmest faith, the most enduring patience, and the most unshrinking fortitude are peculiar to no condition of life." We wish we could induce our young men and women to turn their attention to such books as the *Victories of the Martyrs*, instead of reading the trashy novels of the present day which are infusing such deadly poison into their minds.

THE CATHOLIC'S LIBRARY OF POEMS. London: Catholic Truth Society.

THE Catholic Truth Society continues the good work of placing in the hands of the people a cheap Catholic literature. The *Library of Poems* is a companion volume to the *Library of Tales* already published, and deserves like its forerunner an extensive circulation. The poems are judiciously chosen and, though some of them are the work of non-Catholic writers, all of them breathe a truly Catholic spirit.

A THOUGHT FROM DOMINICAN SAINTS, for every day in the year. Translated from the French by a Sister of Mercy.
New York: Benziger Brothers.

A Thought from Dominican Saints consists of selections from the writings of SS. Thomas Aquinas, Vincent Ferrer, Catherine of Siena, Ven. John Tauler, Ven. Louis of Grenada, B. Albert the Great, B. Henry Suso, &c. A thought is given for each day of the year. The pretty exterior of the little book harmonises with its inner beauty.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1888.

A SICK CALL AND ITS SEQUEL.

“THERE is a sick call, sir, to R—— in the western part of the parish.”

It was his servant who recently communicated this message to a young curate officiating in an Irish rural parish.

He had just returned from the morning “station.” It was the usual time for attending sick calls; and as the messenger had represented the case as especially urgent, he immediately set out to visit and administer the last rites of religion to his dying parishioner.

An hour’s drive brought him to his destination. It was a remote corner of his parish, extensively inhabited by Protestants, interspersed with a very sparse Catholic population. Being comparatively a stranger in the parish he was rather unacquainted with this distant district and its Catholic inhabitants. Yet he had heard a short history of the family which he was visiting.

Leaving his driver a short distance from the house, he approached and entered the poor cottage where he was most heartily welcomed. The inmates were a poor couple—husband and wife—both old and infirm. There were no children, no servants. The husband was born of Catholic parents, belonged to the middle or poorer class, and continued during life a most exact and uncompromising child of the Catholic Church. He endured during life a mortal’s share of severe sufferings; but neither the sullen frown of temporal afflictions,

nor the seductive smiles of a wealthy church which, to recapture his wife, would befriend them both, could weaken much less eradicate his devotion to, and his reverence for, the doctrines and practices of the Church of his fathers.

His wife had a different history. Born of respectable Protestant parents, cradled in affluence, she had been accustomed in youth to all the refinement, the comforts, and the luxuries which opulence can bestow. She was educated in the religion of her parents, and spent her early years in an atmosphere most intensely laden with anti-Catholic prejudices. And when in time she selected a poor papist for her husband—though she was inexorably cut off from social or religious association with her family or friends—it was their sustaining consolation that she continued in the Protestant church. They could live and die in comparative peace when they believed—though erroneously—that her unequal marriage had brought no change in her religious convictions.

Some time after her marriage she accompanied her husband to mass, where the devotion of the simple faithful impressed her profoundly. "I was," she used to say, "very much influenced in my conversion by the devotion of the poor Catholics at mass. It was to me a revelation. In the Protestant church it was all fashion—dress exhibitions: in your chapels I first witnessed genuine piety and devotion." After some time, unknown to her parents and friends, she abandoned the Protestant church (at least in external profession) and henceforward linked her religious fortune with him to whom she had plighted her faith at the altar.

They were now advanced in years, and the evening of their lives began to be disturbed by harrowing anxiety about their temporal concerns. Whilst the health and strength of youth remained, the willing industry of the husband brought abundance to the humble home; and the happy housewife discharged the domestic duties with some of the refinement of better days, making her humble home in neatness and cleanliness a miniature counterpart of the better home of old. But old age is inexorable. The husband was unable to toil; the wife more feeble and decrepit was unable to attend to the domestic duties; needless to say that their poor abode had

commenced to show unmistakable signs of want and uncleanness.

The priest entered the sick room where the poor husband lay stricken down by a deadly malady. If he had not heard the nature of the ailment, the restless spasmodic movements of the patient, the vacant bewildered stare of the eyes, the absence of nearly all power of mental concentration would have instantly convinced him that his poor patient was suffering from a dangerous affection of the brain. He presented very little theological difficulty to the priest; he had kept the faith; he had been a good Christian; he had been always exact in fulfilling the duties of the Catholic church; his mental weakness alone caused anxiety: however, by patient care his confessor succeeded in fixing his attention, and disposing him satisfactorily for the reception of the last sacraments. Having administered the sacraments, and having given a short simple exhortation to his penitent the priest went to offer some sympathy to the poor afflicted wife before his departure.

She was overpowered with grief. Poor woman! In that desolate moment the varied events of her life rush on her thoughts and intensify her sufferings. She involuntarily recalls her girl-day happiness; she remembers the unalloyed joys and pleasures of youth: she pictures to herself all her coequals enjoying in their old age all that ease, all that attendance, all those comforts which independence can procure. She might have enjoyed the same! Yet she does not repine at their loss. She had chosen a poor peasant: their life had been extremely happy; no doubt dark clouds rolled over them, but never darkened the sunshine and serenity of their domestic happiness. But now in her old age that happiness received a rude shock in the apprehended loss of her husband—the only hope of her declining years. “To-morrow, Father, he will be removed to hospital, and I fear he will never return.” She wept bitterly, thanked the priest for his kindness, and expressed a desire that he would return on Saturday to bring her “the holy and blessed communion.”

On Saturday the priest returned to hear her confession and to administer holy communion. He arrived at an early

hour, to obviate the necessity of keeping his penitent fasting, and to be free in due time for the duties of the confessional. He was welcomed by the good old matron who wept bitterly for her poor husband's enforced absence. The husband had been removed to hospital in the meantime, otherwise the condition of the place was unchanged. He noticed, however, that a few days had created a change in the manner of the old matron. There was a reserve, perhaps a coldness; something (as he afterwards understood) that might indicate a divided allegiance between the Catholic priest and some other churchman. "Father," she said, "I am sorry to have disappointed you. I cannot receive holy communion to-day. I could not remain fasting this morning; please excuse me for occasioning such a useless journey." His sympathy for her bereavement and sufferings made him insensible to disappointment. He bade her not to consider his trouble; that at a more convenient time he would return and administer the sacraments. He was then preparing to leave, when with a searching glance she commenced to unfold her religious creed, and to describe the real reason of the morning's disappointment. It entailed a prolonged dialogue, and had no connection with confession.

Penitent.—Father, you give communion only under one species. Why do you refuse the "chalice of salvation?" Our Lord gave communion under both species at the last supper. Why, then, does the Church interfere with His rite? What authority has she to thrust aside the ritual of Christ, and substitute a practice of her own?

Priest.—The Church indeed disclaims all authority to interfere with the substance of the Eucharistic rite. In consecrating she could not discard bread and wine, and substitute, let me say, meat and water. But religiously retaining the substantial rite instituted by Christ she claims for herself the power to alter—as the dignity of the sacrament, and the interests of the faithful may require—the time of administering the blessed Eucharist, the manner of dispensing, and the pre-required bodily dispositions. In the exercise of this power she has withdrawn the chalice from the laity. Moreover, the rite adopted at the Last Supper was not prescribed for future ages. The

Apostles were not fasting when they communicated; still you would not consider it wrong to receive holy communion fasting?

Penitent.—No; I do not object to the fast, Father. I consider that reverence for our Lord's body requires us to communicate fasting. I think the Church very wisely commands us to receive the holy Eucharist fasting.

Priest.—However that is a departure from our Lord's practice at the Last Supper. He required no fast. He did not select the early part of the day. He gave communion to the Apostles at the Last Supper. The Church on the contrary requires a fast. She administers Communion generally in the forenoon. Communion is not confined to the successors of the Apostles, it is given to lay persons, men and women. If, therefore, the Church wisely departed in so many particulars from the rite of the Last Supper, why should we restrict the power of the Church when we speak of Communion under both species?

Penitent.—But, Father, lay people received the chalice for many years; now they are deprived of it, and so, I am informed, are priests unless when celebrating mass. This is wrong; because our Lord requires us to drink the chalice, "Unless you eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of Man you cannot have life in you." How do you explain this difficulty, Father?

Priest.—The Church, as you correctly stated, could not deny to the faithful the body and blood of Christ; but the Church teaches that we receive the body and blood of Christ when we receive only the species of bread, and she explains her teaching thus. Death wrought a real separation between the body and blood of Christ; if, therefore, during His three days in the sepulchre the Apostles consecrated, the body and blood would be separated, the body would be under the appearance of bread, the blood would be in the chalice. An indissoluble union was solemnized at the resurrection, and the body and blood of Christ shall never again be separated. They are, therefore, always together; the faithful consequently who communicate under the appearance of bread receive the body and blood of Christ and fulfil His commandment.

Lay people no doubt enjoyed the use of the chalice for many years; but very cogent motives compelled its withdrawal. I shall only mention a few reasons. In the administration of holy Communion, particularly to a great concourse of communicants, there is always some danger of irreverence; and priests sometimes learn by painful experience that, employ diligence as they will, a sacred particle may fall from them to the ground. Now it is manifest that this danger of irreverence would be increased a hundred fold if to large and small numbers of communicants the chalice too were administered. Again the wealthy and fastidious would have an aversion to drink from the same sacred vessel as their poorer neighbours. No wonder then that the use of the chalice had considerably fallen into disuse before it was finally withdrawn by order of the Church.

Penitent.—Then, Father, they say that our Lord is present in the Eucharist, as He was on the cross.

Priest.—Yes; the Church teaches that the blessed Eucharist contains the body and blood of Christ. They are the same body and blood in which He suffered; but they exist now in a glorified state. You do not doubt that He is present in the Eucharist?

Penitent.—I believe, Father, that our Lord is present in the holy Communion. He is mystically present. The little “wafer” reminds us of Jesus Christ, and excites our faith in Him.

Priest.—And is that all? Do the thousands, who communicate and who speak of partaking of Christ’s body receive only common bread? At the Last Supper our Lord instituted the holy communion. He administered it to the Apostles saying, “take and eat for this is My body.” The words were not intended to have one meaning at the Last Supper, and another at subsequent ages. Did our Lord mean then, “this will excite your faith and remind you of Me?” Certainly not. The Apostles daily saw Jesus; they lived with Him; they had witnessed His miracles: they believed that He was God. Surely then it was unnecessary for them to eat some ordinary bread to sustain their faith in Jesus Christ.

Penitent.—I was differently instructed. Then, Father, they say that priests forgive sins. But how can men forgive

sins? Does not the Bible say that God alone forgives sin? When Protestants speak to me on the subject I always say we must avoid sin, and that we must expect pardon through repentance and the mercy of God.

Priest.—It is certainly true that God alone can forgive sin. But God can forgive sin by his own immediate act; or he can grant us pardon through other agency. In the present order of His providence He has given to some of His creatures the power of absolving others in His name. "Whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven, whose sins you shall retain they are retained." Besides if this power does not exist how could it happen that from the Apostolic age persons frequented the tribunal of penance, and confessed—a thing most distasteful to human nature—their most secret faults to a fellow creature? Has not God power to appoint persons who will absolve in his name? What did He mean by the words, "Whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven?"

Penitent.—God has power certainly to appoint priests; but I learned, Father, that priests cannot forgive sins. Then, Father, they tell me that one man cannot err, that the Pope is infallible, that he cannot do wrong. Do you believe that doctrine, Father?

Priest.—A part I do not believe. Another part I believe and consider most reasonable doctrine. The pope may do wrong; the pope may hold erroneous opinions. But when he teaches the whole Church as the representative of Christ, he cannot err, he cannot lead the people into error. And this I call most reasonable doctrine. God has given us a store of doctrinal and moral teaching in the Scriptures. We must accept His doctrines; we must adopt His code of morals. The meaning of sacred Scripture is often very difficult to be determined; it is not, therefore, unreasonable that God would appoint a representative on earth who, as occasion may require, would unerringly explain His teaching to the faithful. And assuredly it does not exceed the power of God to preserve a man from error?

Penitent.—Oh! Father, it does not exceed the power of God, for God is omnipotent. But I have always understood that no one is exempt from error. Then, Father, Catholics

neglect devotion to the Creator and they tender all their homage to creatures. Why do Catholics pray and practice so much devotion to the Virgin Mary, whilst they neglect prayer to God?

Priest.—Well, I am sure you know there is no foundation for such an accusation. Catholics do not neglect prayer to God; but they pray to God in two ways. They sometimes pray to God Himself, as when they recite the Lord's Prayer; and again they beseech others to intercede for them. They pray to God for one another; but with much greater confidence they recommend themselves to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and the saints; not that they expect grace from the Blessed Virgin, but they expect that her prayers will avail much more before God than the prayers of poor sinners.

You would not object to pray for others, or to recommend yourself to the prayers of others?

Penitent.—I often, Father, ask persons to pray for me; and when Protestant ladies who visit me misrepresent and condemn prayers to the Blessed Virgin I reply that we never pray to her for grace but only for intercession. And when they condemn the celebration of mass in Latin which the people cannot understand I say that in our prayer books we have an exact translation of what the priest reads in Latin.

They know, Father, that I was a Protestant; that I once enjoyed comfort, and that I am now poor. And already since my poor husband's illness commenced, they have made me offers of admission to a Protestant "home," in case he should die. Are there, Father, any Catholic institutions that would receive my poor husband and myself? Will you enquire, Father, if they would receive us? I am sorry to have occasioned you such disappointment; but I could not arrange with my conscience to receive this morning under one species. Pray for me, Father. And will you be kind enough to say mass for my poor husband's recovery?

Disappointed and disquieted he withdrew promising to say mass for his patient. And on the morrow he offered the holy sacrifice with all the fervour of his soul for the sick husband. He was an unflinching Catholic and if he recovered

the proselytisers were frustrated, and the parish spared the scandal of their victory.

“There is another call to R——, who has returned from hospital, and to his wife. You are expected, sir, to hear their confessions, and give them communion in the morning.”

This was indeed a welcome message. All the anxiety for the woman's faith was removed; but a new difficulty immediately presented itself: “troubles come not in single spies but in battalions.” This woman, he thought, a few days ago could not strain her conscience to communicate according to the Catholic rite. She had scant faith indeed in the Real Presence. She disbelieved in the power of remitting sin. She rejected the doctrine of papal infallibility. Latin liturgy she would tolerate, but prayers to Mary and the saints, beads, scapulars, holy water, etc., she rigorously excluded from her devotions. Is she then a fit subject for the sacraments? Shall I receive the confession of one who does not believe in confession? Shall I administer the blessed Eucharist to one who denies the Real Presence? Impossible! But yet “*sacramenta sunt propter homines*,” he happily bethought himself; and after careful consideration he concluded that he might administer the sacraments at least conditionally.

I shall now try to prove that the conditions necessary for the reception of the sacraments were strictly compatible with this woman's strange and wavering creed; and to proceed with due order I shall consider 1. the dispositions necessary for the valid reception of the sacraments. 2. the dispositions necessary for the lawful reception of the sacraments. 3. I shall apply those principles to the case above described.

(A). THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR THE VALID RECEPTION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

I.

The reception of Baptism shall precede the reception of the other sacraments.

“*Quia baptismus*,” writes Lacroix,¹ “*est janua vitæ spiri-*

¹ *De Sacr.*, lib. vi., N. 165.

tualis per quem membra Christi, ac de corpore efficimur ecclesiæ ideoque soli baptizati sunt subjecti ecclesiæ. Sacramenta autem instituta sunt pro sola ecclesia Christi."

II.

For infants, and for those who from infancy have been permanently devoid of reason—baptism received—no other disposition is necessary for validly receiving the sacraments of which they are capable.

"In parvulis ante usum rationis, et in perpetuo amentibus intentio vel alia dispositio non est necessaria ut valide recipiant sacramenta quorum sunt capaces."—Theol. Mechl.¹

The remaining conditions, therefore, apply only to persons who now enjoy the use of reason, or who enjoyed the use of reason continuously for some period of their lives, or who have had lucid intervals.

III.

Adults shall have the intention of receiving the sacraments.

This principle requires exposition.

1. A sacrament is invalid if administered by absolute violence. "Invalidum est sacramentum quod per meram vim animo omnino repugnante suscipitur."—Bonacina.²

2. Neutral intention will not suffice.

"Invalidum est sacramentum quod quis cum intentione neutrali—habens se negative—suscipit." Similarly a simulated intention will not suffice.—Idem.

3. The subject of a sacrament, therefore, shall have the positive intention of receiving the sacrament.

"Communis et vera sententia Theologorum tenet requiri ad valorem sacramenti consensum positivum adulti qui illud recipit."—De Lugo.³

4. This positive consent of the will even when given under the influence of strong moral or partial physical compulsion will be sufficient,—except in the case of matrimony,—for the valid reception of a sacrament.

¹ De Sacr. in Gen., n. 45.

² T. i., De Sacr., D. i., q. 6., p. 2.

³ De Sacr. in Gen., D. ix., Sectio vii.

“Ex dictis infero primo in sacramentis,—uno excepto matrimonio—sufficere ad eorum valorem voluntatem etiam coactam . . . dummodo interius sit verus consensus in sacramentum.”—De Lugo.¹

5. Positive intention may be considered as theologians say, *ratione modi quo fertur in objectum*, and *ratione objecti*. If we consider it in the former sense, it may be actual, virtual, habitual, and interpretative. If we consider it *ratione objecti* it resolves itself into internal and external. These terms require no explanation. I shall consider what intention *ratione modi* is sufficient; and what *ratione objecti* for the valid reception of the sacraments.

6. *Ratione Modi* or Subjective.

As subjective intention presents no special difficulty in the solution of the case proposed for examination, I shall treat the matter briefly.

(a.) For the valid *reception* of all the sacraments,—I abstract from the *obligations* that accompany some sacraments—habitual intention is sufficient.

(b.) There is some difficulty about the sacrament of penance. Confession and contrition are necessary for the sacrament of penance. These acts require the expedite use of man's faculties. Moreover a voluntary confession, and an act of contrition are accompanied by at least a virtual intention of receiving the sacrament. Hence St. Liguori² writes; “Ad sacramentum autem poenitentiae, non sufficit intentio neque interpretativa neque habitualis, sed requiritur intentio vel actualis, vel saltem virtualis.”

An actual or virtual intention of receiving the sacrament accompanies indeed confession and contrition; but an interval elapses between confession and absolution; and during that interval the intention of receiving the sacrament may become habitual. Theologians appeal for proof to the case of the moribundus who sends for a priest; but is deprived of the use of reason before the confessor's arrival; and therefore before absolution is given.

We may suppose a more cogent case. We may suppose

¹ *Ibid.*

² Lib. vi., Tract i., De Sac. in Gen., n. 82.

the moribundus to have confessed most satisfactorily to the priest, to have made a fervent act of contrition, and to have suddenly lost the use of reason whilst the priest recited the rubrical prayers preceding absolution. This penitent at the moment of absolution would have only the habitual intention of receiving the sacrament of penance; and no confessor would refuse him absolution even in forma absoluta.

Hence I conclude that—assuming the other necessary dispositions—habitual intention would suffice at the moment of absolution for the valid reception of the sacrament of penance. “Ad poenitentiam,” writes Lacroix, “requiritur saltem habitualis [intentio] et sufficeret implicita vel interpretativa” (De Sacr., lib. vi., 171).

(c). Habitual intention will suffice not only when it is *explicit*—when at an earlier date the person had expressly resolved to receive a certain sacrament or sacraments—but also when it is *implicit*: or contained in some more general intention. Theologians, for example, teach that a person who at any time during life resolved to prepare for death as practical Catholics prepare, and who never revoked this intention would have, if deprived of the use of reason in serious illness, sufficient intention for the valid reception of the last sacraments. For the general intention of preparing for death as practical Catholics prepare includes the intention of receiving the last sacraments.

(d). Implicit habitual intention at least is necessary for the valid reception of the sacraments.

Sometimes theologians are content with interpretative intention when they treat of the last sacraments. The presence of interpretative intention will no doubt enable a priest to administer the sacraments; because it will warrant him in assuming that the recipient at some earlier period had at least an implicit intention of receiving the sacraments. But unless this implicit intention preceded, the sacraments would be invalidly received.

7. I come now to intention considered *ratione objecti*. What must the subject mean when he intends to receive a sacrament? What must be his appreciation of a sacrament?

(a.) *It is not sufficient* to intend exclusively the material rite. For example, the material ablution in baptism—"Non vero [sufficit ad valorem] si solus sit consensus in actionem externam absque alio consensu interno in ipsum sacramentum."—De Lugo (*Ibid.*).

Theologians sometimes except the Eucharist. The Eucharist being a sacrament *in facto esse* will remain a sacrament as long as the Real Presence continues, though unwillingly received. This would be true if it were administered to an irrational animal. Such a communion, however, would not be a sacramental reception of the Eucharist, nor would it confer grace. "Atque adeo," says De Lugo (*Ibid.*) "illa susceptio Eucharistiæ ut talis, non est ei alio modo voluntaria aut volita, ideo non causat effectum sacramentalem in ipso."

(b.) *It is not necessary* to intend the rite as a sacrament of the Catholic Church; nor as a sacrament of any Church. It is not necessary to intend the reception of a rite which is believed by the recipient to confer grace. "Validum est sacramentum," writes Lacroix (n. 163., iv.) . . . "etsi non credat [subjectum] aut non velit sacramentum." "Licet illud inane credat," adds Scavini.

(c.) The recipient will certainly have sufficient intention, if he knows that the sacraments are regarded sacred rites in the Church, that they are received by the faithful; and if he intends to receive them as they are received by the faithful, though personally he may deem them useless. Theologians express this principle in different ways. "Validum est sacramentum," says Lacroix "quod qui accipit vult quod Christiani accipiunt etsi non credat aut non velit sacramentum." And Scavini writes, "Non requiritur intentio explicita suscipiendi veri nominis sacramentum, at sufficit intentio implicita . . . nempe ut quis sincere id velit suscipere, quod eo ritu præstat ecclesia, licet illud inane credat" (*Apud* Haine, p. 466).

IV.

Neither faith nor sanctity is required in the subject of the sacraments.

"Ad sacramenta valide suscipienda, nulla requiritur

probitas, nec proprie fides in subjecto—si poenitentiae sacramentum excipias” (Gury, Pars. ii., n. 228).

This principle, too, requires some explanation.

1. Sanctity is not required. A person may validly receive Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist in the state of mortal sin. This reception of the Eucharist would differ very much from an involuntary Communion. A person may go to confession in the state of mortal sin, and very probably a person may validly receive the sacrament and depart in the state of mortal sin, as the sacrament may probably be valid but unfruitful. The other sacraments can be validly received in the state of mortal sin.

2. And as to Faith.

(a.) Profession of Catholic faith is not necessary. Heretics, therefore, may receive the sacraments validly. This is manifest. The Church has never allowed persons baptized in heresy to be re-baptized when they enter the Church, unless there be some other defect. “Atque hanc [dispositionem scil. fidem] non requiri patet ex praxi ecclesiae quae baptismum in haeresi receptum semper validum habuit.” Mechlin (*De Sacr. in Gen.*, p. 99).

(b.) Is faith in the sacrament necessary?

Faith in the sacrament is not necessary for the valid reception of a sacrament. It is certainly sufficient if the subject of the sacraments knows that the sacramental rite is considered sacred by others, and if he seriously intends to receive it as it is received by its own votaries, “licet illud inane credat,” “etsi non credat aut non velit sacramentum.”

(c.) In enunciating the principle theologians except the sacrament of Penance. “Si poenitentiae sacramentum excipias.”

The sacrament of Penance requires incipient sanctity they say. But this only implies that the penitent shall approach the tribunal of penance with sorrow for his sins and a firm purpose of amendment.

And as regards faith:—To receive the sacrament of penance validly (1) Faith in the essential dogmas is necessary; (2) Catholic faith is not necessary; (3) Nor is faith in the efficacy of the sacrament; (d) A valid confession pre-

supposes supernatural sorrow—sorrow supernatural in principle and supernatural in motive. Theologians generally require that the motive should be known by faith; and they enumerate certain supernatural motives—ingratitude to God, loss of heaven, fear of hell, &c. Now, may not a non-Catholic repent of sin through fear of hell? May not a Protestant elicit sorrow from the consideration of heaven's loss? May they not repent of past ingratitude to God? And may not non-Catholics regard those motives as supernatural, as known by faith, as being revealed by God?

If, therefore, a baptized person, who believes in the essential dogmas, should—in imitation of Catholics—seriously and sorrowfully confess his sins to a priest, if perchance he may obtain pardon, his confession would be valid, though personally he disbelieved in the power of forgiving sin, and rejected the sacrament of Penance.

I now proceed to consider—

(B). THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR THE LAWFUL AND FRUITFUL RECEPTION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

I.

The subject of the sacraments shall not culpably and seriously violate, or continue violating any grave law when receiving the sacraments.

This is manifest, for if the recipient of a sacrament malefide and seriously violates a grave law whilst receiving the sacrament, he commits mortal sin, and, therefore, cannot lawfully, much less fruitfully, receive it.

I shall in this connection consider the absence of Faith in Catholic dogmas, and the absence of Hope in the efficacy of the sacraments. Is Faith in the efficacy of the sacraments, and in Catholic dogmas generally, necessary for salvation? Is it necessary for the fruitful reception of the sacraments? Is the Hope of receiving grace through the medium of the sacraments necessary for obtaining the fruits of the sacraments?

1. Assuming Faith in the essential dogmas; Faith in the other dogmas of the Catholic Church is not absolutely necessary for salvation. Protestants disbelieve in Catholic

doctrines, for example, in the doctrine of sacramental efficacy, and yet they may save their souls.

2. Faith in the doctrines of the Church is necessary *necessitate precepti*, and hence if Catholic doctrines, and the obligation of believing them have been sufficiently proposed to claim an individual's assent, then Faith in them is necessary for the fruitful reception of the sacraments, because unbelief would be a mortal sin, and the grace of the sacraments cannot cohabit with mortal sin. For such a person, therefore, habitual Faith in the sacraments is necessary.

But if the unbelief be inculpable, or only venially culpable—the conditions required for their validity being present—the sacraments will be fruitfully received, even by those who disbelieve in their efficacy.

3. Is Hope necessary?

What I have written of Faith may be applied to Hope.

(a.) Hope of attaining eternal life through the means ordained by God is necessary *necessitate medii*. “*Credere enim oportet accedentem ad Deum quia est et inquirentibus Se remunerator sit.*”

(b.) Hope of obtaining justification through the sacraments is necessary *necessitate precepti*, because they, amongst others, are divinely constituted channels for communicating divine grace to our souls. If, therefore, an individual, sufficiently instructed in the divine institution and efficacy of the sacraments *mala fide* refused to hope for justification through them he would commit mortal sin. But if the absence of hope were occasioned by inculpable disbelief in the efficacy of the sacrament it would not, of course, be a formal sin.

(c.) Is the hope of receiving grace through the sacraments necessary for their fruitful reception?

It would far exceed the limits of this paper to discuss the functions of Hope in the process of justification, whether by an act of perfect contrition or through the sacraments, I shall, therefore, only say—1. Culpable distrust in the efficacy of the sacraments would obstruct the fruitful reception of the sacraments; 2. The question of Hope is especially discussed in connection with the first justification of a non-

baptized adult through baptism, and of a fidelis peccator through penance, and in both cases actual Hope of obtaining pardon generally precedes justification; 3. A verbal act of Hope is not necessary; 4. That expectation of pardon and grace, which accompanies contrition and confession will certainly suffice for the Sacrament of Penance, and this might generally be called an explicit act of Hope, "At ipse Escobar et Lugo recte dicunt . . . quod cum quis accedit ad confessionem vere poenitens necessario elicit *explicite* (non jam reflexe sed quidem exercite) actus fidei et spei, cum enim accedit ad recipiendam remissionem peccatorum, procul dubio explicite . . . sperat per sacramentum Deum remissurum sibi peccata propter merita Christi."

(d.) A person who hopes for justification through the divinely constituted means: who bona fide disbelieves in the efficacy of the sacraments; and who nevertheless seriously and religiously receives the sacramental rites to partake of their graces, if perchance they have the stamp of divine institution—such a person would validly and fruitfully receive the sacraments.

II.

To receive the sacraments of the living lawfully and fruitfully the state of sanctifying grace is *per se* necessary.

III.

Attrition at least is necessary for the fruitful reception of Baptism, if the recipient is guilty of actual mortal sin. It is always necessary both for the valid and lawful reception of Penance.

(C.) APPLICATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES TO THE SUBJECT OF THIS PAPER.

She had certainly received baptism. We can question, therefore, only her intention of receiving the sacraments: her faith and hope in the sacraments; her bona fides, and the confession and contrition necessary for the sacrament of Penance.

I. INTENTION.

There can be little controversy about the requisite intention. *Subjectively* or *ratione modi* her intention would be actual or virtual. But would her intention *ratione objecti* be sufficiently internal? Perhaps she intended only the external rites? Would she not be only simulating the reception of the sacraments? We must remember two things (a.) She asked the priest to say mass for her sick husband. She therefore must have had some faith in its efficacy (and we may assume she had equal faith in the sacraments). (b.) She had professed Catholicity for a long time; she had often received the sacraments; she knew they were considered sacred rites in the Church, that they were expected to confer grace; and though she did not believe all this—and I should think she had some faith in the efficacy of the sacraments as in the mass—if she consented to receive them at all, she would intend to receive what Catholics receive: rites revered and regarded as sacraments by Catholics.

“Validum [et in casu fructuosum] est sacramentum quod qui accipit vult quod Christiani accipiunt.”

II. FAITH, HOPE, &C.

The subject of this paper had, indeed, very doubtful faith in the Catholic doctrine regarding the sacraments, and little hope that they conferred grace. But I have already shown from the teaching of theologians, that neither faith, nor hope in a sacrament is necessary for its *valid* reception, and assuming Faith in the essential dogmas, and Hope of attaining eternal life through the means appointed by God—the sacraments will *confer grace* on unbelieving recipients, who are not guilty of grievous sin in their unbelief.

The principal difficulty, therefore, in connection with the remaining questions was her *bona fides*. Was she not guilty of grievous sin in venturing to dispute Catholic dogmas? Was not her unbelief seriously culpable? Were not the Catholic doctrines sufficiently proposed to claim her assent? Had she not professed Catholicity for many years? Was she not convinced of its truth when she became a Catholic? Had she not frequently heard instructions on those subjects?

We need not suppose that she entered the Catholic Church

from conviction. Her mind seemed deeply imbued with religious liberalism. It recked not, she thought, at what altar one adored if the moral law were observed. No wonder then that—professing such principles—she shunned the assembly of her former co-religionists and accompanied her husband to worship at Catholic altars, vehement though her prejudices were against Catholic doctrines and practices.

No doubt she had been well instructed at her conversion, and had often heard instructions in Catholic churches; but we must remember, that devotional instructions were more popular in Irish churches, than doctrinal discourses; and experienced missionaries, too, will testify that even with the most careful, and continual instruction, it is often impossible to dispel the strong prejudices of youth from the minds of Irish convert penitents: to convince them that they are bound to believe all those dogmas of the Catholic Church, whose perversion and refutation (!) formed the chief religious instruction of their early years.

In the present instance the priest was thoroughly satisfied of the *bona fides* of his penitent. He was convinced that she was not committing grievous sin by her unbelief in Catholic doctrines; that she believed she could save her soul in any Christian Church by observing the moral law.

If therefore, she would seriously, and with sorrow confess her sins as Catholics do at confession, she could be absolved even in *forma absoluta*, and could receive holy Communion.

Moreover if she had sinned grievously in her unbelief; if she culpably wavered in faith, to secure the proffered succour of her Protestant visitors; now that the danger was past, she could be easily disposed to receive absolution if not with the absolute, at least with the conditional form.

In all similar cases if the confessor is satisfied with the *bona fides* of his convert penitent, he might administer the sacraments in the ordinary way. If he were convinced of the *mala fides* of his penitent he should absolutely refuse the sacraments. And if he were doubtful whether the unbelief be grievously culpable or not he would administer the sacraments with the conditional form.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

THE FUTURE OF THE EARTH.

(VIEWED FROM A PHYSICIST'S STANDPOINT.)

IN explaining the phenomena which the different objects around us present to the senses, it is usual with most physicists to assume the existence of two things—matter, of which they conceive those objects to be made up, and force—the name they give to an invisible something which acts on this matter. There are some, however, and they of great name, who recognise in the physical universe nothing but matter and sequence of phenomena, and regard force as merely a convenient name for certain general laws which repeated observation has discovered in natural processes of frequent recurrence. While others, following the example of the famous Jesuit, Boscovich, find in force alone a satisfactory explanation of all the phenomena of nature and in consequence fail to see a philosophical necessity for matter at all. But by whatever name it may be called, all scientific men, nowadays at least, seem agreed that there is a resisting, impenetrable something external to us which acts on the senses. Let us call it matter for convenience' sake.

Some of the ancient philosophers, as is known, admitted four different kinds of matter out of which they supposed that all the bodies in nature are formed. These they called *elements*, a name which science still retains although, as now used, no longer applicable to any of the four—earth, air, water, or fire, of the ancients. The chemist of the present day reckons between sixty and seventy elements; but knowing the imperfection of his best methods of analysis, he is prepared to find that future experiment will increase or, it may be, diminish their number. These are the materials, the rough blocks, which skilfully shaped and fitted together in nature's workshop have served to build up the wondrous structure of the universe. Modern science can detach certain fragmentary parts, very small parts indeed, from that vast fabric, and has even succeeded in replacing them without injury; but there are others which crumble into dust in the hand that dares to touch them. By a well known experiment

two invisible gases can easily be evolved from a few drops of water, and the discharge from a Leyden jar is enough to reproduce from these same gases the original liquid. Crystalline forms of extreme beauty can be made to appear and disappear at the chemist's bidding. He is even able to construct new bodies of his own, sometimes of great complexity, with materials taken from the debris of others. But in no case must he venture beyond the boundary of inert, lifeless matter. Nature tells him stop there; and if, disobeying her order, he advances it is only to destroy. In the domain of living things although able to pull down, he is powerless to build up again. The carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and other constituents may be put together in the exact proportion indicated by what seemed an exhaustive analysis of the living organism, but the vital principle which his balance failed to detect is wanting; and the vital principle is essential to complete their union. Provided with the best appliances which science can devise and even furnished with the very elements which nature herself employs, he is nevertheless forced to acknowledge his inability to produce the smallest animalcule which floats in the stagnant pool, or the tiniest lichen that discolours by its growth the walls of our houses.

It is little more than a century since Lavoisier furnished chemists with an unerring test of accuracy in their quantitative analyses by establishing the important law that the total amount of matter in the universe is unchangeable. The smoke and glowing gases which escape from the burning coal when collected, and put in the balance along with the ashes that remain, are found to weigh just as much as the coal did; and the rain falling in torrents to-day is nothing heavier than the woolpack clouds of yesterday. Loss or gain there is none; only unceasing change. The mineral which perhaps for countless ages lay concealed in the earth's bosom till chance brought it to the surface is broken in pieces and then used as food by the tender plant; and from the tissues of the latter it may even find its way to the blood which flows through some human brain, returning thence, it may be, to its primitive state to pass through another cycle of changes still

more curious. Form, size, colour, every thing else may vary, the mass alone is constant. The destruction of even one material particle by any finite agency is equally impossible as the creation of a new one.

Within recent years men of science, even among those who deny the objective reality of force, have been gradually led to recognise in nature a something which, although inseparable from matter, is different from it and equally indestructible. They call it *energy*—a word which implies capacity or power of doing work. We know by experience that a body at rest and another of the same mass in motion differ widely in the work of which they are capable. The latter can drive a nail, turn a wheel, propel a ship, or pierce a target; all of which are impossible to the body at rest, unless we suppose that it has the advantage of such a position as will enable it, when obstacles are removed, to acquire the motion possessed by the other. Physicists are in the habit of distinguishing the energy of a moving mass from that due to advantageous position by calling the former *kinetic* energy; the latter to which working power is possible although not yet brought into action, they call *potential* energy. A stone thrown vertically upwards at the moment it leaves the hand has all its energy kinetic; and when it reaches the highest point, the energy is all potential; but for intermediate positions it is partly one and partly the other. The sum of both, however, along with a small amount imparted to the air, is always the same. And in this we have a simple illustration of a general law, known as the Conservation of Energy, which ranks among the most important discoveries of the present century. Although foreshadowed by Newton in his explanation of the third law of motion, the discovery was retarded by the erroneous theories so long prevalent as to the nature of heat and light: but of late years, owing mainly to the labours of Joule and Mayer, it has come to be recognised by all scientific men as an established law of nature. Briefly stated it means that the total amount of energy in the universe is as unchangeable as the total amount of matter in it. It may pass from one body to another and appear in a great variety of forms, but

increase or diminution there is none. To the physicist, whatever may have been its origin, it is the same in amount to-day as it was when time began, and as it will be while this world lasts. At first sight it would seem that nothing could be more opposed to our experience than these statements. For where shall we look for the energy of the musket ball which sped its way to the distant target more rapidly than our voices could, and now lies motionless in fragments on the ground? Or, when our watch is completely run down, is it still possible to find within its case the store of potential energy with which we charged its mainspring in winding it up? Is not energy created when a few ounces of dynamite demolish one of our most solid structures; or when a slight pressure of the finger explodes a mine, perhaps miles away? To answer these questions we must remember that besides mechanical or sensible motion there is another called *molecular* which takes place through spaces too minute to be detected even with the aid of our best microscopes. Heat and light, and perhaps electricity also, consist essentially in motion of this kind. The expansion of a body when heated is nothing more than the increased amplitude of the small vibrations of its constituent molecules. When the rate of vibration is rapid enough, the body becomes luminous; and the colour of its light depends on the frequency of its vibrations. Now, the energy of visible motion is capable of being transformed into energy of molecular motion; and experiment has shown that there is a definite amount of each which corresponds to a given quantity of the other. What happens, then, to the musket ball is this: its energy of visible motion is converted by the impact into the molecular motion of heat which is divided between the target and the fragments of the ball. Something similar occurs in the case we have supposed of the watch. The removal of the key when the winding is completed allows the potential energy of the mainspring to pass gradually into the kinetic energy of the moving wheels and hands; and from these into heat energy at the pivots and rubbing parts. A small amount which at first failed to be converted into heat has its equivalent in the ticking, and by the air is conveyed to the ear as sound. The explosion of.

chemical substances is somewhat analogous. Before the explosion some of the constituent elements are separated by minute spaces from others for which they have a strong affinity. Relatively to each other each has a store of potential energy. The electric spark or other agency removes the obstacles to their union; they rush together; and because of the heat developed in their clash, the gaseous products expand with explosive violence. But in the transformation there is neither loss nor gain. To separate the combined elements once more and place them as at first, we should expend just as much energy as was produced by the explosion.

It may be thought that in our machines at least new energy is created; for the child who lifts a stone weight from the floor to the table with difficulty can raise a hundred weight with ease by a system of pulleys; and the drayman by the simple expedient of a sloping plank loads his cart with barrels which otherwise would tax the strength of several men as strong as he. Archimedes did not exaggerate when he said that with a lever long enough and a suitable fulcrum to rest it on, he could move the world. And yet in all this there is no new energy produced; for even in the most favourable circumstances, the force employed must work through a distance exceeding the height to which the weight is raised in the same ratio in which the weight exceeds the force. This relation is sometimes briefly stated by saying that "what is gained in power is lost in velocity"; and in a somewhat different form is familiar to the student of mechanics as the "principle of virtual velocities." It is hopeless, therefore, to get from a machine more work than is put into it. Indeed the useful effect got from the very best machines is always less than the energy spent on them; for friction can never be entirely eliminated, and friction implies the transformation of visible energy into heat, in which form it is nearly always useless. In a word the true function of a machine is not to create energy but to change it in such manner as will best suit our purpose. And it is to the facility with which energy in some of its forms can be converted into other forms that its usefulness is mainly due. The potential

energy of the water in the mill-pond when the sluice is opened becomes kinetic in the stream from which it passes to the revolving stones that grind our corn; and in a few seconds the weights of a clock can be charged with a store of potential energy which becoming kinetic under the influence of gravity keeps the hands going for a week together. The combustion of coal in the furnace of a locomotive consists in the union of its carbon at a high temperature with the oxygen of the air by reason of their mutual affinity. In the act of uniting the potential energy which the two substances possessed when separate is transformed into heat energy. This heat passes from the boiler to the cylinders, and part of it finally appears as energy of visible motion in the driving wheels. Even in the animal economy the capacity for work latent in the living muscle is derived by a series of transformations from the store of energy accumulated in the animal's food; and when this store fails, action ceases, just as the engine stops when the fire which heats its boiler is extinguished.

But although energy in any of its forms has an equivalent in every other form of which it is susceptible, the total transformation of one variety into another is rarely practicable. When the school-boy, for instance, burns his companion's hand with the button he has rubbed to the desk before him, he has probably succeeded in transforming the whole or nearly the whole motion imparted by his brachial muscles into heat; but there is no process available for reconverting all this heat into visible motion. Indeed it is only a small fractional part of the total heat-energy which can ever be obtained as mechanical work. Thus whereas the amount of heat that would raise the temperature of a gallon of water through one degree on the Centigrade scale would suffice, if all were utilised, to lift the weight of the water through nearly fourteen hundred feet, in practice it would be difficult even in the most favourable circumstances to lift the weight of the water through one-sixth of that distance. In very good steam-engines it is seldom that more than a tenth of the energy of the coal is turned to useful effect; the remainder is consumed in heating the moving parts or becomes dissipated in the air. The same thing happens when a current of electricity is employed to produce

mechanical effect ; a large part of its energy is wasted in heating the generator and connecting wires, and is thus lost in the air or surrounding bodies. In a word, in the transformation of energy although the sum total remains unchanged, as the law of conservation requires, yet the tendency always is to assume the practically useless form of diffused heat. In all cases of friction and percussion this is inevitable ; and the railway train rushing past at the rate of forty miles an hour is only contributing slowly to the same final result as the meteorite which, moving three thousand times faster, traces its path in our atmosphere in lines of fire and consumes itself in the process. In the water below the falls of Niagara enough heat has been produced by the impact to lift its mass to the height from which it fell ; but its low temperature and constant tendency to uniform diffusion render it unavailable : for uniformly diffused heat, however great its quantity, can no more do work than the air can propel a ship in a perfect calm or than water can turn a mill-wheel where there is no fall. Let us follow this to its consequences.

Besides the energy arising from the twofold motion of its mass, and that due to its rivers, winds, and tides, the earth possesses a vast store, in the potential form, in some of its mineral constituents, and in the vegetable products of its surface. Plants build up their structures partly with materials taken from the soil on which they grow, and partly with the carbon which, under the influence of sunshine, their leaves extract from a noxious gas always present in the atmosphere. To a large class of animals these plants serve as food ; others use them only when converted into the flesh of their weaker fellow creatures. Intelligent man draws his supplies from both sources and, like the lower animals, makes provision for future physical effort by storing up in the muscles, nerves, and tissues of his body the latent energy which they contain. The steam-boat and the locomotive are only ingenious contrivances for turning to useful effect the energy accumulated by vegetable substances, which flourished on our earth many ages ago. Had the present rate of consumption continued since the commencement of the Christian era, the coal-fields of Great Britain would now be exhausted. Those

of the rest of Europe would not have lasted much more than half that time. The Western Continent could supply fuel at the same rate for a period nearly thirty times longer. But even a hundred thousand years will come to an end; and the potential energy of more than two hundred thousand square miles of coal-beds, varying in thickness from twenty to sixty feet, will have passed as low-temperature heat into the boundless regions of interstellar space. Coal will then be replaced by wood as the most convenient source of energy for mechanical purposes; and the duration of the latter will be limited only by the continuance of the relations at present existing between the Sun, Earth, and Moon. But are those relations permanent? A close examination of some of the phenomena connected with the earth's diurnal and annual motions will furnish the answer to this question.

The tides, it is well known, are due to the attraction which the sun and moon have for the solid earth, and the water which covers about two-thirds of its surface. Considering, first, the sun's influence only—we have the earth carried round it each year in a curve almost circular, and at a nearly constant distance of ninety-two million miles. This means that the earth is whirling round the sun at the enormous rate of more than a thousand miles each minute of time; and, as a necessary consequence, that if the sun's attraction were suspended for an instant, the earth would fly off in a straight line into space, just as the stone in the boy's sling does when the chord which holds it captive is released. But the inertia of each particle and the sun's pull on it are so balanced that their combined action prevents such a catastrophe. The solid parts of the earth being held together by their mutual cohesion are attracted as if the whole mass were concentrated at their common centre; but the liquid parts having greater freedom assume such form as the sun's attraction and terrestrial gravitation give them. Following the law of inverse squares, the water on the near side of the earth is more attracted by the sun, and that on the far side is less attracted than the central solid nucleus. On one hemisphere, therefore, the water is pulled from the direction in which its own inertia would carry it through a greater distance each second of time

than the solid parts; and the latter, similarly, are pulled farther towards the sun each successive instant, than the water on the hemisphere remote from it. Hence, relatively to the earth's centre, the distance of the water at two opposite parts of its surface is increased by the sun's action. Had the earth no other motion than that in its orbit, the water would be always heaped up at opposite sides of the meridian which passes through the sun. But the earth moves also on an axis in the order, to a person looking south, from west by south to east, and as the water does not obey the sun's pull instantaneously owing to the friction and inertia of its particles, the greatest height is reached some hours after the sun's meridian passage. In the open sea two vast waves, separated by a semicircle of the earth, are formed which appear always to follow the sun. These are the two diurnal solar tides.

It is easy to see from the foregoing that the sun's power to produce tides depends not on the absolute amount of the attraction, but on the difference in its intensity at different parts of the earth. If the earth's centre and all the water particles on its surface were equally attracted, no change of form could arise, for they would all fall towards the sun through equal spaces in a given time. Now, although the moon's attraction at any given point on the earth is not much more than the two hundredth part of the sun's, still being four hundred times nearer, the difference in the intensity of the attraction at opposite sides of the meridian which passes through the moon is more than double the difference in the case of the sun. The moon's power to produce tides, therefore, is more than twice as great as the sun's. To understand how the lunar tides arise we have only to remember that the earth is carried round the common centre of gravity of the earth and moon—a point nearly three thousand miles distant from the earth's centre—while the centre of gravity itself moves in an ellipse about the sun. To keep the earth in its tortuous path the attraction of the moon is necessary; and were that attraction suspended, the earth subjected only to its inertia and the solar influence would commence an ellipse of its own about the sun.

The inequality of the moon's pull on different parts of the earth gives rise to lunar tides just as the unequal attraction of the sun produces solar tides. The lunar tides, too, follow the moon, as the solar tides follow the sun. Since, however, the lunar day exceeds the solar day by nearly an hour, the interval between two successive lunar tides exceeds twelve solar hours by half that amount. When it happens that the lunar and solar tides coincide, the real tide is their sum, or a *spring* tide; and when high water of the lunar tide occurs simultaneously with low water of the solar tide, we have a *neap* tide. In all cases the real tide is the resultant of the solar and lunar tides; but owing to the preponderating influence of the moon is generally ascribed to that luminary.

For greater simplicity we have considered the tides as formed in the open sea where no continents or islands interrupt or divert their course. This is nowhere fully realized on the earth's surface; but in parts of the southern ocean it is nearly so. There two tidal waves of great extent constantly seem to follow the moon in its diurnal course about the earth—an appearance due to the earth's rotation on its axis in contrary order. The joint action of the sun and moon, therefore, by heaping up the water prevents it moving eastward so fast as the solid earth. Friction is the necessary consequence; and friction involves the conversion of part of the motion of rotation into heat. The tidal waves, in other words, form a vast friction brake within which the solid earth is revolving; and its action by gradually lessening the speed must also lengthen the day. When the rate has been so far diminished that the day and month are of equal duration, the moon's influence in this respect will cease; but the sun will continue the process until the day becomes equal to the year. It is needless to speculate on the changes which the flora and fauna of the present must undergo to fit them for the altered conditions of an earth which will have one hemisphere enjoying uninterrupted sunshine, and the other buried in perpetual night.

But this is not all. The light and heat which come to us from the sun and still more distant stars are evidence that the space between us and those bodies is filled with matter

of some kind. Like sound, both light and heat consist essentially in vibratory motion; and vibrations cannot be transmitted across a space where there is nothing to vibrate. An absolute vacuum if anywhere interposed between us and the heavenly bodies would be more effectual in preventing us seeing them or feeling their warmth than a stone wall of the same dimensions. Now the earth fills more than 250,000 million cubic miles of space, and the rate of its motion round the sun is about eighty times greater than that of a musket ball; it must, therefore, experience some resistance from the medium in which it moves, however attenuated that medium may be. Diminished speed will follow; and the diminution can only take place at the expense of the earth's tangential motion, for the intensity of the sun's pull is in no way affected by the resistance. A gradual approach to the centre of attraction is the necessary result—the path forming a slowly narrowing spiral, until finally the earth and its satellite terminate their career in the sun. Should the latter have ceased to shine, as may happen, it will be re-lighted by the collision, and kept burning for nearly another century. A fate similar to the earth's awaits the other members of the solar system. They must all fall into the sun—each in turn contributing its share to keep the central fire from extinction. But as time rolls on, incessant radiation into space will finally exhaust the sun's store of energy, and nothing will remain but a charred mass surrounded by endless gloom.

We find it difficult to call this at least *development*.

F. LENNON.

MAYO OF THE SAXONS.—II.

ONE of the most interesting spots in England is the picturesque little town of Whitby. Situated on the coast of Yorkshire, about midway between the mouth of the Tees and the fashionable watering-place of Scarborough, it attracts the tourist, not less by the boldness of its scenery than by the charm of its historical associations. Towards

the east, the German Ocean stretches out as far as the eye can reach. Inland, the river Esk is seen winding its serpentine course through the hills and heaths of Yorkshire, until it empties itself into a semicircular bay, whose sides are flanked by tremendous cliffs, some of which are said to attain the enormous height of six hundred feet over the water's edge. On the summit of one of these huge embattlements formerly stood a monastery whose history is inseparably linked with the glories of Catholic England. First known as Streanes-halh, or the place of the Light House, it long since received the name of the little Danish town which subsequently sprung up at the base of the precipice on which the edifice was built. No trace of the original structure now remains, and to the minds of the denizens of Whitby the place has scarcely any associations worthy of a moment's notice. And yet this hallowed spot was for many centuries a beacon light of faith and a centre of civilization to all England. Long famous as the sanctuary from which radiated the beneficence of the royal Abbess Hilda and her community, it derived a new lustre from its selection as the trysting ground where were fought out to the bitter end the issues involved in the Easter controversy. It was not alone a question of church discipline which was at stake. Underlying the ritualistic dispute were other and more powerful elements of discord. The old prejudices and race hatreds of the Anglo-Saxons could not tolerate the influence of the Irish monks in Northumbria. Buried for a time beneath the overpowering weight of Celtic benevolence, these antipathies broke out anew after the death of St. Finan. The Easter question was only a pretext for aggression. What matter though the Irish missionaries made no distinction between Celt and Saxon! What matter though their schools were still open to strangers from all lands, and that the Northumbrian nobles eagerly availed themselves of the learning and generosity of the Irish nation. All these benefits were lost on the malcontents. What matter though the successor of St. Peter, with wise moderation had not prohibited the ancient Paschal observance by any authoritative decree. The late worshippers of Woden, many of whom had scarcely rid themselves of a hankering

for that deity's feasts of hog's lard and hydromel, would now when it suited their purpose, become more Roman, than Rome itself. They denounced Bishop Colman and his followers as heretics and schismatics; they expelled St. Cuthbert and his brethren from Ripon, and their attacks on the teachings of the Celtic missionaries were so incessant that the Northumbrians began to ask themselves if the religion they had been taught was indeed the religion of Christ whose name it bore.

It was with the laudable object of bringing these dissensions to an end that King Oswy convened the conference of Whitby. Space will not allow us to detail the proceedings of that assembly as they are found in the pages of Venerable Bede and Eddius, the biographer of St. Wilfrid.

It has been often and truly remarked that the arguments advanced on both sides were of the weakest possible description. St. Colman was at least consistent and intelligible. He adhered steadfastly to the traditions brought from Rome by St. Patrick, and handed down by the successors of the Apostle, many of whom, as Colman asserted, were saints and under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

St. Wilfrid had travelled to Rome and other countries, with the object of ascertaining the correct computation. He had moreover made the question the subject of special study. It is astonishing then to find him claiming St. Peter as a follower of the Alexandrian system, and quoting the Holy Scriptures and the Councils of the Church in favour of his arguments. What is still more strange, however, are his disdainful allusions to his opponents. In his discourse as given by Bede, who is evidently partial to the Anglo-Saxon champion, St. Wilfrid speaks of his old teachers and their compatriots as a few insignificant Celts occupying a small corner of the most remote region of the earth, and of the great St. Columba he has nothing more complimentary to say than that he served God to the best of his knowledge, in simple rusticity.

His last argument, although clearly not to the point, had the effect of convincing the mind of King Oswy who presided over the assembly.

"And if your father Columba," he said, "yes, and our

father too, if he was a servant of God, was holy and worked miracles, still he cannot be compared with the Most Blessed Prince of the Apostles to whom our Lord said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell will not prevail against her, and to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'

Turning to St. Colman the king said—

"Is it true that these words were addressed by Our Lord to St. Peter?"

"It is true, king," was the reply.

"Can you give evidence of any similar authority given to your Father Columba?"

"No," answered the bishop.

"You both agree that the keys of heaven were given to St. Peter by Our Lord."

"Yes," they both answered together.

"Then," added the king, "I say that he is porter of heaven, and I will not gainsay such a power as his, but will endeavour in all things to obey his ordinance, lest perhaps when I come to the doors of the kingdom of heaven, I find no one to open them for me, having the displeasure of him who is acknowledged by all to hold the keys."

The Anglo-Saxon party at the conference showed their triumph over their adversaries by loudly applauding Oswy's decision.

Ready as St. Colman and his followers had always been to obey the king in temporal matters, when in accordance with the law of God, they refused to recognise his authority in questions which belonged altogether to another tribunal. Adopting the only dignified course left to him under the circumstances, St. Colman resigned his see, and taking with him from the consecrated soil of Lindisfarne the bones of his sainted predecessors, he left forever a land which had made no other return than shameless ingratitude for the unselfish and self-sacrificing labours of himself and his Celtic brethren.

In view of the use which certain Anglicans have made of the attitude of St. Colman at this memorable conference, his beatified spirit might well exclaim:—

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor!"

It was, we believe, Döllinger, who, speaking of the Centuriators of Magdeburg, said that they systematically falsified history to prove the necessity of a separation from the Catholic Church. The Lutheran forgers evidently have not died without issue. In the past, numberless attempts have been made to connect Protestantism with the early Irish Church. And quite recently a well-known Anglican bishop, driven to desperation by the taunts of novelty cast at his religion, pointing to St Colman and his brethren, cried out to his audience:—"Look to the rock from which ye are hewn." When we consider as proved beyond doubt by contemporary, or nearly contemporary historians, that St. Colman said mass, believed and practised the doctrine of confession, prayed for the dead, taught satisfaction for sin, the celibacy of the clergy, and was so devotedly attached to the Holy See, that his error on the Paschal question arose from mistaken adhesion to the teachings of Rome, we must conclude that the so-called detached portions of the "rock" have become deteriorated beyond all recognition.

Nearly all the Irish monks and thirty Anglo-Saxons who had made their monastic vows at Lindisfarne, accompanied St. Colman into voluntary exile. The antagonistic elements of this community, now at rest, were destined to break out violently at a future period, and exercise a far-reaching influence on our saint's subsequent history.

After a toilsome journey over the moors of Northumbria and the Scotch mountains the wanderers arrived at Dalriada where they took shipping for Iona. How long they remained at the mother house is a question which has given rise to endless discussion. Different authorities give conflicting and contradictory dates. Usher and Archdall assert, on what grounds we are not aware, that the monastery of Innisboffin was founded in 664, the year of the Conference of Whitby. The best Irish scholars of modern times, however, reject this chronology and assign the event to a much later period. They give as their authority two authentic Celtic records, perhaps unknown to Usher, or, if so, not appreciated by him. These are the *Annals of Ulster*, which note the sailing of St. Colman for Innisboffin in the year 667, while the *Annals of*

Tighernach tell us that the voyage took place a year later, viz., 668. The discrepancy in the dates is explained on the very probable supposition that St. Colman returned a second time to Iona to bring with him the relics of Sts. Aidan and Finan, and deposit them in the newly-founded church of Innisboffin.

For a voyage of such peril much preparation was necessary. A store of provisions was required for future contingencies, and a fleet of boats of more substantial construction than those ordinarily employed in the nautical expeditions of the community. We can, therefore, fancy the cowed artizans working for months in constructing the trusty barks which were to bear the little colony to their distant home. Huge trees from the forests on the neighbouring coasts were hewn down, and conveyed to the workshops of the monastery, where they were shaped by skilful hands into the destined forms according to the best known rules of nautical mechanism.

At length all things are ready, the ships are launched from their stocks, and with prows raised gracefully, and sails flapping in the breeze, rest like a flock of sea-birds on the tranquil waters of the harbour. Chanting the *itinerarium* in unison, the entire community, headed by the venerable abbot accompany their brethren to the place of embarkation. They ask the God of the Universe who rules the winds, and holds the ocean in the hollow of his hands, to conduct the pilgrims in safety to their destination.

The last benediction is given, the last farewell spoken, the monks bend to their oars, and the barks are wafted from the shores of Iona. How wistfully the exiles look back as the receding coast grows dim in the distance!

No pen has described the voyage. No poet has pictured in flowing verse the dangers encountered, and the wonders witnessed by the adventurous colony. And yet their journeyings were infinitely more worthy of the poetic muse, than the fabulous achievements of the heroes of classic fame. As their little barks now mount high on the crest of some huge wave, now sink into a watery valley, the voices of the monks mingle with the screams of the sea-birds. They sing

the praises of the Great Creator, whose power shines forth in the work of His hands. "Mirabiles elationes maris : mirabilis in altis Dominus." Night throws her mantle o'er the deep, and—

"The moon takes up the wond'rous tale,
And softly to the listening earth,
Proclaims the story of her birth."

Day once more appears, and the joyous cry of land cheers the drooping spirits of the wearied oarsmen. The dark coast of Donegal looms up in the distance. Malin Head is passed, Tory Island rises up before their view like a fortified city. They sweep across the broad bosom of Donegal Bay, along the coasts of Achill, Clare Island, and Innisturk. And as the flat shores of Innisboffin appear on the horizon, we will anticipate the arrival of the wanderers, to take a glance at the coveted spot which they had chosen for their home, and within whose bosom they hoped to lay their bones to rest, awaiting a glorious resurrection.

One of the most remarkable of the numerous islands cast along the coast of Connaught like a chain of volcanic eruptions is Innisboffin. The word in English means the Island of the White Cow. Its origin is a problem which does not appear to have engaged the attention of any of our learned philologists. May it not be derived from some legendary narrative, similar to the famous achievements with which the names of Tory Island and the Cow-stealing Bolar of the mighty blows are associated?

The entire area of the island is only 2,400 acres, scarcely half of which is fit for cultivation. Melancholy in appearance, barren in soil, abounding in fantastic landscapes, it seems such a place as the old Roman poets would have considered a fit abode for the genius of famine and desolation. And yet Innisboffin is not without its attractions. When the summer sun dispels the clouds which almost perpetually hang like a pall over the island, the scenery is magnificent. On the opposite coast of Mayo, kingly Maolrea—the monarch of western mountains—rises up gradually from the waters of the Killery, to a height of nearly 3,000 feet. Sparkling like emeralds in the sunshine, countless islets dot the ocean.

The headlands of Mayo and Galway extend their huge arms as if endeavouring to enfold the slippery waters within their embrace; while extending everywhere, and dominant over all is the mighty Atlantic, so placid and yet so suggestive of irresistible power.

Come in winter and behold the elements in their angry mood. Gathering on the mountains, like clans preparing for battle, the tempest rushes impetuously to the sea as if to challenge it to mortal combat. After repeated assaults, the unwieldy monster roused to anger, shakes its huge main, rears its massive head, and advances with a roar like thunder, as if threatening utterly to overthrow the cause of its disquietude. As the giant waves dash in impotent fury against the cliffs of Boffin, and volumes of spray are swept over the island, drenching the shivering cattle, the islanders fancy they can hear the wails of the long-dead heroes who once inhabited their land.

It was in the midst of such scenes and associations that St. Colman and his companions landed after their long voyage from Iona. Having purified the place by a *lustrum* of fasting and prayer according to the Celtic rite, they commenced the work of building. One by one the usual cluster of monastic structures rose above the sombre rocks. The school and refectory stood in a central position; the cells of the monks were scattered around in picturesque groups like beehives; while presiding over all was the modest little church with its commodious choir and lintel window.

The infant community commenced its life under favourable auspices. No obstacles arose to dwarf its growth. The island itself assumed a more cheerful appearance. The approach of dawn was heralded by the matin song of the monks; the evening breeze wafted their vesper hymn softly over the waters. Before the mind of the sainted abbot rose up the vision of a great monastic sanctuary which would vie in fame with Iona, Arran, or Lindisfarne, and console him for the disappointments of his chequered career. But alas for the stability of human hopes. In the very heart of the monastic sapling he had planted with so much care lay hidden the canker worm which was destined to dwarf its growth and

impede its development. When all seemed tranquil, the rivalries of the two nationalities of which the community was composed broke out with terrible violence.

Venerable Bede's account of the immediate cause of the dissensions reads like an illustration of the well-known fable of the grasshopper and the ant.

"After St. Colman had founded the monastery," writes the Saxon historian, "the monks disagreed among themselves on account of the different customs of different nations. According to one of these customs the Irish monks left the monastery during harvest time, and wandered about in such places as were known to them. When winter approached they returned and expected a share of the provisions which their Saxon brethren had laboriously collected during their absence. This the latter refused to do"—telling the Irish grasshoppers, no doubt, that as they had sung during the summer they might dance during the winter.

This episode as related by the Ven. Bede has always appeared to us to contain many elements of improbability. It has altogether a Saxon colouring. These very monks whom he here pictures as mere drones and idlers, wandering from place to place without rule or discipline, are the self-same men on whom he elsewhere showers the most lavish encomiums—holding them up before our view as models of penitence, prayer and laborious industry. It is almost incredible that in so short a time they should have fallen away from their primitive fervour. Would the austere Colman, who was the very ideal of a rigid disciplinarian, have connived at such a flagrant and habitual violation of the rules of his order?

The view of the incident which seems more in accordance with truth, is that St. Colman, according to the custom of the Columban order, sent the Irish speaking portion of the community to teach and preach in the neighbouring counties. When they returned, the Saxon monks, true to their national churlishness, refused their Irish brethren the hospitality of the community.

All efforts at conciliation having failed, St. Colman was obliged to have recourse to the last and painful remedy of

separation. He resolved to found a new monastery for the exclusive use of the Anglo-Saxons. Landing on the coast of Mayo, he travelled from place to place, probably among the familiar scenes of his earlier days, until he arrived at the spot which was destined to become so famous as one of the great luminaries of the world.

Like the sites of the monasteries of Citeaux and Monte Cassino, the place on which St. Colman's choice had fallen, was at that time a howling wilderness. Deriving its name from the size and profusion of its oak trees, its solitude was never broken save by the wild deer roaming in freedom through its gloomy retreats, or the discarded druids who sought its sacred groves to pour into the ears of their heedless gods the tale of their overthrow. Some hazy traditions floating down the centuries like an echo of the past still exist in the locality. One of these represents an aged man accosting St. Colman on his arrival at Mayo.

"Whence comest thou," he asked, "and what may be thy business hither."

"A servant of God," was the reply, "who desires a portion of this land to erect an abode in which himself and brethren may serve their Master."

This old man was so charmed by the holy conversation of the abbot that he begged to become a disciple. He lived a life of great fervour and died with the reputation of a saint.

Having obtained a grant of land from the territorial proprietor—whose name has not been preserved—St. Colman, aided by his benefactor, who asked only his prayers in return, commenced the work of building without further delay. The huge oak trees fell beneath the lusty strokes of the sturdy peasantry. The brushwood is cleared away, and in the heart of the forest soon appears a little hamlet composed of structures of various shapes and sizes.

St. Colman returns to Innisboffin and conducts the Saxon monks to their new home. The young community, no doubt, suffered many trials and privations in the beginning, but these were soon forgotten in the wonderful prosperity which rapidly followed. During the remaining eight years of the holy abbot's life, the fame of "Mayo of the Saxons" became so

great, that its founder was constantly obliged to erect new buildings for the accommodation of the vast numbers of pilgrims and students who sought shelter within its walls. Now far advanced in years and feeling death approach, he returned to Innisboffin, where on the 8th of August, in the year 676, he gave up his soul to the Divine Master whom he had so long and so faithfully served. His body was laid to rest in the little cemetery now known as Knocktownland.

After this event little is known of Innisboffin. "Mayo of the Saxons," however, like the Gospel tree, grew apace, until the numbers of monks and students who flocked to its enclosures were counted by thousands.

Fifty-four years after St. Colman's death, Venerable Bede tells us that the monastery, then called "Injuges," had been greatly enlarged. Still in the possession of the Saxon monks, their numbers were recruited from various parts of England. Following the example of their sainted founder, they lived by the labour of their hands in the most fervent practise of virtue. The *Book of Ballymote* tells us that when St. Adamnan visited Mayo he found a hundred monks within its walls. The monastery went on flourishing until the buildings alone covered half an acre of ground. During the administration of St. Gerald the numbers who found homes within the monastic enclosures, are said to have reached the enormous figure of 2,000. Attracted by the fame of its schools, Alfred the Great crossed over the channel to visit "Mayo of the Saxons." He found the reality greater than the reputation. On his return home, he sent one of his sons to be educated there. Tradition tells us that the young prince died during his academical course, and the peasants still point out a mound where his remains are said to have been buried. Beside him rest two other royal students, princes of France.

In the year 818, the brutal Turgesius, the Danish invader, swept down like a whirlwind on the monastery, pillaged its wealth, murdered its peaceful inmates, and left it a heap of smoking ruins. It was rebuilt and destroyed by fire in the year 908. Phoenix like, it arose once more from its ashes,

only to meet a similar fate in 1169. Again rebuilt it was plundered by William de Burgo, a Norman freebooter, in the year 1204.

When the English established themselves in Ireland, among other laws of a like nature, was one prohibiting any mere Irishman to make his profession in "Mayo of the Saxons." Consistent in their truculent policy to the end, the English Government, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, ordered the destruction of the monastery. It fell never to rise again, beneath the Vandalic blows of the Reformers, and its crumbling walls now remain as a lasting monument of Irish generosity and Saxon perfidy.

WILLIAM GANLY, C.C.

THE ALLEGED FALL OF POPE LIBERIUS.—I.

THERE is no article of our Faith that is so constantly assailed by non-Catholics as that of Papal Infallibility. This is due partly to their ignorance, real or pretended, of Catholic teaching on the subject, and partly to the nature of the doctrine itself. While some attribute to us a doctrine which we do not hold, and then proceed to criticise the creation of their own minds, others say that infallibility is so much at variance with their experience of men that it appears to them incompatible with human nature in its fallen condition. Then the dogma of Papal Infallibility is one that invites the criticism of the Church's enemies, because it admits a test of its truth which most Catholic doctrines exclude—viz., the test of history. We have a long line of popes from St. Peter to Leo XIII., who have defined many articles of Catholic faith. If any article thus defined can be shown to be at variance with another, with reason, or with revelation as set forth in Sacred Scripture and the dogmatic definitions of the Church, then Papal Infallibility stands condemned. If, however, no such variance can be established, notwithstanding the unsparing efforts that have been made, there is a strong presumption in favour of

Catholic belief. Thus an important question presents itself, which must be solved by an appeal to history, viz.:—Has any pope fallen into error in his dogmatic definitions? Protestants say: Yes. Catholics say: No. In proof of their contention the former quote not a few cases in which they allege the teaching of popes has been in opposition to that of the Church, “the new organ contradicting the old.” And, if we are to judge by their writings, there is no case to which they appeal more frequently, and, apparently, with greater confidence, than that of Pope Liberius. Here, they say, was a pope, infallible according to Catholics, who embraced and taught a doctrine that had been condemned by an oecumenical council, and that is now branded as heretical by every sect professing to accept Christian revelation.

We shall examine this charge of heretical teaching against Liberius in its relation to Catholic Faith, and the grounds on which it is based. We shall show; (a) that if Liberius, as Protestants assert, accepted a creed, drawn up by an Arian Council, he did nothing incompatible with Papal Infallibility as understood by Catholics; and, (b) that it cannot be established by any sound argument that he accepted such a creed; but that, on the contrary, the weight of historical evidence is in favour of those who deny his fall.

Liberius was a native of Rome, and before his elevation to the Papacy was deacon of the Roman Church. He possessed a highly cultivated mind, and was remarkable for piety, humility, and, especially, for fidelity in the discharge of his duties. On the death of Julius I. (352), he was elected to fill the chair of St. Peter. For a long time he refused the high honour offered to him, as he fully realised its responsibility, and foresaw the troublous times that were before him. Seeing, however, that resistance on his part was useless, as it but added to the desire of the Roman clergy and people to have him as their bishop, he consented, though much against his will, to undertake the responsibility which he could not fairly escape. He was consecrated Bishop of Rome on the 8th of May, 352. During the fourteen years that he governed the Church he fully justified the high hopes entertained of

him, and maintained the traditional character of the Papacy as guardian of the faith and defender of the oppressed. His pontificate corresponded with the stormiest period of the Arian controversy. Arian bishops filled most of the sees in the East, and not a few in the West. Constantius the unworthy son of Constantine the Great, and an avowed Arian, was Emperor of the East and West, and used all his political power to promote the interests of Arianism. His influence for evil, which before the year 350 was confined to the East, was now extended to the West. St. Athanasius, that noble example of Christian suffering and fidelity, who had been already twice banished from his see, was again condemned by the Arians at the first council of Sirmium (351), and Constantius was requested to have him sent into exile for the third time. The Arian Emperor was but too anxious to carry out the wishes of the council. Liberius, however, interfered in the interests of Athanasius, and after having complained to Constantius that those by whom he was condemned at Sirmium were his avowed enemies, asked to have the case submitted to the decision of a council which he promised to convene at Arles, and at which his legates would preside. To this request Constantius consented, for he felt satisfied that by threats and promises he should succeed in having Athanasius condemned. Nor in this was he disappointed. He was present in person at the council, and so terrified the assembled fathers that, headed by the Papal Legate, Vincent of Capua,¹ they subscribed to the condemnation of Athanasius.

Liberius was very much annoyed when he heard of the faithlessness of his legate, and the way in which the fathers were terrified into submission. Writing shortly afterwards to Hosius he says : " I am doubly grieved at it, and I beg of God that I may rather die than ever have a part in the triumph of injustice." He also wrote to the emperor disavowing the conduct of his legate, and requesting his consent to the convocation of another council in which the charges brought against Athanasius should be more fully and freely discussed.

¹ Most likely the same, who as a priest was one of the Papal legates at the Council of Nice.

To this the emperor consented, for he well knew that the arts that succeeded in the last council would also succeed in the next. Milan was named as the place for holding the proposed council. Here about three hundred bishops assembled in the year 355, the most of them being from the West, with a few from the East. Three legates presided in the name of Liberius. The council was held by order of Constantius in a hall of the imperial palace, and its deliberations were overawed by the presence of the emperor and his soldiers. He commanded the assembled fathers to subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius. He also required them to accept an Arian creed which he said had been revealed to him, appealing in proof of its heavenly origin to the success that attended his arms. He held out the severest threats against all who should oppose his will, and when some of the bishops ventured to object to his proposals, he replied: "My will must be your rule; so the Syrian bishops have decided, and so must you, would you escape exile." It is said that on one occasion he was so far carried away by anger as to draw his sword and threaten death to all who refused to submit to his will. It is not to be wondered at that the emperor's views at length prevailed, and that most of the bishops subscribed to the condemnation of Athanasius and to the Arian creed presented to them. There were, however, some noble exceptions of bishops who were proof against all the threats of Constantius, and who were prepared to undergo any punishment rather than subscribe to his unjust proposals. Such were Lucifer of Cagliari (one of the Papal legates), Eusebius of Vercelli, and Dionysius of Milan. They were sent into exile, and were soon followed by other bishops, who, though not present at the council refused to subscribe to its decrees.

The places of the exiled bishops were soon filled by intruders whose heterodoxy was their only qualification for the episcopate. Liberius wrote a letter of sympathy and encouragement to his faithful subjects in exile, in which he says: "What praise can I bestow on you divided as I am between grief for your absence and joy for your glory? The best consolation I can offer you is

to beg that you will believe that I am in exile with you. I could have wished, dearly beloved brothers, to be the first victim offered for you all, and to give the example of the glory you have acquired." His wish was soon to be fulfilled, for the time was not far distant when he too would be an exile for justice' sake.

The emperor had not yet succeeded in gaining over to his party the two most influential bishops of the West, viz., Liberius and Hosius. The former was the recognised head of the Church, the latter had been a confessor under Maximin, had sat in the council of Illiberis half a century before, and had presided at the great councils of Nice and Sardica. It was most important for the success of the imperial cause to gain over these two powerful bishops, and secure their assent to the decrees of Milan. To the securing of that assent the emperor now directed all his energies. Hosius after having withstood all attempts to shake his constancy was thrown into prison, where he remained for a year, and was afterwards banished to Sirmium, where worn out by imprisonment, exile, and torture he at length gave way, and in the year 357 subscribed to an Arian¹ creed, though he refused to the last to approve of the condemnation of Athanasius. The latter states² that Hosius protested on his death-bed against the violence to which he had been subjected and abjured the errors to which he had yielded only a forced assent.

In the year A.D. 356 Constantius sent Eusebius, an imperial eunuch, to Rome to secure by threats and promises the assent of Liberius to the decrees of Milan; but neither threats nor promises had the desired effect. He was then hurried away from Rome in the middle of the night to Milan, where the same arguments were repeated by Constantius, and with the same effect. After the first interview with the emperor he was allowed three days to decide between exile and submission; at the end of which time still remaining firm in his resolution, he was sent into exile to Beraea in Thrace.

¹ The Spanish Editor of *Mariana*, vol. iii., page 200, denies the fall of his countryman. But in this opinion he appears to be alone.

² *Hist. Ar.*, 45.

Constantius struck by the nobleness of his conduct sent after him a thousand pieces of gold to defray the expenses of his journey. This offer he indignantly refused, as its acceptance would place him under an obligation to a heretical benefactor. "Tell the emperor," replied the steadfast pontiff, "to keep his money for the support of his army." Constantius had Felix, a Roman Deacon, appointed to take the place vacated by the exiled pope. The Roman clergy and people refused to accept him as their bishop, because though considered orthodox in faith, he was the nominee of an Arian Emperor, and continued to hold communion with the Arians. After two years spent in exile Liberius was allowed to return to Rome, where he was received with the utmost enthusiasm. According to some of the eye witnesses his reception resembled in its external display the triumphal entry of a Roman general on his return from some brilliant victory or new conquest, though it much surpassed the latter in feelings of love and reverence. Felix was forced to consult for his safety in flight and to relinquish a dignity which he had usurped. Liberius governed the Church for the next eight years (358-66), and continued to the end of his pontificate to be a resolute defender of the orthodox faith against the Arians.

Different reasons are assigned to explain why Liberius was allowed to return from exile. Protestant writers almost without exception, and not a few Catholic ones, viz.: Natalis Alexander, Baronius, Bossuet, Card. Lucerne, Hefele, &c., say that he was permitted to return because he consented to subscribe to an Arian creed and to the condemnation of Athanasius. On the other hand, most Catholic historians trace his release from exile to the urgent entreaties of the Romans in his behalf. The circumstances which led to it according to the latter are thus described by Rohrbacher in his *Universal History of the Church*:—"The Emperor Constantius saw Rome for the first time, as he entered it towards the end of April, A.D. 357, in triumph for the victory won six years before over Magnentius. Liberius had now lingered out two years in exile; the Roman matrons urged their husbands to petition the emperor for his restoration. They answered that they

feared the anger of the Emperor, who would not, perhaps, pardon the request if made by men, and that the matrons themselves would be more favorably received; that though their prayer should be denied still that no harm could accrue to them from it. The ladies, therefore, presented their supplications to the Emperor, entreating him to pity so great a city deprived of its pastor. Constantius replied that Rome possessed a pastor capable of governing it without assistance from another; he meant Felix. The Roman ladies rejoined that no one entered the church while Felix was there: for though he kept the Nicene faith he still held communion with those who corrupted it. The Emperor doubtless promised to attend to their request; for some time after he wrote to Rome announcing that Liberius was to be recalled and to govern the Church in conjunction with Felix. But when the letter was read in the Circus, the people ironically exclaimed: *'That is just indeed! As there are two factions in the Circus distinguished by their colours each one will have its bishop!'* Having thus expressed their contempt for the imperial letter, they cried out with one voice *'One God, One Christ, One Bishop!'* Matters were yet carried to greater extremes. Seditions were excited in Rome and its streets were even stained with blood. It was for this reason that the Emperor reluctantly consented to the return of Liberius to the Pontifical throne." This account of the return of Liberius agrees almost verbatim with that given by Theodoret,¹ and substantially with the accounts given by Socrates² and Sulpitius Severus,³ the three of whom are the most reliable historians of the fifth century.

Before we proceed to examine critically the evidence on which the two opinions referred to are based, we shall inquire how far the fall of Liberius, if admitted, is compatible with Papal Infallibility. We shall show that there is nothing in the one incompatible with the other, in other words, that a Catholic can consistently admit the one while believing in the other. To show that the fall of Liberius is incompatible with Papal Infallibility as understood by Catholics, it will be necessary for Protestants to establish the following:

¹ Lib. ii., c. 17.

Lib. iv., c. 37.

Lib. iv., c. 11.

(a) that the formula of faith signed by Liberius involved the contradiction of some Catholic truth : (b) that he proposed such formula of faith for the acceptance of Christians, not in any private capacity, but as Teacher of the Church ; and (c) that he was free in the exercise of his office. Unless they succeed in establishing the presence of these three conditions in the alleged fall of Liberius they prove nothing against Catholic faith. And so far are they from being able to do so that they cannot prove the presence of any one of them. We shall briefly consider the conditions separately, and show that two of them were *certainly* absent, and most probably also the third.

(a) Did the formula of faith which Liberius is said to have signed involve the contradiction of any Catholic doctrine? Before this question can be answered we must know what formula of faith he signed ; and on this point where we should expect unanimity among those who maintain his fall, we find hopeless disagreement. Baronius (Ad an. 357). Tillemont (vi., 772-4), Fleury (xiii., 46), Döllinger (i., 83), and Kaye (113), hold that he signed the creed drawn up at the first council of Sirmium (A.D. 351) : Mohler (St. Athan. v., 192) and Neander (iv., 65) are inclined to think that the creed signed was that drawn up at the second council of Sirmium (A.D. 357) : while Hefele (l., 658), Page (Cr. in Bar. ad a. 357) and Valesius (in Soz. iv., 15) go in for the creed drawn up at the third council of Sirmium (A.D. 358). These creeds were all faulty in this that they did not contain the word *ὁμοούσιος* which since the Council of Nice had been the test word of Catholic orthodoxy against the Arians. Though they were all thus faulty, the second was the only one that was *prima facie* heretical, as it alone proclaimed the Arian doctrine, that "the Father is superior to the Son in honour, dignity, and glory." The first and third Sirmian creeds taken in their obvious sense were orthodox, though they did not exclude an Arian construction as the Nicene did. The following is the first of these creeds as given by Harduin (i., 701) :—

"Credimus in unum Deum, Patrem Omnipotentem, Creatorem et Conditorem ex quo omnis paternitas in caelo et in terra nominatur.

Et in unicum ejus Filium, Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, qui ante omnia secula ex Patre natus est, Deum ex Deo, Lumen ex Lumine per quem facta sunt omnia in caelis et in terra, visibilia et invisibilia. Qui est verbum et sapientia et vita et lumen verum; qui in novissimis diebus propter nos incorporatus est de sancta Virgine: et crucifixus et mortuus est et sepultus: qui surrexit a mortuis tertia die; et ascendit in caelum, et sedet in dextera Patris; et venturus est in consummatione seculi judicare vivos et mortuos, et reddere unicuique secundum opera sua; cujus regni sine fine perseverans permanet in perpetua secula. Erit enim sedens in dextera Patris non solum in hoc seculo verum etiam in futuro. Et in Spiritum Sanctum i.e. Paracletum quem promittens Apostolis postea quam caelum ascendit misit docere et commonere omnia per quem et sanctificantur credentium in eum sinceriter animae."

This creed enunciates no doctrine that every Catholic is not bound to accept. The only objection that can be raised to it is the omission of the word *ὁμοούσιος*, but the omission of the word does not necessarily imply a denial of the doctrine. It was considered to have an orthodox sense by St. Hilary of Poitiers,¹ the "Athanasius of the West," who was contemporary with Liberius and who was therefore in a position to know the construction that was put on it at the time. The word *ὁμοούσιος* was omitted, not precisely because of the doctrine which it expressed, but because it was supposed to favor Sabellianism which at the time was taught by Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium. When condemned by the Fathers assembled at Sirmium he appealed in proof of his teaching to the test word of the Catholics. He understood *ὁυσία*² as synonymous with *persona*, a sense in which it was not unfrequently used at the time; and therefore, *ὁμοούσιος* as excluding personal distinction between the Father and the Son. Hence the fathers of Sirmium fearing lest the word might be used as a cover for the Sabellian heresy determined to omit it in their profession of faith,

¹ De Synodis, n. 38.

² The word *ὁυσία* is taken by Aristotle as synonymous with *ὑπόστασις* each being used to denote person and substance. They are also taken in the same sense by the Neo-Platonists from whom they were adopted by the early Fathers into the terminology of the Church. As Christian terms they continued to be used as synonymous down to the beginning of the fourth century; and by some even later. St. Athanasius, whose name is inseparably wound up with the word *ὁμοούσιος*, uses each word to denote a substance and a person.

though we have no doubt they were also influenced by their opposition to the Nicene symbol.

The third Sirmian creed as found in Harduin (i. 711) agrees substantially with the first, but it is a little fuller. It declares that the Son is like the Father "in all things to which Sacred Scripture extends the likeness,"¹ and thus clearly admits an orthodox interpretation. The word *ὁμοούσιος* was omitted in this creed because it was not used in Sacred Scripture to express the relation between the Father and the Son, and as that relation was beyond the comprehension of human intelligence it was considered advisable to adhere to a terminology that had scriptural authority in its favor, particularly, as the lately introduced word had been so often wrested from its Catholic sense to favour Sabellian error. The reason that influenced the council to omit the word *consubstantial* is thus given as the end of its profession of faith: ". . . . Vocabulum porro substantiæ, quod simplicius a patribus positum est, et a populis ignoratur et scandalum affert eo quod in Scripturis non contineatur, placuit ut de medio tolleretur, et nullam posthac de Dei substantia mentionem esse faciendam eo quod Sacrae Scripturae numquam meminere substantiæ Patris et Filii. Filium autem Patri per omnia similem esse dicimus, *quemadmodum sacrae litterae dicunt et docent.*"² From this it would appear that though the Council determined to omit the word *consubstantial*, it did not condemn the doctrine expressed by it. The same word was disowned as savouring of heterodoxy by the great Council of Antioch (264-9) at which so many champions of Catholic Faith assisted, and it has never been urged that it condemned the doctrine which the word was shortly afterwards used to express. It may be said that the word had not at the time the sanction of an œcumenical council. Still we can well understand how it could have been rejected by orthodox Christians even after the Council of Nice, on account of the Sabellian construction put on it; for it was the doctrine and not the word that had been made an article of Catholic faith. The first and third Sirmian creeds

¹ Athan. de Syn. 8.

² Hard. loco citato.

were then *prima facie* orthodox and were heterodox only to heterodox minds. If Liberius signed either of these creeds—and the great weight of Protestant authority is in favour of one or the other—we may reasonably suppose that he understood it in a Catholic sense, for he was in exile because he *would not* be a heretic. He would, indeed, have been morally guilty on account of the circumstances of the times in deserting the Nicene formula, and accepting a creed which did *not exclude* an Arian interpretation. But the question we have got to consider is not one of mere moral guilt but of Christian orthodoxy.

(b) If we accept the opinion of those who hold that Liberius signed the formula of faith¹ which was clearly Arian, then we say that he acted simply as *believer* accepting an heretical doctrine, and not as *teacher*; and no Catholic is bound to believe that the Pope in the former capacity is infallible. It is at least quite clear that he did not act in his official capacity as Teacher of the Church, in other words that he did not wish to make an Arian creed an article of faith for Christians, because he signed it, as Protestants admit, through fear, or as a means of escaping from exile and death; and to attain this purpose it was not necessary that he should teach *ex cathedra* the creed which he himself accepted; it was sufficient that he should do so as a private individual. We cannot for a moment suppose that he wished to enforce on Christians a formula of faith in which he did not believe, and to which he yielded only a forced assent.

(c) Even if he taught the Arian Faith, which he did not, he was not *free*, for it is universally admitted that he yielded only to threats of open violence, and “every act extorted by violence is null by every title and protests against itself.”² Those who maintain the fall of Liberius say that after the exhibition in the Roman circus, Constantius sent Fortunatian, Bishop of Aquileia, who formerly stood high in the opinion of Liberius for disinterestedness and courage, but who had recently joined the Arians, to do the tempter’s work, and to offer the exiled Pontiff the alternative of death or submission.

¹ Second Sirmian Creed.

² Bossuet.

³ St. Jerome De Script. Eccl., c. 97.

According to them he preferred submission to death; he consented to sign an Arian formula of faith, and the condemnation of Athanasius. But in so doing he did not possess that freedom of action which is essential in order that Catholics should be bound to believe in his infallible teaching. Thus it appears that the alleged fall of Liberius is entirely beside the question of Papal Infallibility. We hope to examine in another paper the evidence on which the alleged fall rests.

T. GILMARTIN.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART IN IRELAND.—II.

IF Ireland holds the premier place in pictorial art, as is evinced from her marvellously illuminated manuscripts, the same may be maintained as regards her unrivalled works in metal. Despite all the destroying agencies to which for ages they have been exposed, still enough remains to prove conclusively that her claims in this respect are simply indisputable. No other people can produce a grander or more priceless collection of ancient works in metal than we possess. Unlike England and other countries, where Roman, Saxon, Scandinavian, and Norman invaders, each in succession, ruled in such a manner as nearly to obliterate all vestiges of their primeval inhabitants, Ireland has remained, notwithstanding all her vicissitudes, in possession of her ancient language, and a greater amount of the antiquities of her early people, than any other nation in Western Europe.

If we go back to that very remote period to what is commonly called "the age of stone," when society was in its infancy, we find the ancient Kelts manifesting a love for art in the formation of their war weapons and domestic utensils. Even in the age mentioned, mining so necessary for the arts was not unknown to the ancient Gaedhill. In our own times when old mines were reopened, in the abundant workings were found hammers and chisels, &c., &c., of stone. The discovery of such primitive tools proves to a demonstration,

that the people in the remote past were acquainted with some portion of their mineral wealth. At what particular period in the prehistoric times the Irish discovered metals and their uses, together with the art of smelting and casting them has not been determined by archaeologists. Centuries before the Christian era, the inhabitants of Ireland were well acquainted with the art of working in the precious metal, out of which they manufactured articles of necessity, and ornaments, the beautiful design and execution of which we have still ample opportunities of judging. *The Annals of the Four Masters* record the death of Tighearnmas, King of Ireland, in the year 605, B.C., and add to it the following statement:—“It was by Tighearnmas that gold was first smelted in Ireland, and Uchadan, of Fercualan, County Wicklow, was his artificer. It was by him that goblets and brooches were first covered with gold in Erin.” It is a remarkable fact, this is the precise district, where in modern times some gold has been found in the mountain streams.

Allusions to rings, torques, chains, shields, brooches, and other articles of gold and silver, as portions of the stipends, and presents paid by the provincial kings to the reigning monarch are very plentifully scattered throughout that ancient compilation, *The Leabhar na g-Geart*. This work principally refers to a state of things existing in Pagan times. It is said to have been compiled from ancient sources by St. Benignus, a disciple of St. Patrick, at whose command the former expunged from it everything that savoured of Paganism. We have before us in this book a complete picture of the political and social state of Ireland, when Christianity was introduced, and for several centuries previous. The nature of the articles mentioned in these tributes will manifestly demonstrate the wealth, as well as the proficiency in the arts as they existed in the island at that period. Thus the stipend of the King of Tara was—“Thirty coats of mail, seven cloaks with clasps of gold, six studs, six tunics with golden ornaments, six shields in burnished gold, ten chess boards, thirty carved rings to the King of Ráthion, eight studs not driven from the mountains, with bridle bits of old silver.”

These statements in *The Leabhar na g-Geart*, and other works concerning the very general use of the precious metals in the remote ages have been received with considerable distrust by some who are very imperfectly acquainted with the subject. Nevertheless the accounts handed down to us have been amply confirmed by the gold and silver ornaments, and various utensils which from time to time have been discovered in the country. When for instance, it is stated that the ancient Gaedhill had used bridle bits of gold and silver, with what an amount of incredulity such an assertion is confronted by some persons? Yet, it is on record, that Earl Strafford during his administration in Ireland presented Charles the First with a bridle bit weighing ten ounces of solid gold, which was found in a bog. In consequence of the discoveries that have been occasionally made, it is unquestionable that large quantities of gold, silver, bronze, and jewels have been interred with the illustrious dead in this country during the Pagan times. It is certain that Christianity discountenanced such vain ostentation. The Lochlans, who for three centuries infested the coasts and plundered many island districts of the country, were well aware of the national custom of interring treasure with the dead; and consequently rifled the sepulchres of the great cemeteries and other burial places, as we find it recorded on different occasions in our annals. Our national collection in bronze is the most extensive of its kind, and we may add without a rival in the world. It has been principally supplied from our bogs, which may be truly designated our Irish museums.

Vallancey writing about a century ago assures us that something of the antique was found every other day, and we may observe the same is true of our own times. The collections in the different museums and private hands consist chiefly of war implements, horse trappings, chariot furniture, domestic utensils, musical instruments, and personal decorations. The ancients in the long buried past had the secret, which is now one of the lost arts, of tempering bronze so as to make it as hard as cast steel. The bronze trumpets are simply unique. The riveting in the tubing is quite

plain to even the casual observer; but to know how this was effected is a profound mystery. All are puzzled, and no one can give a satisfactory explanation of how the workmanship was accomplished. That the metallurgic arts flourished in this country in the pre-Christian times is simply indisputable. Artificers, particularly workers in metals, were held in high repute amongst the pagan Irish, as is evident from the frequent reference made to them in our ancient literature. The Keltic Pantheon has its Gobhan Saor who is represented to have been a miner, smith, and jeweller. We have also Creidne, who made an artificial silver hand for Nuadha, who lost that member at the battle of Moytura, 1,800, B.C. (*vide* Sir William Wilde's *Lough Corrib*.) Neshin the great artificer of Tara, Drouin who forged the great anvil, Daghdha who manufactured the magic sword and shield of Conor MacNessa.

It would indeed be endless to enumerate the articles of gold that have been discovered from time to time in this country. Moreover vast quantities of gold ornaments and utensils have been secretly melted down, and disposed of through the fears of the finders. Nor was this to be wondered at inasmuch as the landlords could claim everything of such a nature, before the law of treasure trove was changed making the article the property of the finder. The collection in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, contains about three hundred and sixty specimens of Irish antiquities in gold. We may add that it is one of the richest of its kind found in the world. Trinity College possesses some very beautiful objects. A considerable number are also to be found in the collections of private individuals. There is a large amount in the British Museum, while not a few Continental museums are enriched with specimens of early Irish art. The great quantities of the precious metals discovered in Ireland on different occasions, have given rise to some speculation, as to where they were procured. The peculiar form and character of the articles, and also their distinctive ornamentation, stamp them with a truly national origin; while the absence of Christian symbols, and their archaic type, assign the majority of them to an age previous

to the introduction of Christianity. The question then naturally arises ; From whence came this abundance of gold at so early a period ? Some have attributed its introduction to the Phœnicians, who in their time carried on an extensive trade with Ireland. Others say it was due to the Danes. But this is a groundless assertion ; for gold was plentiful in this island long before those ruthless invaders set foot on our shores. They were more likely to export that precious commodity, than import it ; for we find them constantly plundering not only the towns and religious establishments, but also the very sepulchres of the dead. Our annalists mention that it was under the domination of these marauders, that a capitation tax called the *Airgid Sron*, or nose money (being an ounce of gold) was commonly levied from each head of a family ; or in default he had his nose cut off. The cruelty of this grinding impost was subsequently avenged, although in a more humane manner by the Irish monarch Malachy, who retaliated by compelling the Danes to pay an ounce of gold for every cultivated garden which they held.

There is no doubt, however, that the early Christian Church in Ireland made use of native artists for the production of all these things required in the services of religion ; namely, altar plate, crosses, croziers, shrines and covers or cases for missals, and those beautiful copies of the Holy Scriptures, the copying of which was a labour of love with the primitive Christians of our native land. Of ancient Christian artists, we have recorded in the *Four Masters*, the names of Esser, Tassuch, Fertebern, and Dagacus. *The Book of Armagh*, written in the seventh century, states that the shrines of SS. Bridget and Conlaeth at Kildare were marvels of art, being adorned with gold, silver and precious stones. The statement is corroborated by Giraldus Cambrensis, who says : "These shrines in point of artistic merit surpass anything I have ever seen."

"It would appear," says Dr. Petrie, "from the number of references to shrines in the Irish annals, that previously to the irruptions of the Northmen in the eight and ninth centuries, there were few, if any, of the distinguished churches in Ireland which had not costly shrines." Hence we can infer

how they were hopelessly destroyed by the plundering invaders. We are told that the first place on which they made a descent along the coast of Ireland, was the historic island of Holmpatrick, Skerries, Co. Dublin, A.D. 793. They plundered the place, and carried off the beautiful and costly shrine of St. Duchona. In the ninth century, St. Donatus, an Irishman, died Bishop of Fiesole in Italy. In a work which he has written, he mentions "the wealth of his native country, in gems, vesture, and gold." In the primitive times of our church flourished that inimitable work of art, known to the learned throughout the world as the "*Opus Hibernicum*."

Our ecclesiastical history mentions that in the year A.D. 907, Cormac MacCulinan, King and Bishop of Cashel, left by his will large legacies to the principal churches in Ireland, consisting chiefly of beautifully wrought golden chalices, adorned with precious stones.

In the early days of the Irish church a remarkable school of art flourished at Clonmacnois. Its principal patron was the abbot Colgan O'Donohue, who died in the year A. D. 789. His fame was European, as we learn from a letter still extant, written to him by the celebrated Alcuin, who was the medium of sending him a generous donation from the Emperor Charlemagne. His successor in the monastery was McMaelhumo, an ardent lover of the fine arts, who is styled by the writers of that period, "*Doctor Scotorum peritissimus*." This school also found a generous patron in the person of the Abbot Tigernach, who died in the year A.D. 1088. He was the author of the *Annals* which bear his name. All concur in saying, and his writings prove, that he was one of the most learned men of the age in which he lived. The monastery of Clonmacnois seems to have been singularly rich in works of art.

The altar of the great church there was adorned with jewels, which were carried away when the church was plundered in the year 1129. The annalists enumerate among the things stolen, the shrine of St. Manchan, the gift of Roderic O'Connor; a model of Solomon's Temple, three jewels presented by King Turlough O'Connor, the crossier of St. Kieran, the chalice of Cellach the successor of

St. Patrick ; also the chalice, a part of whose matchless ornamentation was wrought by the hands of the daughter of King Roderic O'Connor. Our ancient writers did not exaggerate in the descriptions which they have given us concerning this peerless work of art, which was long mourned as hopelessly lost, but happily brought to light in our own days. This chalice is decidedly the most beautiful example of ancient Keltic art ever yet found. Nor has it a rival in any of the Continental collections in point of design or artistic beauty. Gold, silver, white bronze and precious stones enter into its manufacture. We see displayed on it a style of indescribable ornamentation, which is long since extinct. Suffice it to say in the world of art it simply stands unrivalled. In the opinion of practical jewellers we could not find at the present time a worker in the precious metals capable of producing a chalice equal to it. When we scrutinize carefully this unique work of art, with a powerful magnifying glass, we are at once reminded of the oft quoted words, "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever." We cannot agree with Miss Stokes when she conjectures that the handles attached to the Ardagh chalice are a proof that communion under both forms was administered to the laity in the ancient Irish church. In all probability she has been unintentionally led astray on this point by the untrustworthy statements of the innovators of the sixteenth century. The history of this precious relic is singularly interesting. That it is the one stolen from Clonmacnois by Gilcomhain the Dane of Limerick, is quite certain ; as the inscriptions on it coincide with those mentioned in our annals. The sacrilegious thief suffered the extreme penalty of the law for his offence, but refused disclosing where he secreted his plunder, which lay in the earth at Ardagh, Co. Limerick until accidentally discovered by a peasant a few years since. We may add the chalice is now safely preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

We cannot forbear mentioning something, although in a very brief way, about the famous Processional Cross of Cong, which is undoubtedly one of the finest specimens of metal work, enamel, niello, and jewelry of its age in the Western world. Its designer and maker were artists in the true sense

of the word. According to *The Annals of Clonmacnois*, it was manufactured for Turlough O'Connor, King of Ireland, who in the year A.D. 1123, received from Rome a relic of the true Cross; and had it enshrined in this unique reliquary, now carefully preserved in the national collection. It consists of an oaken cross covered with plates of bronze and silver, washed in many places with a thick layer of gold, and having interspersed golden filagree work of a most minute character. All the front and back plates are elaborately carved with that intertwined pattern, so specially characteristic of Keltic ornamentation. Supported on a projection decorated with niello in the centre, there is a large polished crystal under which was placed the relic originally sent from Rome. The foot of the cross springs from a globe, the ornamentation of which is simply a marvel of workmanship. Inscriptions in Irish and Latin running round it tell us when and for what reason it was manufactured. In the opinion of those competent to judge, we could hardly find an artist capable of making a reliquary equal to it. Although numbers of our shrines have been destroyed, still enough remains in order to convey to us, what was the artistic merit of those lost. All concur in saying, that the shrine of St. Patrick's Bell is a marvel of ancient Irish art in metal. Nothing in the way of decoration can exceed its delicate embellishments wrought in gold and bronze. It is now safely preserved in the national collection. In the same place we find the Fiacal Phadraig, or shrine of St. Patrick's tooth, a wonderful work of art. Quite recently there has been added to the same collection the shrine of St. Lachten, for a long time in exile. This venerable reliquary is an enduring monument of Keltic genius, in connection with the fine arts. The beautiful shrine of St. Manchan is still in good preservation after having weathered the storms of so many centuries.

In no other country do we find so many book shrines as in Ireland. The manufacture of such was a speciality here in the remote times. The oldest we have is the Domhnach Airgid, now in the national collection. This beautiful and venerable relic of antiquity was specially made to hold a copy of the Gospels, once the property of St.

Patrick, and bequeathed by him to St. M'Cartan, first Bishop of Clogher. That such occurred is a well authenticated fact. We have also in the same museum the Cathach, the history of which would form a large volume. This magnificent shrine contains a copy of the Psalms, which tradition ascribes to St. Columba, who was one of the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell. For twelve hundred years this venerable relic was most religiously cared amongst them. On the destruction of the sept, it was carried into exile; and after meeting with various vicissitudes, it was at last restored to Ireland. We have also that rare work of art, the shrine containing the Missal of St. Ruan, Bishop of Lorrha is the seventh century, The Missal, said to be the oldest in the world, was carried away ages ago to the Irish Monastery in Ratisbon, Germany. After escaping many dangers in various places whilst in exile, we trust that at last it has found a permanent resting place in the Royal Irish Academy, where it was placed not long since. We have also still extant, the shrine of St. Molaise's Gospels, and likewise that of the celebrated *Book of Dimma*. There is preserved in Monza, Italy, a costly Keltic book shrine, the gift of Queen Theodolinda, A.D. 616. There is likewise a very beautiful one of the same character in the gallery of the Louvre, Paris. The Museum of Munich, Bavaria, contains an exquisitely wrought Keltic book case, enclosing a copy of the Gospels, which formerly belonged to the Irish Abbey of St. Emerau, Ratisbon. We have still preserved in various places, a fair number of episcopal croziers, some of them are of very ancient date, being identified with the early Irish Church. Two of them now preserved in the national collection, namely, those of Clonmacnois and Lismore are in point of design, and elaborate ornamentation, simply unrivalled in the domain of art. Europe cannot show anything of a similar kind, which will bear comparison.

In our ancient writings, we find allusions on several occasions to the golden crown worn by Erin's princes in the ages long since gone by. These statements are fully corroborated by discoveries made from time to time. As usual such articles were consigned to the crucible, for reasons already adduced. However, we have the history of a very beautiful

one found in the year 1692, in the South of Ireland. Its possessor was obliged to fly to France, after the Williamite wars, and the crown was preserved in the Castle of Anglure, Champagne, up to the time of the French Revolution, when it disappeared, and we have now no trace of its existence. We cannot omit mentioning, although in a very cursory way, the far-famed Tara Brooch, the pride of our National Museum, which in the opinion of those competent to judge, holds the premier place amongst the ornaments produced by the jeweller's craft. The *London Times* did not exaggerate, when it said, "that it is more like the work of fairies than human beings." Like works of its class, its basis consists of white bronze, which is decorated with a wonderful variety of ornaments in gold, silver, niello, enamels, and glass of different shades. The delicacy of execution, in its Keltic interlaced patterns, and golden flagree work, can be only properly appreciated, when seen through a powerful magnifying glass. When thus scrutinised, the beholder is simply struck with amazement to know how such a triumph of art was manufactured. Some of the ablest practical jewellers, who in our times have carefully examined this priceless relic of the past, are unanimous in declaring that a brooch equal to it could not now be produced. According to their candid opinion, its peculiar style of manufacture may be numbered amongst the lost arts. As this paper has now assumed proportions far beyond what was originally intended, we are therefore reluctantly obliged to take leave of Miss Stokes' admirable hand-book, which we feel confident in saying will do a great deal of good in attracting attention to what Erin has done in behalf of the fine arts, in the ages long since departed. Under these circumstances, we cannot now touch on two other subjects treated in her work, namely, sculpture and architecture. However, we purpose considering them on a future occasion.

P. A. YORKE.

CRANIOTOMY IN RELATION TO MEDICAL SCIENCE.

“NO surgical operation whatever is, abstractedly considered, more revolting to human nature than that of craniotomy or embryulcia. It is, at best, a dreadful expedient; in too many instances it implies the direct and deliberate murder of a fellow-being by the accoucheur.”¹ “In the whole range of surgery it is the only operation recognised and sanctioned by the British profession which is undertaken with the avowed intention of destroying life.”² To every man of moral feeling the question naturally arises—To such an operation is it possible that medical science can find no alternative With regret it must be admitted that, for a long course of years, the British School of Medicine practically, if not specifically, answered No; for, as will be seen later on, any serious attempt at a scientific trial of means more humane and worthier of a profession, whose duty is to save not destroy life, was lamentably neglected. Latterly, however, thanks to the results achieved on the Continent and in America, more attention has been given to the subject and a better hope exists, even in England, that “the time is not far distant, when, under the pressure of modern statistics and a more rational consideration of the issue, we may see the total abolition of craniotomy an accomplished fact.”³ These statistics prove the success of the Cæsarean section and of some of its modifications, when performed in time, and with the precautions that no surgeon would think of neglecting in any serious operation. Is, then, the Cæsarean operation or its modification an alternative in all cases to craniotomy? I may here remark that the difference between the Cæsarean section (whose origin lies hidden in antiquity, and which was old when it received its name from the world’s ruler who owed his life to it) and its subsequent modifications is purely surgical and has little interest for us here, save for the feeling of hope that it gives

¹ Sir J. T. Simpson’s *Obstetric Work*. Priestly and Storer, vol. i., p. 621.

² Mr. Ramsboham’s *Obstetric Medicine*, 4th ed., note p. 303.

³ Readman, March No. *Provincial Medical Journal*, p. 114.

us, that the progress of medical science may widen, by any change in its performance, the field of its usefulness. I now answer the question, in general, and say, that *per se* and absolutely, by the Cæsarean operation, the foetus or child can be taken *alive* from the womb, in all cases where craniotomists hold it is necessary to deliberately take the life of the child. In other words in the Cæsarean section, an operation not *necessarily* fatal to the mother, —though we may admit its danger—there is an alternative to craniotomy, an operation *directly* and *necessarily* fatal to the child. On this, I may safely say, all medical authority is agreed. It is when the question arises of the danger to the mother that authorities differ. Now, concerning the maternal mortality after this operation, there is a mass of statistics compiled, full of seeming contradictions, and of apparently inexplicable discrepancies. I could not, in such a space as I can command, give a complete idea of the difference that exists in the reports from various countries, hospitals, and individual surgeons. But we can imagine what it is when we know, that the maternal mortality ranges from over 95 per cent. in England according to Mr. Lawson Tait, down to 21 per cent. actually obtained by Dr. Säger, of Leipsic, as told by himself at the meeting of the German Gynæcological Society, November 28th, 1886, and even to 10 per cent. only by Dr. Leopold, of Vienna. That is, not one woman in ten survives—if we are to believe such an authority as Mr. Lawson Tait—the operation in England, whilst 8 women in 10 have actually recovered in Germany, and of Dr. Leopold's cases 10 in 11. Is there any reason for such a diversity of results? Certainly. In England the Cæsarean section has been hitherto performed, in most cases, as a *dernier ressort*, after long labour and its consequent exhaustion, after every attempt to deliver by other means, sometimes even by craniotomy, after everything else had failed and death was inevitable, if not fast approaching. Dr. Kinkead¹ draws attention to this fact, and says “a most remarkable feature in all English and American records is the few cases in which an early operation has been resorted to. Thus, out of 103 recorded by Harris, we

¹ Dub. Obst. Soc. Proceedings, March, 6th, 1880, p. 68.

find only 24, in those by Radford 20, and in the 32, which I have collected, only 9." On the contrary, the favourable issue in other places is due to the fact that the Cæsarean section was selected *ab initio* as the better operation, it was commenced at the beginning of labour, when the mother was still strong, with all necessary precautions, and, therefore, with all the provisions that are made before any equally serious operation in surgery. Of course, in our hospitals such a satisfactory result can hardly be hoped for, as the majority of women, for whom this operation would be necessary, are brought to them, with labour already commenced, very often too when unskilled aid has been applied in vain to effect delivery. Under unfavourable conditions as the operation has been performed, even in England, the average mortality, as given by obstetric writers, is 1 in 2½. But Dr. Kinkead, in the nine British operations done in time, and with proper precautions, gives a recovery of 85 per cent., or only 15 per cent. mortality,¹ or not one death in six. Dr. Harris reports twenty-four cases of early operation with a mortality of 25 per cent., or one death in four.² I cannot do better than quote the late Dr. Meadows, a very eminent English authority. Commenting on the statistics of Drs. Säger and Leopold, he says:—"I venture to affirm that craniotomy, in comparison with this operation, becomes at once *almost* unjustifiable, for these figures show, that, as regards the maternal mortality, it is little, if at all, more dangerous than craniotomy, and in the latter case all the children would be sacrificed, while in the former, 29 out of 31 or about 93 per cent. were saved. From July 1885, to July 1886, 20 operations have been reported resulting in the saving of 18 mothers, giving a maternal mortality of 10 per cent., and of 20 children 19 were saved. . . . As Dr. Harris remarks this success is due to the operation having been elective, and not the last resource, and this will be the general result whenever obstetricians shall be made to comprehend the value of an early elective operation."³

¹ *Op. Cit.* page 67.

² *American Journal of Medical Science*, April and July, 1878, and January, 1879.

³ Mr. Readman, *Op. Cit.* p. 112.

But after all is this such a widely practical question? Is the necessity for either the Cæsarean section or craniotomy frequent? I may say that by the use of what obstetricians call the long forceps, the whole subject in latter years has almost been revolutionised. Cases that even 15 years ago would be considered as infallibly requiring either alternative, have been, with ease, delivered successfully by this instrument. With this remark it will be almost enough to quote a few statistics from our own Hospital of the Rotunda, one of the first in the world. During his Mastership, extending over the seven years from 1869 to 1875, Dr. Johnston compiled reports,¹ which for accuracy, clearness, and real professional ability, I think, could not possibly be excelled. During those years he tells us that 8,094 women were delivered. Cæsarean section was performed but once, craniotomy was performed in 26 cases only, in all which, except one that was doubtful, the child was *certainly* dead. Dr. Johnston, in his report for 1874, page 28, says—"Craniotomy had not to be performed once since the 2nd of September, 1873, a period of 15 months, during which time 1,429 cases were delivered. This we attribute to the greater efficiency of the double curved forceps over those with the straight blades, which, at the suggestion of my friend, and then assistant, Dr. J. J. Cranny, I was induced to adopt now upwards of three years since, there having been many cases which, without the aid of the double curve, we should have been obliged to perforate." In the discussion which took place at the meeting of the Dublin Obstetrical Society, on the 9th of January, 1875, after the above was read, in which the leading men of Dublin took part, this fact was admitted, and recommended to the consideration of all practitioners. I may mention that Dr. Fitzpatrick, at a meeting of the same Society, almost 20 years before, recommended the use of such a forceps. But even since 1874 so great has been the improvement in this instrument, and in its use, that Dr. Atthill, who succeeded Dr. Johnston in the Rotunda, is able to boast, that craniotomy was not

¹ Chemical Report of the Rotunda Lying-in Hospital, printed by Falconer, 1869-75.

performed a dozen times in the 20,000 cases that came under his care whilst master, and he says, that craniotomy on the live child is virtually in this city and among all well-informed practitioners now never performed.¹ Dr. Horne during his four years' residence knew but four cases in 10,000 deliveries.²

To prove the rarity, if not the total absence of the necessity for craniotomy, I may quote Dr. Sinclair, President for the year of the Obstetrical Society, who says at its meeting of May 1st, 1880—"It is fortunate that in this country we have so few cases of such deformity. I do not know how long it is since I performed craniotomy, although I have 600 poor people delivered under my care every year," and he adds, "I believe that the reason why we have failed in this country with Cæsarean section is, because we have delayed the operation instead of performing it at once."³

Such is the evidence, weighty and reliable, of our first obstetricians on the frequency of the necessity for craniotomy. What a contrast between it and the experience, false as it is and lamentable in its criminal results, of many young or impatient practitioners, whose only surgical skill is in the use of the deadly instruments that terminate the life of God's creatures on the very threshold of their existence! I may conclude the whole subject of craniotomy in relation to medical science with Dr. Meadows' words to the British Gynaecological Society:—"My opinion is that the whole tendency of modern midwifery practice is setting in very decidedly in the direction of absolutely and entirely abolishing this most abominable, unscientific, and brutal proceeding; and I am strongly of opinion that, if not in our day, at least before another generation of gynaecologists shall have passed away, the practice of deliberately sacrificing a human life will be regarded as wholly unwarrantable, and not to be contemplated for a single moment, in the face of other more scientific, more humane, and far more successful modes of treatment."

THOMAS BOURKE.

¹ I. E. RECORD, March Number, p. 264.

² I. E. RECORD, March Number, p. 265.

³ Proceedings Dub. Obstet. Soc., 1879-81, page 108.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

1.

AN OFFICIAL CHARGES MORE THAN HE ACTUALLY SPENDS IN HIS BILL OF EXPENSES. IS HE BOUND TO RESTITUTION?

"1. A confessor has a penitent who is an official. He is allowed hotel expenses when he stops at certain towns. When in these he generally stops at the houses of friends. Still he sends in his bill for expenses. What is the confessor to say when consulted on this practice? If not consulted, but knowing it from other sources, is he bound to ask his penitent about it?

"2. The same penitent when travelling is allowed *first* class expenses. He travels *third*, keeping for himself the difference in fare. Is this practice to be allowed by the confessor?

"3. Penitents sometimes give honoraria for masses for deceased persons to whom they owed money. They say they were told by their confessor to do this by way of restitution. Is it a means of making restitution which can be recommended?

"CONSTANT READER."

Before answering our correspondent's questions directly, it is well to state the principle on which any solution of the first and second must turn. The principle is this. Where actual expenses are allowed, with permission to run them up to a certain maximum, no more than the actual outlay can be justly claimed and received; but where a sum, such as is likely to cover the usual expenses on certain occasions, is assigned on a general title the whole amount may be sought and retained, provided one does not bring discredit on the service by his economy. The second, obviously, is the more favourable arrangement for an official. But the other is far more common, and hence a confessor requires to be constantly on his guard in giving decisions bearing on this matter. Not unfrequently, indeed, both arrangements are in force for the same person in different departments of expenditure. Thus from the nature of the case we should expect a fixed sum for hotel expenses, and only actual outlay in the matter of car fares. We now come to the particular difficulties suggested in our correspondent's letter.

1. If this official is allowed a fixed sum per day for hotel

expenses "when out" or "from home" over night, on the round of his duties, he can justly demand the sum assigned, even though he stays with friends, because the condition of payment is fully verified. But if he is recouped according to the items of an account, not merely containing the number of days, but the varying charges of different towns and hotels, it is obvious the service does not wish to allow him anything beyond his actual outlay. Hence, in this event, a confessor when asked on the subject, should be explicit in declaring that the penitent may go no further than the expenses he has *de facto* incurred. Moreover, even though not asked, it will be an obvious duty for a confessor, who well knows that injustice has been practised and is to be continued by his penitent, to admonish him against such wrong-doing. Only in an extreme case, where, for instance, a penitent is dying, who is not likely to obey a monition of this kind, if given, should a confessor abstain from declaring the obligation. At such a moment a priest's great care is to preserve the good disposition of the sufferer and secure his salvation. During the ordinary course of life, however, the truth should be stated with as little delay as possible. At the same time, if scandal, arising from the course pursued be not present, a priest would do well to wait for what he could consider a favourable occasion to insist on justice being done.

2. Without wishing to lay down an invariable rule, we believe the allowance for travelling fares is generally limited to actual expenses. Thus a person whose cars are paid for, but who is expected to make a detailed report of journeys and fares, is not free to exaggerate the particular items, or enter any figure where he has gone on foot. The same applies, though possibly not to an equal extent, with regard to travelling by rail. In every case, if the principles already enunciated be kept in mind, one will be able to come to a conclusion when he learns accurately the way the permission is worded and the return sheet filled up. Should, however, a solid doubt remain, a confessor will not impose the obligation of restitution, whatever he may do in the matter of giving advice or seeking other sources of information.

3. Yes, by all means, provided no representatives of deceased, to whom the money would have gone if restored before death, be forthcoming. Supposing this condition, the sum is expended according to the presumed wish, as it certainly is for the best interests, of deceased when given for Masses.

II.

CONDITIONAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

"With reference to your reply to my question on the conditional administration of the Sacraments, I think you narrowed the issue over much. My case was this. A sacrament has to be administered conditionally, no matter what the cause, to save the sacrament from nullity, is it necessary to express the condition ?

"SACERDOS."

1. The mere *expression* of the condition in words has nothing to do with *validity*. It is the internal forming of a conditional intention that may be of importance in this respect.

2. Whether the case is one of administering or of re-administering a sacrament conditionally, the condition ought to be expressed, for *lawfulness*, when the Rubric so directs.

III.

DOES THE NECESSITY FOR A CORPSE MASS, *PRESENTE CADAVERE*, JUSTIFY DUPLICATION ON SUNDAYS ?

"Having read your very satisfactory reply to the questions of 'Vicarius' regarding duplication, I venture to ask : Is not the fact that a burial is to take place on a Sunday of itself a good and sufficient cause for duplicating ?

"My reasons for thinking so are the following :—

"1°. It seems to be the spirit and desire of Holy Church to have Mass offered, before burial, for each of her children who quit this life in her peace and communion—*Cadavere presente*.

"2°. The universal usage seems to be to have the Mass offered on the day of burial.

"3°. It was the usage, at least in some parts of Ireland, to have Mass on Sunday in 'the corpse house' when the funeral was to take place on that day, although this necessitated 'duplication.'

"The inquirer has before his mind a case in Dublin in which, with the express sanction of the lamented Cardinal Cullen, a priest said his first Mass at the 'corpse house,' and the second Mass in 'the Church.' There was no particular reason to make an exception on family grounds or because a number of persons should otherwise lose Mass, as the house was quite near a church in which there are several Masses on Sundays.

"4°. Benedict XIV. gives explicitly his own practice in the case contemplated. He adds that a parish priest in the circumstances laid down is first to say his parochial Mass, then to have 'the remains' brought to the church, and offer Mass for the repose of the deceased.

"In Ireland the piety of the people attaches the highest value to the Mass offered *Cadavers presents*.

"If my ideas on this matter are erroneous you will oblige me by correcting them.

"AN INQUIRER.

"P.S.—Benedict XIV. supposed that the parish priest is alone and cannot find another priest to say one of the Masses for him.—*Vide* "Institutiones."

The statements of our respected correspondent seem to make a strong case against our opinion. We are far from calling them in question. But to us they do not seem to warrant his inference. In a matter of discipline what even great canonists, such as Cardinal Lambertini or Cardinal Cullen laid down, cannot afford a rule of unchanging security for our guidance. In 1867 the Propaganda issued a long instruction to explain fully the causes that justify *binatio*. It is found in an appendix to the Decrees of the Maynooth Synod, and makes no reference to the ground put forward by our correspondent. Neither does it allow custom to be of any force for acquiring the *facultas binandi* in opposition to common law. That law supposes, according to its latest authentic interpretation, that there will be a *necessitas ex parte fidelium* relatively to hearing Mass, in order that a priest, who has not two parishes, may celebrate more than once on Sundays.

IV.

HERETICS AND THE LAWS OF THE CHURCH.

"Would you please say 1°. If the obligation of heretics in regard to the laws of the Church be so strict that in no case would it be allowed to indirectly co-operate with them in violating them? 2°. Might a Catholic entertaining a Protestant friend casually at dinner, or who happened to be on a visit with him, have flesh meat prepared on a day of abstinence, so that if the Protestant liked he might partake of it? 3°. Would a master be strictly obliged to hinder a Protestant servant from working on a holiday if he wished to do so, supposing the case in which a servant isn't paid by time or piece? A certain variety of practice seems to exist herein.

"A SUBSCRIBER."

1. Heretics, of course, are not more strictly bound by the laws of the Church than Catholics are, and as a sufficient cause will justify indirect co-operation in the transgressions of Catholics, manifestly it will justify similar co-operation with heretics. Furthermore: indirect co-operation in the violation of ecclesiastical laws is more easily permitted with heretics than with Catholics—for two reasons. (a) A less cause will justify co-operation in violations of law, when the sins are only material sins, than when they are formal sins. Now, when heretics violate ecclesiastical laws, they generally, if not universally, commit only material sins; "Quia [writes Gury, Pars. i., n. 92, 5°] fere nesciunt se ex conditione sua ad servandas has leges teneri." The transgressions of Catholics on the contrary are too often formal sins. (b) A less cause will suffice to permit indirect co-operation in the mere external act of transgression, than co-operation in the external act, and in the internal consent. A Protestant, for example, may enter a hotel on Friday determined to have a meat dinner. A Catholic enters to dine on abstinence fare, but meat is served, and he is tempted thereby to violate the laws of the Church. In the first case the proprietor co-operates only in the external violation of the law. In the second case he co-operates in the external transgression, and in the internal consent. A greater cause is necessary to justify the latter co-operation than the former. It is both co-operation and scandal.

2. (a) In appointing a particular day for festivities—for dining—it would not be lawful, without *very grave cause*, to select a day of abstinence, and to entertain Protestant friends with meat. This case however is not contemplated in the question of our correspondent.

(b) We suppose therefore that the Protestant casually visits, or is staying for a few days, and the general principle is—Indirect co-operation is lawful if there is a proportionately grave cause for permitting, or not preventing the friend's violation of ecclesiastical law; otherwise it is unlawful.

(c) In estimating a grave cause considerable account must be taken of social relations. (1) If a Protestant friend visited a poor family, who rarely dine on meat, the presumption would be against the lawfulness of giving meat; because then the host's action could not be regarded as an effort to compel his guest's compliance with Catholic practices. Nor can a visitor complain of not getting on Friday what he might not get on any day of the week. Some very unusual cause only would justify a person in giving meat in such circumstances. (2) If there is a question of wealthy people, and of "the classes," and if the host is morally certain that his guest—a courteous, generous Protestant—would much prefer to conform to the family fare, he should not have meat served; he could explain that he deemed it more in harmony with his guest's wishes to have the same dinner for all. (3) If there were no such certainty, and especially if there were a number of Protestant guests, it is lawful, in mixed communities, more particularly if Protestants preponderate, to have meat prepared for Protestant guests. Protestants prepare a special dinner for Catholics in those circumstances. The necessities of social intercourse, of avoiding charges of intolerance, and of living in harmony with one's Protestant neighbours, will be the host's justifying cause for permitting material sins.

3. Our correspondent supposes that the servant will not suffer pecuniary loss by keeping the holiday; therefore:—

(a) If in any particular place there is a legitimate custom of working on holidays (or if a dispensation is given by the

bishop) as there may be for example in cities, a master may, of course, allow his servant to work on holidays, because a legitimate custom of working on those days abrogates the law forbidding servile works.

(b) In the absence of custom the master is bound to prevent his Protestant servants from working on holidays. A Catholic master would be bound to prevent his Catholic servants from working, and Protestant servants are equally bound—at least in *actu primo*—by ecclesiastical laws. The Protestant servant should, therefore, get a holiday. The reason is because masters are bound to deter their servants from committing sin, and violating conscientious obligations. “Peccant domini graviter [says St. Liguori¹] si famulis peccandi occasionem permittant cum possint impedire.” And Lehmkuhl² writes: “Tenentur . . . ut nimirum invigilent ne famuli ea præcepta, et officia lædant, quæ bonis moribus religioneque illis incumbunt.”

(c) Finally we may remark that if the servants belong to a sect in which Baptism is not administered, if the servants are unbaptised, it is not *per se* prohibited to permit or order them to work on holidays. They are not subjects of the Church. “Inde sequitur infidelibus [et ideo non-baptizatis] . . . servilia opera injuungere diebus dominicis et festivis *ex se* non esse peccatum . . . nisi forte ratio scandali id prohibeat” (Lehmkuhl.)³

V.

REMOVAL OF A HOST FROM THE CIBORIUM BETWEEN THE CONSECRATION AND PRIEST'S COMMUNION.

“I shall be very grateful if you will solve the following difficulty in the I. E. RECORD:—

“An urgent sick call comes to the curate whilst the parish priest is saying Mass. The curate prepares to go at once, but remembers, whilst entering the church, that the Blessed Sacrament is not in the Tabernacle. The parish priest has, however, just finished the Consecration, so the curate in surplice and stole ascends

¹ Lib. iii. Tract iii. Dub. iv. N. 342.

² P. i. L. ii. p. 490.

³ P. i. L. i. p. 328.

the altar, and takes a consecrated Host from the ciborium on the corporal. Is the curate's conduct justifiable?

"W. O. K."

We believe the curate's conduct was justifiable. The *presence* of the Host removed from the ciborium, was not necessary for the completion of the sacrifice, and though ordinarily it should remain on the corporal until after the priest's communion, and though there may be some material irreverence and irregularity in interrupting the celebrant, the exigencies of the case warranted the action of the curate.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

COMMUNION ON HOLY SATURDAY.

"Baldeschi says that Communion may be given on Holy Saturday at the Mass, and quotes a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites to support his statement. On the other hand the writer of the article on 'Communion' in the *Catholic Dictionary* states in a note, that 'on Holy Saturday Communion may be given *after* but *not during* Mass.' And he, too, refers to a decree of the same Congregation. Please say which is the correct interpretation.

"D."

The reply of the Sacred Congregation, to which Baldeschi appeals, contains an explicit approval of the practice he advocates. The question asked was—"An liceat Sabbato Sancto *inter* missarum Solemnia Sacram Eucharistiam fidelibus distribuere, et num per eandem sumptionem sacrae communionis praeceptum Paschale adimpleatur?" The reply—"Affirmative in utroque," is at once so brief and so plain, that there is no room for two interpretations. The reference given by the writer in the *Catholic Dictionary* is so vague that we cannot tell whether it is this reply of the Sacred Congregation or some other one that he has misunderstood.

II.

A "SICK CALL" DURING MASS.

"I should be grateful if you would kindly answer the following practical question in your next number, concerning an event which may happen any day, and as a fact has recently occurred.

"What should a priest, celebrating Mass, do if he is called to an urgent case (a) whilst the Sacred Species lie on the altar ; or (b) before the Consecration or after the Communion? Would the case be affected by the following circumstances—(c) the person is within the precincts of the Church, *i.e.*, is hearing Mass, or is not ; (d) the priest has the requisites, *i.e.*, the Pyx, the Holy Oils, the Ritual with him, or has not.

"C.C."

For the sake of greater clearness we will state in separate paragraphs what the priest should do when the sick person 1° is in the Church ; and 2° is at a distance from the Church.

1°. *When the sick person is in the Church.* In this case authors make no distinctions about the part of the Mass at which the priest has arrived, about the necessity of spiritual ministrations under which the sick person labours, or about the private, or public, or solemn character of the Mass he is celebrating. When no other priest is present the celebrant should at once proceed to the sick person without laying aside the sacred vestments, and should administer to him not only the sacraments necessary for salvation, but also those which assist in gaining that end. In a word, the priest should not content himself with merely administering the Sacrament of Penance, but should also, if time remains, give the dying person the incalculable advantage of Extreme Unction and the Holy Viaticum. At this time, however, he should merely do what is essential for the valid administration of these sacraments, omitting until the end of Mass the recitation of the usual psalms and prayers.

2°. *When the sick person is not in the Church.* The priest must now act differently according as the person stands in need of a sacrament conferring *first grace*, or only of Extreme Unction or the Viaticum, after having a short time before confessed and received absolution.

When the person stands in need of a sacrament conferring *first grace*—Baptism, Penance, and Extreme Unction, in case of those deprived of consciousness—the celebrant should immediately interrupt the Mass even after the consecration, put off the sacred vestments, and go at once to the assistance of the dying person.

But when the dying person has already received the sacraments necessary for salvation, and wishes merely to receive Extreme Unction or the Viaticum, or both, the celebrant may interrupt the Mass before the Offertory, or even before he commences the Canon, but not afterwards. “Si Sacramentum sit ministrandum moribundo non ob extremam necessitatem seu non in casu quo indigere putetur prima gratia, e.g., si viaticum dandum sit ei qui paulo ante confessus fuerat, tunc non licet celebranti neque post consecrationem nec etiam post incoeptum canonem missam interrompere et Sacras vestes exuere ut extra ecclesiam pergat ad dandum viaticum praedicto infirmo; licet vero ante Canonem sed neque tunc tenetur celebrans.” (Quarti, Pars 2, Tit 3, Sect. 3, Dub. 3.)

It may be well to remark here that this last conclusion, though perfectly sound in theory, can hardly ever be reduced to practice. The only case in which it holds is that in which a person, who has but a short time before confessed, is suddenly brought in imminent danger of death, and wishes to be fortified by the Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction. But even in this case it is not the recent confession of the dying person that *per se* subordinates the priest's obligation of attending him to his obligation of not interrupting the Sacrifice of the Mass, but it is the presumption that that confession was a valid one, and that since the confession there was no relapse. Can any priest say that these two circumstances are present in a particular case? No; only God and the dying person can tell. Has it not happened, and happened frequently, that poor sinners have made bad confessions up to the last moment, though during a long, continued illness they had confessed frequently and apparently with great sincerity and compunction? Has it not happened that even a sick person has yielded to a temptation a short

time after confession? We trust, therefore, that speculative truth misunderstood may never in practice deprive a dying person of those remedies always so useful, often so necessary.

When the priest returns from ministering to the dying person he should resume the Mass at the point at which he left off, unless the delay were so great as to destroy the unity of the sacrificial act. It is commonly laid down that, if he returns within an hour, when the interruption occurs before the consecration, he may resume the Mass. If the delay is longer than an hour, he may either omit Mass altogether—provided of course he is not to say a Mass of obligation for the people—or, if the time for beginning Mass has not passed, he may celebrate a distinct Mass.

When the interruption occurs after the consecration a delay of less than two hours is not considered sufficient to destroy the moral unity of the Sacrifice. Indeed no matter how long the interruption may be, if the priest return before midday it would seem that he should finish the Sacrifice he commenced. If the delay is long, and midday past when the priest returns, he must preserve the Consecrated Species and consume them the next day in the Mass after the consumption of the Most Precious Blood. Should the priest foresee that the delay would be so great that he could not complete the Sacrifice on his return, he might consume the Consecrated Species at once and omit all else.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CRANIOTOMY.

REV. DEAR SIR,—The article by U. E. U. on "Craniotomy" was timely, but after all it contained very little new to most of us who have studied the subject.

May I request you to give us something more on the subject of *Lapero-Elytrotomy*. Can you not find some learned and practical Catholic physician in Ireland who will give the subject a thorough investigation, and write his results in the RECORD for the benefit of hard-working priests, who have not the time or means to study the

subject? It is one of the saddest sights in our sacred calling to witness Craniotomy, and stand silently by for want of being able to give the necessary instructions in the Cæsarean Section, or the more recent Elytrotomy. Capellmann is incomplete. All American priests eagerly purchase books and pamphlets on this subject, but unfortunately our Catholic medical authors are nowhere to be found.

Books of history, philosophy, theology, and the like abound in our Catholic book stores, but we look in vain for works on pastoral medicine in any of its branches by Catholic authors.

I will pay five pounds for one copy of a better work than Capellmann's, if any Irish physician will write it, and I will undertake to sell 200 copies in this State alone, if the price be not exorbitant. We want an exhaustive treatise on what may be called Pastoral Medicine. I think, too, that our Catholic colleges and universities should have a sound course of anatomy, physiology, hygiene, obstetrics, *materna medica*, and the practice of medicine. Our young men should be made *men* in every sense of the word—manful, without false modesty, and thoroughly acquainted with the ills of humanity, and the means to guard and direct the growth of the physical as well as the spiritual man. I have always been of the opinion, at least since I have been ordained, that the education of priests, both in Europe and America, had a serious need of some of those secular elements for which our great American universities are so remarkable. It is a strange, but well established fact, that more successful men are turned out of Hartford, Yale, and several other universities of the same kind than come from our Catholic colleges and seminaries.

The physical training undergone in those secular institutions shows what grand and powerful characters our Catholic training could make if it combined and harmonized both of those elements. Strength of character may be natural in some people, but it can be developed in all. The proper care of the body, its bones, muscles, and fibres strengthened by physical training of the best kind, the eye sharpened by the keen edge of opposition in field sports, and the whole frame brought out in frequent and manly combats, all this, combined with the best and purest instruction in all branches of education, must necessarily produce the best results.

I make these remarks for the reason that many good and pious souls object to the study of some of the subjects above referred to, because they are supposed to contain objects that might be the occasion of sin.

But those things will yet have to be encountered, and it is better

to prepare the mind for the danger, when it is encompassed by all the safeguards to be found within the walls of our Catholic institutions. If the student cannot study physiology or anatomy in a school when he has the aid of religion continually at his call, where the example of good professors, the company of the best companions, not to speak of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion, where all these, and more than these, are to aid him, where, may I ask, can he study such subjects?

I do not intend to convey the idea that these studies are necessary for all, but I believe they would be a great benefit to candidates for the priesthood, and I will never be convinced of the contrary.

But for all our Catholic educational institutions, I maintain that they would be vastly benefited by the adoption and application of the physical exercises in use in our best American secular universities.

Wishing your excellent monthly the success it merits, and anxious from my heart to see it take first place of any and every ecclesiastical magazine in the world,—I remain, yours faithfully,

B. M. O'BOYLAN.

Corning, Ohio.

THE CATHOLIC CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE "MERRY AND WISE."

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—The above Magazine having been frequently alluded to of late as "new," will you kindly permit me to say that the Journal attained on the 1st January last, the very respectable age of ten years, having first appeared in Dublin from the firm of Messrs. Duffy & Sons, on the 1st January, 1878, when it was published as a Fortnightly. Few indeed, even of the kind friends who welcomed it in its first weak infancy, when many notices of the "new departure in Catholic Journalism," the "first step in the right direction," &c., &c., appeared in the chief Catholic papers of the time, few of the unknown and friendly critics who went over the merits or demerits of its contents, few of the many correspondents who sent welcome words of greeting from every direction, knew that the work had come out from the earnest heart of a *child*, that the first Magazine attempted for the Catholic youth of the three kingdoms had been provided by the ardent generosity of a little girl who had declared that she was willing to forego all the advantages which money can bring for permission to devote that which was intended for her own future pleasure or profit, to the *establishing of a Catholic Children's Magazine*, few knew that the work was not only written

and managed and edited by a child, with the noble aid and assistance of one high-souled priest, but that it was also published at the expense of the same, in fact that it was a Magazine *presented by a child to children*. And why is this fact now made known to, perhaps, an unsympathizing public?—a fact that was so carefully concealed, hitherto, that not even the publishers of the work had ever seen the author of it, because, as a writer on the subject remarks, “poor little *Merry and Wise* has lain down to die!” It is to plead for it as a mother pleads for her dying child, who by skilful treatment may be restored to life and vigour. This is not the place to dwell on the labour and sacrifice which seven or eight years of such unaided work may entail. The biography of *The Catholic Children's Magazine* would form an interesting volume. It is enough to say that the labour and sacrifice were not spared, and only resigned with a bitter, bitter pang of grief, when towards the end of the year 1885, it was deemed essential that the foundress should finish her education in a London Convent, and the *Magazine* was given over with its subscribers to the firm of Messrs. Burns & Oates, and continued the following year under the title of *Merry and Wise*. One more year, spent in an Ursuline Convent in France, and then the foundress returns to England to find that the dear *Magazine* for which she had so toiled and laboured and denied herself, and prayed—as for a living being in her childish idolizing enthusiasm, has died out in the rich city of London after two years, because the circulation was but 3,000 instead of 10,000, the number which Messrs. Burns & Oates believe necessary for the proper support of the Journal. Here then is the fact. All we require in order to continue the *Magazine* in more than its old vigour and strength is to be assured of the practical support and sympathy of 10,000 Catholics! This then is the reason why the above details are given, it is the *one last word* in behalf of *The Catholic Children's Magazine, Merry and Wise*, about which so much has been written and might still be written. It is a disgrace to the Catholics of these countries that the requisite support has not been given during the ten years when a Magazine has been provided for their children without any corresponding effort on their part, and who would now lapse into that conspicuousness in Christendom of being the only Catholics lacking that *esprit de corps* which would urge them to supply mental sustenance to their own young, instead of allowing them to fatten on that of other sects, tarnishing and sullyng the bright sheen of faith in its first pure glow. Now is the time to place our *Children's Magazine* on its

proper footing, to raise it to its proper position in our midst, and this, its foundress, having grown experienced with years, knows cannot be done by private enterprize and charity. It is not very difficult to restore a work like this with ten years of existence as a standing proof of its worth and 3,000 reapers already assured. But it must be taken up by a committee of influential persons who would form a company of shareholders willing to undertake the first necessary outlay until by making the Journal intrinsically valuable, it would, ultimately become self-supporting, at least. This is certainly quite possible and there is no time to be lost. If some responsible and devoted *Son of the Church* step boldly forward and take the initiative others will soon follow, and God's choicest blessings will reward, even in this life, those who so strive for the future benefit of the *Little Ones* He so loves—Ainsi-soit-il.—Believe me, Sir, gratefully yours,

ENFANT DE MARIE.

Communications sent to Messrs. BURNS & OATES will be forwarded to E. De M.

THE CHURCH ABROAD.

OUR ROMAN LETTER.

On Friday, March 1st, the Holy Father received the congratulations of the College of Cardinals for the 10th anniversary of his coronation. Several archbishops and bishops were present, amongst them the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, Monsignor Kirby, and Dr. O'Callaghan, Bishop of Cork.

When the Holy Father walked into the throne-room, followed by his Court, he looked pale and tired. As he proceeded to his throne he gave his blessing to those whom he passed. The cardinals formed in a circle round him in front of the throne, the bishops and prelates being immediately behind them. The Cardinal Dean read the customary address of congratulation, which told how the Sacred College of Cardinals shared with him the joys of this happy occasion, and united with him in returning thanks to God. The Holy Father at times during the discourse seemed deeply affected. Once or twice he moved restlessly in his throne, at one time looking the speaker

straight in the face with his piercing eyes, at another glancing all round at the cardinals present. When Cardinal Sacconi had finished the reading of the address, the Pope rose slowly to his feet. As he stood for a moment in silence, every eye was fixed on the tall thin figure of the aged Pontiff, dressed in his papal white, with a broad white sash round his slim waist, and gold tassels suspended from it. A magnificent diamond pectoral cross, a regal gift, hung by a gold chain round his neck, glittered on his breast. There he stood, a saintly, intrepid, venerable old man, whose words as teacher mark the infallible bonds of truth; whose voice dispels discord amongst princes, and spreads peace and good will amongst all states and peoples. He who knows no superior on earth, who holds the plenitude of spiritual power given to Peter, whose enemies tremble at his voice—Leo XIII. stood majestically in silence, that deep thoughtful silence that precedes grave words. With a dignified bow to the Cardinal Dean, and in that tone so peculiar to him, all powerful in riveting attention and inspiring deep respect, he began by thanking the Sacred College of Cardinals. Referring to the demonstrations with which the Catholic world has celebrated his sacerdotal jubilee he said:—"The expressions of respect, devotion, and love, which we have received, could not have been more universal, more numerous, more splendid, or more touching." He paused after each of these words, which he emphasized strongly, and when he came to the last his voice softened, and he looked deeply moved. "Therefore," he continued, after a moment, "we are most thankful to all our beloved children, of every country, of every language, of every order, and of every class," and "We wish that all this glory may return to Him who is the Giver of every good, and who, in His providence, disposes every human event, whether joyful or sorrowful, for the good of His Church and the Roman Pontificate." He then began the most important part of his discourse, speaking in the strongest terms of the actual position of the Pope and Holy See, "which," he continued, "in the midst of the present demonstrations has remained and remains what it was, unworthy of the Supreme Head of the Church, and irreconcilable with his independence and liberty. We appeal also to recent facts and demonstrations, encouraged and favoured by Government Ministers, which had for their object nothing less than to insult the Church under our very eyes, to exalt the rebellion of reason against faith, and to foment the most satanic hatred against the divine institution of the Papacy. It is right that the Catholic world may know of this indignity, that it may be ever better per-

suaded of the true designs, becoming daily more manifest, of the sectarians in occupying Rome, and that it may see the way in which Rome continues to be the respected seat of Catholicism and its Supreme Head." He went on to say that if "it was possible, as they boast, to celebrate the Jubilee in Rome" (within the confines of the Vatican and without any external pomp) "who does not know, that is simply because the rulers of public matters, under present circumstances did not judge it useful for their ends to oppose impediments or obstacles? It was nevertheless in their power to do so, and if under other circumstances it pleased them for their own interests or other motives, to follow another line of conduct, what defence or security can We promise Ourselves? Thus it is clear as We have often said before that We are at the mercy and in the power of others; that Our independence is in fact *nil*, and that this liberty which they pretend to leave Us is only apparent and altogether precarious. As We have said on other occasions the defect is intrinsic, and arises from the very nature of things. Until this condition of things is essentially changed, no matter what alleviation or consideration they may make to soften it We cannot ever say We are satisfied, nor shall We ever adapt Ourselves to it. If the Papacy is surrounded with glory, and calls forth homage even when the Pope lives in the catacombs, in prisons, and in persecutions, that is no argument that they are destined to live always in a like state of violence; nor is the glory with which the Papacy even then is clad due to the enemies who persecute it, but it is an effect of that divine virtue with which it is endowed, and a proof of that singular Providence that guides it through centuries. Its enemies only throw the shade on the picture that the contrast may be more marked."

I never before saw the Pope become so animated as on this occasion, and some very distinguished prelates present said the same. As he went on in his discourse his words became more emphatic, his eyes brightened, and his action almost revealed the *verbum mentis* before his voice expressed the *verbum vocis*. The cardinals exchanged approving nods and glances when he spoke emphatically of the undignified condition of the Holy See and the insulting hostility of the Italian government; and all present were wrapt in attention. Sometimes he would bend forward and glance round him from side to side gesticulating all the while; at other times he straightened himself up to the full height of his noble figure and looked at his audience with that impressive piercing glance which remains stamped on the minds of

all who see him; and at all times he looked what he is—the *lumen cali*, a star in the midst of darkness, the light on the bark of Peter.

When he had finished his discourse he sat down, and received each of the audience separately, beginning with the cardinals. When the Archbishop of Dublin, with Monsignor Kirby and Bishop O'Callaghan approached, the Holy Father's countenance lit up with pleasure and he detained them longer than usual talking to them.

There has been a great deal of tumult in Rome lately caused by labourers without work. Meetings were held in various parts of Rome in which strong language was used against the government. They were dispersed with difficulty and not without bloodshed. The rioters say that 20,000 families are without occupation and they demand work for *all* or *none*. Crispi, in the Chamber of Deputies said that foreign money (alluding to France) had been used to cause these dissensions, and disturb the public order at a critical moment for other ends than to obtain work for the unemployed, and that the government is willing to do its best for really indigent labourers. What "*its best*" means, those who know the penurious state of Italian finances, rendered worse by the African expeditions, and threats of European wars, can guess. One thing is certain, that though Italians pretend to know a great deal about *political economy*, however strong they may be in theory, they are uncommonly weak in the practical part. Only one branch of industry has been developed recently in Rome, namely, building, and that has been carried on to a degree that has outreached utility, and with government aid and approval. This drew thousands of workmen from all parts of Italy into Rome, who found it for the moment more profitable, thus filling the city with poor people taken away from other industries throughout the country. Thus this movement tended to destroy that division of labour which is one of the principal sources of prosperity for a nation. For a few years the building mania increased because of the demand for houses, and so far all went well; but now that demand has been satisfied and all the labourers employed up to this are without work. They call for work, work, but cannot get it. The Italian government has too many Freemasons in its employment to take in paid masons.

M. HOWLETT.

DOCUMENTS.

ADDRESS OF ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE, MAYNOOTH, PRESENTED
TO HIS HOLINESS, POPE LEO XIII., ON THE OCCASION OF
HIS SACERDOTAL JUBILEE.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Nos, Superiores, Professores, Alumni, Collegii Manutiani Sancto Patritio dicati, ad sacros pedes tuos provoluti, enixe Te obsecramus, ut hac tam optata tamque felici occasione, cum ex toto terrarum orbe filii Tui fideles devotique ad Te confluunt, nobis quoque liceat summo studio Tibi gratulari, quod Dei beneficio quinquagesimum jam annum a Sacro Sacerdotio accepto compleveris.

Nostram autem erga Te, Pastorem supremum, Doctorem Magistrumque infallibilem, fidem constantem et stabilem, summum amorem reverentiamque, hoc faustissimo tempore, laete ac libenter profitemur. Gratias insuper Deo optimo et habemus et agimus, quod in tantis difficultatibus tantisque periculis tum societati generis humani tum religioni imminentibus, ecclesiam suam summe dilectam Tibi regendam commiserit, defensori forti, custodi semper vigilant. Gaudemus enim vehementerque laetamur, quae fuerint optima et splendidissima in antecessoribus tuis, ea omnia in Te claritate quadam insigni ac gloria elucescere.

Nam ad eam animi elationem, quae in discrimine et labore cernitur, studium ecclesiae regendae ac docendae assiduum, ingenium praestantissimum, eruditio vere praeclara, rerum constantissime sapientissimeque gerendarum scientia, adeo accesserunt ut admirationem omnibus, vobis autem caeterisque filiis Tuis gloriam laetitiamque ingentem attulerint.

Tam brevi quidem tempore, ex quo ovibus Christi pascendis, tutandis, regendis praefectus es, mira quaedam et fere inaudita Pontificatum Tuum illustrarunt. Ita enim Te prudentem atque rerum gerendarum peritum praeuisti, ut potentissimi principes deposito odio illo, quo in Sanctissimam Sedem et Supremum ecclesiae Caput ferebantur, abrogatisque nefandis legibus quas contra iura et libertatem ecclesiae tulerant, ipsi iidem Te iudicem arbitrumque aequissimum deligerent, qui solus, pro veneranda Tua auctoritate, difficillima negotia et controversias maxime contortas, atrocissimo bello depulso, componere posses. Quod quam feliciter evenierit, totius orbis Christiani plausus atque admiratio testantur.

Mala demum foedissima periculaque formidolosa in hominum societatem ab hominibus pravis et scelestis intenta, Litteris Encyclicis Allocutionibusque Tuis ita reprehendendo coarguisti, ut errores his praesertim temporibus tam late grassantes tardares atque retunderes. Quod quidem magno est documento, quam mire sapienterque Deus bono et utilitatibus hominum non solum in supernaturali ordine sed etiam in naturali prospexerit, instituto Romanorum Pontificum primatu quamque firmum et fidei et morum praesidium in sanctissima Romana ecclesia "Omnium ecclesiarum matre et magistra," collocaverit.

In hanc quoque rem, beatissime Pater, cura cogitationeque summa incubuisti, ut qui ad sacerdotium parantur instruunturque, scientia et institutis idoneis quam perfectissime informarentur, quo melius munera sua gravia peragerent, magisque inter homines, pollerent. Quamobrem maximas Tibi agimus gratias, nec nos soli sed quotquot sunt ubique terrarum seminariorum et magistri et discipuli quod tantam operam tantumque studium navasti, ut disciplinae tam theologicae quam philosophicae ad vera Sancti Thomae Angelici Doctoris principia revocatae traderentur. Quâ in re existimamus jure gloriari nos posse quod animo maxime alacri, diligentia acerrima, voluntate propensissima, voci Tuae paternae obtemperaverimus.

Plurimis porro etsi laboribus curisque anxiiis semper occuparis, nemo est quin miretur quantum sollicitudinis amorisque in singulas imperii Tui partes, quod in ultimos fines terrae usque patet, nulla praetermissa occasione, praestiteris. Nec patriae nostrae, omnium gentium Tibi religionique fidelissimae, in primis es oblitus, nuperrime enim virum sapientia et bonitate praestantem ad amorem Tuum paternum nobis manifestandum, legatum huc misisti.

In ipsum denique nostrum seminarium, paucis abhinc annis, cogitationes Tuas mentemque benevolam, quo magis utilitate pietateque firmaretur, episcopis Hibernicis Romae deliberantibus, benignissime direxisti.

Quorum omnium beneficiorum gratiam habemus maximam Deumque etiam atque etiam precamur et imploramus ut diu Te salvum servet eadem qua semper rexisti, sapientia constantiaque eximia, vita autem curis et molestiis minus gravi, suam ecclesiam gubernaturum.

Humillime tandem petimus ut, pro tuo paterno multumque benevolenti erga nos animo, munusculum, tanquam indicium quoddam et argumentum quamvis impar nostri in Te amoris quod, cum his litteris singuli collatis pecuniis libentissime mittimus, accipere digneris.

Pedes igitur tuos sacros iterum deosculantes Sanctitatem Tuam ut nobis Benedictionem Apostolicam largiatur supplices rogamus,

Sanctitatis Tuae

Humillimi et Devotissimi Filii et Famuli.

REPLY.

His Eminence Cardinal Rampolla, Secretary of State, has by order of His Holiness Leo XIII. sent the following reply to the President, the Very Rev. Dr. Browne, who presented the College address to the Holy Father on the occasion of his recent visit to Rome.

RME DOMINE.

Gratulationes et munera, quibus istud Collegium Beatissimo Patri quinquaginta annos a Sacerdotio suscepto explenti amorem et devotionem testari studuit, Sanctitas sua pergrato animo excepit. Pro ea enim qua in Scholis addictos tum Rectores, tum Professores, tum juvenes prosequitur benevolentia summopere laetatur cum eorum fidei et venerationis recepit documenta. Quare jussit me vobis debitas referre gratias, ac dum a Deo ferventer petit ut Collegium ipsum majora in dies disciplinae, doctrinae ac virtutum specimina edere valeat, Tibi, Rme Domine, ac singulis Professoribus ac alumnis Apostolicam Benedictionem ex intimo corde depromptam peramanter impertit.

De his Te certiore reddens peculiaris meae propensionis sensus Tibi testor et fausta quaeque ac jucunda a Domino adprecor.

Dominationis Tuae

Addictissimus

M. CARD. RAMPOLLA.

Adm. Rmo. Dmo. ROBERTO CANONICO BROWNE,

Praesidi Collegii Manutiani,

Maynooth (Irlanda.)

Romae, die 10 Martii, 1888.

LEO XIII. GRANTS TO THE BISHOPS AS A JUBILEE FAVOUR, THE PRIVILEGE OF WEARING THE VIOLET-COLOURED CAP.

CONCESSIO BIRRETI VIOLACEI.

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Praeclaro divinae gratiae munere effectum est, ut Sacerdotalis Nostrae consecrationis diem quinquaginta-

gesimo anno redeuntem, frequenti Episcoporum Venerabilium fratrum Nostrorum corona septi, innumero fidelium coetu stipati, quin et universo christiano orbe gestiente, celebrare potuerimus. Cui tantae celebritati fastigium impositum est maioribus caelitem honoribus, quos divino Spiritu adspirante suprema auctoritate Nostra nonnullis eximiae sanctitatis viris solemniter ritu attribuimus. Quae quidem omnia non uno Nobis nomine grata et periucunda fuerunt. Primo enim in spem adducimur, fore ut fidelium precibus ac novensilium Sanctorum intercessione propitiatus Deus, tot tantisque, quibus humana premitur societas, malis opportuna afferat remedia, optatamque mundo pacem ac tranquillitatem largiatur. Deinde vero ex eo laetamur, quod innumerabiles observantiae et obsequii significationes, quibus Nos toto orbe fideles unanimi consensione persecuti sunt, tum ostendunt et antiquam pietatem et Apostolicae Sedis amorem christianis pectoribus alte manere defixum, tum in summam Venerabilium Fratrum sacrorum Antistitum laudem cedunt, quorum opera ac virtute in populis sibi commendatis et concreditibus in tanta temporum perversitate ita viget ac floret catholicae religionis cultus, et huic Sedi ac Romano Pontifici sunt animi addicti atque coniuncti. Nos ne fausti huius eventus memoria interciderat, atque ut publicum aliquod benevolentiae Nostrae testimonium Venerabilibus Fratribus exhibeamus, externo honoris insigni universos terrarum orbis Antistites exornandos censuimus. Quare hisce litteris Apostolica auctoritate Nostra perpetuum in modum concedimus, ut universi Patriarchae, Archiepiscopi et Episcopi birreto violacei coloris hoc futurisque temporibus uti libere et licite possint et valeant. Hoc ita illis proprium volumus, ut alius, qui Episcopali dignitate non sit insignitus, eiusmodi ornamento nullatenus potiri queat. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et sanctionibus Apostolicis, ceterisque omnibus, licet speciali et individua mentione ac derogatione dignis, in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die III februarii, MDCCCLXXXVIII Pontificatus Nostri Anno Decimo.

M. CARD. LEDOCHOWSKI.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

EXPLANATION OF THE PSALMS AND CANTICLES IN THE DIVINE OFFICE. By S. Alphonsus Liguori, Doctor of the Church. Translated by the Rev. T. Livius, C.S.S.R., with a Preface by His Eminence Cardinal Manning. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

A priest is ordained for the greatest glory of God. This is his vocation. There is not on earth an office higher or a power greater, than it implies. And as are a priest's office and power, so also ought to be the perfection of his sanctity. So the Catholic Church teaches in her Ritual, and so the bishop warns the Ordinandus in the very act of conferring the priesthood.

And no wonder. A priest's dangers are great and his responsibilities many. He is set up on high, and must have a balance to preserve his equilibrium. He is placed upon a pinnacle and he needs a poise. And if the balance and the poise be not forthcoming, assuredly he will fall.

But if a priest's dangers be great, his helps, both general and special, are greater. First amongst them, and beyond all doubt the most important, is his daily Mass. Second, and next to Holy Mass the most special, is the Divine Office. The recitation of the Divine Office is one of the most important duties of a priest, and one too that is of daily recurrence. To enable all those who, by the duty of their state, are bound to this daily recitation, "to do so with merit and profit to their own souls," is the object of the important volume before us.

Fr. Livius' book is a translation of St. Liguori's Commentary on the Psalms. This work, although composed by St. Alphonsus "under the pressure of heavy Episcopal cares, old age, and much bodily infirmity," was nevertheless received with acclamation by the Theologians of the day. It obtained, moreover, the special recognition of being referred to by name, in the Decree of March 28rd, 1871, which declared St. Alphonsus a Doctor of the Church.

In his translation Fr. Livius has slightly modified, and in modifying has, we think, improved upon the plan of the original work. In the latter the text of the Psalms is given in large type, and in a smaller, alternate translation and paraphrase, or both combined, with now and then parenthetical remarks by way of comment or criticism;

whereas in the former we find the text and English translation in small type side by side, while underneath in larger type are such elucidations of the text as the obscurity of particular passages demand. There are also occasional foot-notes, some of which [are borrowed from the French translation of Père Dujardin, C.S.S.R.

We desire to call attention to the Translator's Introduction, into which is compressed much valuable information. Here the design of the work is explained; attention is called to the obscurity and consequent difficulty of understanding many of the Psalms; various interesting questions touching the relative merits of the original Hebrew text, and the versions are discussed with such enlargement as the subject required: a passing word is devoted to an examination of the authorship of the Psalms, their titles, and the way in which they were written, whether in verse or in prose; and lastly the attention and devotion which should accompany the recitation of the Holy Office is made the subject of a few reflections.

Nor has Fr. Livius overlooked that interesting question—Which form of the Psalter have we in our Breviaries? There are three forms of the Psalter.

(1.) The Roman Psalter, which is a corrected form of the old edition of the Psalter as existing in the *Vetus Itala*. This correction was made by St. Jerome, at Rome, in accordance with Lucian's *κωινή* edition of the Septuagint: but only "*cursim et magna tantum ex parte.*" By special permission the Chapter of the Basilica of St. Peter's still use this *Psalterium Romanum* in reciting the Divine Office.

(2.) The Gallican Psalter (so called probably because first used in the Churches of Gaul) is a second and more carefully executed correction, also by St. Jerome, of this same Psalter of the original *Itala*. The correction was made at Bethlehem, in 398, in accordance with the Hexaplar of Origen. This form of the Psalter is retained in our Vulgate and is embodied in our Breviaries.

(3.) We have St. Jerome's own Psalter, as it is called. This form is a direct translation from the Hebrew, and was made chiefly for controversial purposes. The Church, for prudent reasons, does not use it in her public offices.

We shall now conclude this rather lengthened notice, and we do so by recommending to the Clergy and intelligent Laity, in the strongest terms we can command, this excellent translation of an excellent work, and by offering our cordial thanks to Fr. Livius for his much-needed addition to English Sacred Literature.

J. P. M'D.

CATHOLIC BIOGRAPHIES. THE ENGLISH MARTYRS. C.T.S. Publications. C.T.S. Publications and Reports.

THE Catholic Truth Society is performing a most useful work in providing good and cheap literature for the people at the lowest possible cost. The publications of the Society have contributed much towards fostering piety and devotion in Catholics, as well as dispelling the clouds of ignorance and prejudice which have hitherto been such an obstacle to the spread of Catholicity in England.

The volumes before us consist of various pamphlets, brought out separately in the first instance, and now offered to the public in collected form neatly bound in cloth, for the modest price of a shilling each.

The *Catholic Biographies* contains nine of the biographical series issued by the society. The public will be able to form a sufficiently accurate estimate of its merits, when we say that amongst the writers are to be found such names as the Hon. Justice O'Hagan, Rev. Arthur Ryan, and the late Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle.

The *English Martyrs* treats of the lives of some of those who shed their blood for the faith in the reigns of Henry VII. and Elizabeth, and was issued on the occasion of the publication of the recent decree for their beatification. These lives are most interesting reading, and will do much, not only to promote the veneration of these champions of the faith, but also to spread abroad information on a subject about which Englishmen appear to be still profoundly ignorant.

The other two volumes give specimens of literature of a lighter character than had been hitherto published by the Society. They also contain defences of points of Catholic doctrine liable to frequent attack by Protestants; and the articles on Purgatory and Transubstantiation may be read with profit by the ablest and most learned Catholics.

The works of the Society are issued so cheaply that they are brought within the reach of all; and we are glad to find that already they are obtaining a large circulation even in this country.

A SHORT RETREAT IN PREPARATION FOR EASTER.

THE object of this little work is, as the author tells us in the Introduction, to lead Religious "into the inmost recesses of the suffering heart of Jesus, to move them to imitate the sublime virtues of which he gives us such an admirable example in His bitter passion, and to make them ready for the resurrection of our

Blessed Lord." It contains a number of meditations which conduct us through the chief incidents connected with the passion and death of our Blessed Saviour. Every page of the little work breathes forth a love which reminds us of the writings of St. Francis. Its appearance at this time is most opportune, and we may venture a hope that its circulation will not by any means be confined to Religious communities.

INSTITUTIONES PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLASTICAE AD MENTEM DIVI THOMAE AC SUAREZII. Auctore P. Josepho Mendive, Jesu Sacerdote. Vallisoleti, 1887.

WE defer a lengthy review of Fr. Mendive's excellent book until we have the complete work in our possession. The three volumes already published are specially remarkable for their lucid style and thoroughly scientific division of the subject matter. Few persons acquainted with the study of philosophy would prefer other qualities in a philosophical treatise.

ANNALES DE PHILOSOPHIE CHRETIENNE, Revue Mensuelle.
Paris: Au Bureau, 20, Rue de La Chaise.

THE numbers of this monthly review, which have appeared since our last notice of it, are full of interest for the philosophical student. We would call special attention to the reports they contain of the sessions of the Society of St. Thomas of Aquin. In those reports the relation of the philosophy of the Angel of the schools to the principles of physical science, is discussed by men who have attained world-wide distinction in both. Important results are thereby secured. The harmony between the different departments of sound philosophy becomes manifest, and the intellectual confusion, arising from the unwillingness of many to recognise such a harmony, is prevented.

T. G. J.

RELIGIO VIATORIS. London: Burns & Oates.

THE author of this volume presents us in a popular form with the reasons upon which we ground the faith that is in us. There are few, we would think, who would not like to come across occasionally such a brief yet satisfactory account of the motives of belief of the Christian who is wending his way through this life to the Land of Promise. Seeing the great questions of Religion treated of in almost every magazine, hearing them oftentimes discussed by men of opposite views, one is instructively led to study them, one feels a new interest in investigating the primary truths upon which the fabric of his faith is raised.

PICTORIAL LIVES OF THE SAINTS. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The approbation of the Holy Father, and the numerous letters of recommendation prefixed to the book, are a sufficient guarantee of its worth. The first twenty pages are occupied with an explanation of the movable feasts with a short reflection suitable to each. Then follow the lives of the saints in the order in which their feasts occur. The matter of the book is taken from Butler's *Lives*, and the compiler has to a great extent surmounted those obstacles that render the task of an abridger so difficult. His style is easy, and devoid of that abruptness which generally characterises compendiums. To each life is appended a short prayer to the saint or a reflection suggested by the practices and virtues for which each saint is remarkable.

The illustrations are exceedingly good, but it is to be regretted that so much space has been devoted to them, and so much valuable matter omitted to make place for them.

EMMANUEL; OR, THE INFANCY AND THE PASSION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST REPRODUCED IN THE TABERNACLE.
By Mrs. Abel Ram. London: Burns & Oates (Ltd.)

IN this tastefully edited work of 283 pages, the devout reader will find abundant and solid food for meditation, dressed in that simple elegance of language which one likes to meet with in spiritual books. The arrangement of the matter in each chapter, and the deep spirit of thoughtful devotion that pervades almost every sentence of the entire volume, render it specially suitable for the exercises of mental prayer. The leading mysteries and the few events recorded in connexion with our Lord's life before He entered on His public mission, together with the moving incidents that led up to and attended His Crucifixion, are described in impressive and unaffected language; and the practical reflections they naturally suggest are, briefly and with unfailing unction, conveyed to the mind of the reader without the least mental strain. In accordance with the most approved method of meditation, each event is, first of all, localized and a vivid picture is drawn of the surroundings in which it took place; it is then minutely described, and a touching comparison is instituted between its various phases and certain characteristics and aspects of the not less real life of our Lord in the Tabernacle; pious resolutions are suggested; and each chapter closes with a suitable prayer. While this delightful manual is in the hands of an earnest reader, the mind will never lack copious

matter for reflection, and will possess an easy and natural means of formulating its pious resolves and affections.

For retreats, for visits to the Blessed Sacrament, and as an everyday book of meditations, *Emmanuel* will be found a very valuable acquisition. E. M.

REQUIESCANT; A LITTLE BOOK OF ANNIVERSARIES. By Mary E. S. Leathley. With an Introduction by Very Rev. Canon Murnane, V.G. London: Burns & Oates.

As years pass away, the number of deceased friends having strong claims on our prayers is gradually augmented, until, in the end, it becomes impossible for us to remember explicitly in our daily devotions, more than a few of the nearest and dearest. This is the experience that led to the compilation of the above handsome and useful work. "It is a birthday book of the dead, and will remind us of the days when we must send our spiritual gifts to those who are gone before us." At the top of each page is printed the day of the month; the names of the saints whose feasts occur on that day, stand next; then follow vacant spaces for the insertion of the names of the dead whom we wish to remember specially in our prayers, indulgenced aspirations are next given; and, at the foot of the page, is cited some wise saying or salutary admonition taken from the writings of one of the saints. This method is excellent; it facilitates the work of the memory, and ensures greater intensity of devotional feeling in our prayers.

Every Catholic family ought to possess a copy of this attractive manual, which will at once serve as a most reliable obituary record and as a useful book of piety. E. M.

THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE ABOUT HELL. Translated from Hurter's Dogmatic Theology by Kenelm Digby Best, Cong. Orat. London: Burns & Oates.

IN this little pamphlet is contained the pith and marrow of the orthodox teaching regarding the fire and pains of Hell. It is a learned and clear exposition of all the main points of doctrine, the scholastic controversies being merely touched upon. Preachers will find it eminently useful. E. M.

AUGUSTUS MARCEAU. Translated from the French of the Rev. Claudius Mayet, S.M., by Alice Wilmot Chetwode. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

THIS is a translation from the French, in which is traced the career and conversion of a strong-minded and earnest man from irreligion to

Catholicity, together with an account of his valuable services to the Church after he had become one of her members. It was he who took the command of the first ship for the service of Catholic missions in the Central Pacific, where his saintly life, and ceaseless labours in the cause of religion gave encouragement and edification to all.

To the translator English readers are under a deep debt of gratitude, for having supplied them, in their own language, with an interesting story of a very useful life.

THE CATHOLIC HOME ALMANAC FOR 1888. Fifth Year. New York : Benziger Brothers.

"OUR little budget of stories, poems, and sketches, we trust, will please you all, and serve not only to beguile a leisure hour, but teach some simple lesson of faith, of love, of self-denial." The modest hope conveyed in a prefatory note, containing those words is far under what this beautiful annual might pretend to. It is rare, indeed, to find the full chronology of the year so artistically enlivened as it is in the almanac before us. The letter-press is superior and wonderfully varied as to topics. The pictures and poetry are as simply beautiful as they are truly elevated and Catholic.

ELEMENTS OF HYGIENE AND SANITATION FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. By John Campbell, M.D. Dublin: Gill & Son.

DR. CAMPBELL'S work was written to serve as a text book of Hygiene for his classes in the training colleges for National School Teachers. The importance of the subject matter, and the manner of treatment will, doubtless, secure a much wider circle of readers.

The main purpose of the book is to give popular instruction "in the art of preserving health and preventing disease." This end the author, who discusses the various subjects in clear and simple language, has certainly attained; and the reader who, with ordinary attention, goes through the volume will certainly have acquired a large store of interesting and useful knowledge on subjects demanding the attention of all.

RESÉDA; OR, JOYS AND SORROWS. Translated from the French of Zénaïde Fleuriot by A. W. Chetwode. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1888.

WITH much pleasure and profit we have read through the pages of this work. From our previous knowledge of the translator, we expected to find Réséda—what in reality it is—a story full of interest,

elevating in its tone, and eminently suited to inculcate the love and practice of virtue.

Too much praise cannot be given to Miss A. W. Chetwode for the noble efforts she has made to enrich our literature by good moral tales. We thoroughly appreciate the spirit which prompted their publication, and feel confident that by them, much will be done to repair the sad havoc caused by current literature.

SISTER ROSE, AND THE MASS OF REPARATION. By Rev. Mother Mary-of-the-Cross. Translated from the French by Rev. F. M. Geudens, C.R.P. London: Burns & Oates.

To Catholics, who desire to make some return of love to Jesus in the Blessed Eucharist, this little volume will be most acceptable. Its object is to spread a devotion by means of which pious souls can give to God that glory, of which indifferent Catholics would deprive Him, by neglecting to hear Mass on Sundays and holidays, or by assisting thereat in a careless manner. The work consists of three parts. The first gives a short sketch of the life of Sister Rose, who has done much to spread this devotion; the second explains the origin and object of the Mass of Reparation; while in the third part may be found the method of hearing Mass according to St. Leonard of Port Maurice, most suitable for the present purpose.

A TREATISE OF PRAYER. By The Blessed John Fisher, Bishop and Martyr. A Reprint of an old translation. Edited by a Monk of Fort-Augustus. London: Burns & Oates (Limited). New York: Catholic Publication Society Co., 1887.

This treatise on Prayer was written by Bishop Fisher about the year 1520, while he was still living a life of retirement and fulfilment of his episcopal duties. It is divided into three parts, and treats in order of "the necessity, fruits, and manner of prayer."

The strong arguments adduced to prove its necessity; the clear exposition of the nature of the fruits which may be reaped from its practice; and the practical instruction on the "manner of prayer," combine to make the work valuable."

We would much prefer that this treatise were presented in a more modern style. In its present form, it will be uninviting and for the most part useless for those, who most need the valuable instruction given therein.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MAY, 1888.

LEARNING IN IRELAND BEFORE ST. PATRICK— CORMAC MAC ART.

MANY writers have asserted that there was not only no literary culture of any kind in Ireland before the time of St. Patrick, but that even the use of written characters was quite unknown in pre-Christian Ireland. We have no intention of discussing this wide question in all its various aspects. We think, however, without becoming too learned, it can be clearly shown, by examining the history of even one single monarch, that considerable progress had been made in pagan Ireland both in the arts of war and peace at least two centuries before the advent of St. Patrick to our shores.

The reign of Cormac Mac Art furnishes, perhaps, the most interesting chapter in the history of pre-Christian Ireland. He was, we think, the greatest king that ever reigned in ancient Erin. He was, as our poets tell us, a sage, a judge, and a scholar, as well as a great king and a skilful warrior. His reign furnished, indeed, many rich themes for the romantic poets and story-tellers of subsequent ages, in which they greatly indulged their perfervid Celtic imagination. But the leading facts of his reign are all within the limits of authentic history, and are provable by most satisfactory evidence.

Cormac was the son of Art the Solitary, or the Melancholy, as he is sometimes called, and was grandson of the celebrated Conn the Hundred-Fighter. Hence he is sometimes called Cormac O'Cuinn, as well as Cormac Mac Art. His father was slain about the year A.D. 195, in the great battle of Magh

Mucruimhe where, as at the battle of Aughrim in the same county, a kingdom was lost and won. Magh Mucruimhe was the ancient name of the great limestone plain extending from Athenry towards Oranmore; and the spot where King Art was killed has been called Tulach Art even down to our own times. It was between Oranmore and Kilcornan, and close to the townland of Moyvacla. The victor in this great battle was Lughaidh, surnamed Mac Con, who had been for many years a refugee in Britain, and now returned with a king of that country and a host of foreigners to wrest the kingdom from Art, who was his maternal uncle. The flower of the chivalry of Munster perished also on that fatal field; for the seven sons of Oilioll Olum who had come to assist King Art, their mother's brother, were slain to a man on the field or in the rout that followed.

Fortunately for young Cormac, the king's son, he was at that time at fosterage in Connaught, probably with Nia Mor, who was his cousin, and one of the sub-kings of the province at that time. So Mac Con, the usurper, found no obstacle to prevent him assuming the sovereignty of Tara; and we are told that he reigned some thirty years, from A.D. 196 to A.D. 226.

Meantime young Cormac was carefully trained in all martial exercises, as well as in all the learning befitting a king, until he came to man's estate. Then he came to Tara in disguise, and according to one account, was employed in herding the sheep of a poor widow, who lived close to Tara, when some of the sheep were seized for trespassing on the queen's private green or lawn. When this case of trespass was brought before the king in his court on the western slope of the Hill of Tara, he adjudged that the sheep should be forfeited for the trespass. "No," said Cormac, who was present, "the sheep have only eaten of the fleece of the land, and in justice only their own fleece should be forfeited for that trespass." The bystanders murmured their approval, and even Mac Con himself cried out:—"It is the judgment of a king"—for kings were supposed to possess a kind of inspiration in giving their decisions. But immediately recognising Cormac, whom he knew to be in the country, he

tried to seize him on the spot. But Cormac leaped the mound of the *Claenfert*, and not only succeeded in effecting his escape, but also in raising such a body of his own and his father's friends, that he was able to drive the usurper from Tara. Mac Con fled to his own relatives in the South of Ireland, where he was shortly afterwards killed, at a place called Gort-an-Oir, near Cahir, in the Co. Tipperary.

So Cormac, disciplined in adversity, came to the throne in the year 227, A.D., according to the Four Masters.¹ During the earlier years of his reign he was engaged in continual wars with the provincial kings, who had yet to learn that Cormac was their master in fact as well as of right. We are told that he fought no less than fifty battles against the provincial kings to vindicate his own position as High King of Erin. The accurate Tighernach furnishes us with brief notices of these various battles against these refractory sub-kings. In one year he fought three battles against the Ultonians. In another he fought four times against the Momonians. The Leinster King Dunlaing, taking advantage of Cormac's absence from Tara, attacked the royal rath itself, and wantonly slaughtered thirty noble maidens with their attendants—thirty for each—who lived in a separate building on the north-western slope of Tara. Cormac promptly avenged this awful massacre by invading Leinster, and putting to death twelve sub-kings of that province, and besides he increased and enforced the payment of the ancient Borrumean or cow-tribute imposed by his predecessors on that province. The Ultonians, however, were his most inveterate foes; and twice, it seems, they succeeded in “deposing” him, that is, in driving him for some months from Tara. At length, however, the king gained a complete victory over his northern rivals, with the aid of Tadhg, a grandson of Oilioll Olum, and his Munster auxiliaries. Cormac rewarded the Munster hero by giving him, as he had promised, as much of the territory of Meath as Tadhg could drive round in his chariot from the close of the battle till sunset. The veteran hero, spent with loss of blood and battle toil, still contrived to drive his chariot

¹ It was A.D. 218 according to Tighernach.

round a district extending from Duleek to the Liffey, which was afterwards called *Cianachta*—the land of *Cian's* descendants. *Tadhg's* father was *Cian*, son of *Oilioll Olum*, hence the name.

Cormac, now undisputed master of his kingdom, took measures to preserve the public peace and secure the prosperity of his dominions. He was the first, and we may say also, the last king of *Erin*, who maintained a standing army to check the arrogance of his turbulent sub-kings. This *Fenian* militia was, it is said, modelled after the Roman legions, which *Cormac* might have seen or heard of at the time in Britain. They were quartered on the people in winter; but in summer they lived on the produce of the chase, and gave all their leisure to martial exercises. By this means they became most accomplished in all feats of arms, and the fame of these *Fenian* heroes has come down to our own time in the living traditions of the people. The celebrated *Finn Mac Cumhail* was their general—a poet too, it was said, he was, and a scholar, as well as a renowned warrior. *Ossian*, the hero-poet, was his son, and the brave and gentle *Oscar*, who fell in the fatal field of *Gavra*, was his grandson.

We are told, too, that *Cormac* kept a fleet on the sea for three years, and doubtless swept away the pirate ships of Britain and the islands that used to make descents from time to time on the eastern coasts of Ireland.

But it is with the literary history of King *Cormac's* reign we are most concerned, and to this we invite the special attention of the reader. His first work was to re-establish the ancient *Feis* of *Tara*.

Tara even then had been the residence of the High Kings of *Erin* from immemorial ages. *Slainge*, the first king of the *Firbolgs*, was its reputed founder, and all the kings of that colony, as well as of the *Tuatha De Danaan* and *Milesian* race, had generally dwelt on the same royal hill. *Ollamh Fodhla*, one of the most renowned kings in the bardic history, "reigned forty years and died in his own house at *Tara*." It is said that this king was the first who convened the great *Feis* of *Tara* to legislate in solemn assembly for all the tribes of *Erin*. *O'Flaherty* adds that the same ancient monarch

founded a "Mur Ollamhan" or college of learned doctors at Tara; but Petrie could find no authority for this statement except the term "Mur Ollamhan," which might, however, simply mean the *mur*, or fortified house of Ollamh Fodhla himself.

During the shadowy period that follows down to the Christian era, we hear little of Tara, even in bardic history. An undoubtedly historical king, Tuathal Teachtmair, about the year 85 of the Christian era, took a portion of each of the four provinces to make a mensal demesne for the High King of Tara. He convened the states of the kingdom, too, on the royal hill in solemn assembly, and induced the assembled kings and chiefs to swear on all the elements that they would always yield obedience to the princes of his race.

The Feis of Tara, then, was in existence before the time of Cormac; but it was seldom convened and had almost fallen into disuse. Cormac it was who made arrangements for the regular meetings of this great parliament of the nation, and provided adequate accommodation for the assembled notables. Here we are on firm historic ground, and can enter into more minute details with security.

The object of this Feis of Tara was mainly three-fold.¹ First, to enact and promulgate what was afterwards called the *cain-law*, which was obligatory in all the territories and tribes of the kingdom, as distinguished from the *urradhus*, or local law. Secondly, to test and sanction the Annals of Erin. For this purpose the local Seanachies or historians brought in a record of the notable events that took place in their own territories. These were publicly read for the assembly, and when duly authenticated were entered on the great record of the King of Tara, called afterwards the "Saltair of Tara." Thirdly, to record in the same great national record the genealogies of the ruling families, to assess the taxes, and settle all cases of disputed succession among the tribes of the kingdom. Too often was this done by the strong hand; but it was Cormac's idea to fix the succession, as far as possible,

¹ See O'Curry's *Lectures*, vol. II. page 14, and Keating, *Reign of Tuathal Teachtmair*.

according to definite principles amongst the ruling families. The neglect of a strong central government to enforce this most wise provision was one main cause of the subsequent distracted state of the kingdom.

This great national assembly, convened for these purposes, met once every three years. The session continued for a week, beginning the third day before, and ending the third day after November Day. When so many turbulent chieftains, oftentimes at feud amongst themselves, met together it was necessary to keep the peace of Tara by very stringent regulations, enforced under the most rigorous penalties. It is to Cormac's prudent forethought we owe these regulations, which were afterwards inviolably observed as the law of Tara. Every provincial king and every sub-king had his own fixed place allotted to him near the High King by the Marshals of Tara; and every chief was bound to take his seat under the place where his shield was hung upon the wall. Brawling was strictly forbidden, and to wound another was a capital crime.

In order to provide suitable accommodation for this great assembly, Cormac erected the *Teach Míodhchuarta*, which was capable of accommodating 1,000 persons, and was at once a parliament house, banquet hall, and hotel. We have two accounts of this great building, as well as of the other monuments at Tara, written about nine hundred years ago—one in poetry the other in prose. The statements made by these ancient writers have been verified in every essential point by the measurements of the officers of the Ordnance Survey, who were enabled from these documents to fix the position and identity of all these ancient monuments at Tara.

"The *Teach Míodhchuarta*," says the old prose writer in the *Dinnseanchus*, "is to the north-west of the eastern mound. The ruins of this house—it was even then in ruins—are situate thus: the lower part to the north and the higher part to the south; and walls are raised about it to the east and to the west. The northern side of it is enclosed and small, the lie of it is north and south. It is in the form of a long house, with twelve doors upon it, or fourteen, seven to the west and seven to the east. This was the great house of a

thousand soldiers."¹ We ourselves have lunched on the grass, green floor of this once famous hall, and we can of our own knowledge testify to the accuracy of this ancient writer. The openings for the doors can still be traced in the enclosing mound, and curiously enough, one is so nearly obliterated that it is difficult still to say whether there were six or seven openings on each side. The building was seven hundred and sixty feet long, and originally nearly ninety feet wide, according to Petrie's measurements. There was a double row of benches on each side, running the entire length of the hall. In the centre there was a number of fires in a line between the benches, and over the fires there was a row of spits depending from the roof, at which a very large number of joints might be roasted. There is in the *Book of Leinster* a ground-plan of the building, and the rude figure of a cook in the centre turning the spit with his mouth open, and a ladle in his hand to baste the joint. The king of Erin took his place at the head of the hall to the south surrounded by the provincial kings. The nobles and officers were arranged on either side according to their dignity down to the lowest, or northern end of the hall, which was crowded with butlers, scullions and retainers. They slept at night under the couches or sometimes upon them.

The appearance of Cormac at the head of this great hall is thus described in an extract copied into the *Book of Ballymote* from the older and now lost *Book of Navan* :—²

"Beautiful was the appearance of Cormac in that assembly. Flowing and slightly curling was his golden hair. A red buckler with stars and animals of gold, and fastenings of silver upon him. A crimson cloak in wide descending folds around him, fastened at his neck with precious stones. A neck torque of gold around his neck. A white shirt with a full collar, and intertwined with red gold thread, upon him. A girdle of gold inlaid with precious stones was around him. Two wonderful shoes of gold, with golden loops, upon his feet. Two spears with golden sockets in his hands, with many rivets of red bronze. And he was himself besides symmetrical and beautiful of form, without blemish or reproach."

¹ See Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, p. 129.

² I.e. *The Book of the Ua Chongabhala*, kept probably in ancient times at Kildare.

This might be deemed a purely imaginary description if the collection of antiquities in the Royal Irish Academy did not prove beyond doubt that similar golden ornaments to those referred to in this passage were of frequent use in Ireland. In the year 1810 two neck torques of purest gold similar to those described above were found on the Hill of Tara itself, and are now to be seen in the Academy's collection.

"Alas," says an old writer, "Tara to-day is desolate, it is a green grassy land, but it was once a noble hill to view, the mansion of warlike heroes, in the days of Cormac O'Cuinn—when Cormac was in his glory."

Everything at Tara, even its present desolation, is full of interest, and reminds us of the days "when Cormac was in his glory." His house is there within the circle of the great *Rath na Riogh*. The mound where he kept his hostages may still be seen beside his Rath. The stream issuing from the well *Neamhmach*, on which he built the first mill in Ireland for his handmaiden, Ciarnaid, to spare her the labour of grinding with the quern, still flows down the eastern slope of Tara Hill, and still, says Petrie, turns a mill. Even the well on the western slope beside which Cormac's *cuchtair*, or kitchen, was built, has been discovered. The north-western *claenfert*, or declivity, where he corrected the false judgment of King Mac Con about the trespass of the widow's sheep may still be traced. The Rath of his mother, Maeve, may be seen not far from Tara, and to the west of the *Teach Miodhchuarta* may be noticed *Rath Graine*, the sunny palace of his daughter, the faithless spouse of Finn Mac Cumhail.

O'Flaherty tells us on the authority of an old poem found in the *Book of Shane Mor O'Dugan*, who flourished about 1390, that Cormac founded three schools at Tara—one for teaching the art of war, the second for the study of history, and the third was a school of jurisprudence. This is extremely probable, especially as Cormac himself was an accomplished scholar in all these sciences. This brings us to the literary works attributed to Cormac Mac Art by all our ancient Irish scholars.

The first of these is a treatise still extant in manuscript

entitled *Teagusc na Riogh* or *Institutio Principum*. It is ascribed to King Cormac in the *Book of Leinster* written before the Anglo-Norman Invasion of Ireland. It is in the form of a dialogue between Cormac and his son and successor Cairbre Lifeachair; "and," says the quaint old MacGeoghegan "this book contains as goodly precepts and moral documents as Cato or Aristotle did ever write." The language is of the most archaic type, but extracts have been translated and published in the *Dublin Penny Journal*.

A still more celebrated work, now unfortunately lost, the *Saltair of Tara*, has been universally attributed to Cormac by Irish scholars. Perhaps we should rather say it was compiled under his direction. "It contained," says an ancient writer in the *Book of Ballymote*, "the synchronisms and genealogies, as well as the succession of the [Irish] kings and monarchs, their battles, their contests, and their antiquities from the world's beginning down to the time it was written. And this is the *Saltair of Tara*, which is the origin and fountain of the histories of Erin from that period down to the present time." "This," adds the writer in the *Book of Ballymote*, "is taken from the *Book of Machongbhail*"—that is the *Book of Navan*, a still more ancient but now lost work. Not only does the writer in the ancient *Book of Navan*, and the copyist in the *Book of Ballymote*, expressly attribute this work to Cormac, but a still more ancient authority, the poet Cuan O'Lochain, who died in 1024, has this stanza in his poem on Tara:—

"He [Cormac] compiled the *Saltair of Tara*,
In that *Saltair* is contained
The best summary of history,
It is the *Saltair* which assigns
Seven chief kings to Erin of harbours, &c., &c.

And it is, indeed, self-evident to the careful student of our annals that there must have been some one ancient "origin and fountain" from which the subsequent historians of Erin have derived their information and existing monuments prove it to be quite accurate—concerning the reign of Cormac and his more immediate predecessors in Ireland. The man who restored the Feis of Tara, and who, as we

shall presently see, was also a celebrated judge and lawyer, was exactly such a person of forethought and culture as would gather together the poets and historians of his kingdom to execute under his own immediate direction this great work for the benefit of posterity. Keating tells us that it was called the *Saltair of Tara* because the chief Ollave of Tara had it in his official custody; and as Cormac Mac Cullinan's Chronicle was called the *Saltair of Cashel*, and the Festilogium of Aengus the Culdee was called the *Saltair na Rann*, so this great compilation was named the *Saltair of Tara*. This, as O'Curry remarks, disposes of Petrie's objection that its name would rather indicate the Christian origin of the book. The answer is simple—Cormac never called the book by this name, any more than the compilers of the great works like the *Book of Ballymote* or the *Book of Leinster* ever called those great compilations by their present names.

Cormac was also a distinguished jurist—of that we have conclusive evidence in the *Book of Aicill*, which has been published in the third volume of the Brehon Law publications. The book itself is most explicit as to its authorship, and everything in the text goes to confirm the statements in the introduction, part of which is worth reproducing here.

"The place of this book is Aicill close to Temhair [Tara], and its time is the time of Coirpri Lifechair, son of Cormac, and its author is Cormac, and the cause of its having been composed was the blinding of the eye of Cormac by Ængus Gabhuaiedch, after the abduction of the daughter of Sorar, son of Art Corb, by Cellach, son of Cormac."

The author then tells us how the spear of Aengus grazed the eye of Cormac and blinded him.

"Then Cormac was sent out to be cured at Aicill [the Hill of Skreen]. . . . and the sovereignty of Erin was given to Coirpri Lifechair, son of Cormac, for it was prohibited that anyone with a blemish should be king at Tara, and in every difficult case of judgment that came to him he [Coirpri] used to go to ask his father about it, and his father used to say to him 'my son that thou mayest know' [the law], and 'the exemptions'; and these words are at the beginning of all his explanations. And it was there, at Aicill, that this book was thus composed, and wherever the words 'exemptions,' and 'my son that thou mayest know,' occur was Cormac's part of the book, and Cennfaeladh's part is the rest."

This proves beyond doubt that the greatest portion of this *Book of Aicill* was written by Cormac at Skreen, near Tara, when disqualified for holding the sovereignty on account of his wound. It was a treatise written for the benefit of his son unexpectedly called to fill the monarch's place at Tara. The text, too, bears out this account. Cormac apparently furnished the groundwork of the present volume by writing for his son's use a series of maxims or principles on the criminal law of Erin, which were afterwards developed by Cormac himself, and by subsequent commentators. That the archaic legal maxims so enunciated in the *Book of Aicill* were once written by Cormac himself there can be no reasonable doubt; although it is now quite impossible to ascertain how far the development of the text was the work of Cormac or of subsequent legal authorities, who doubtless added to and modified the commentary whilst they left Cormac's text itself unchanged.

This *Book of Aicill*, the authenticity of which cannot, we think, be reasonably questioned, proves beyond all doubt that in the third century of the Christian era there was a considerable amount of literary culture in Celtic Ireland. These works are still extant in the most archaic form of the Irish language; they have been universally attributed to Cormac Mac Art for the last ten centuries by all our Irish scholars; the intrinsic evidence of their authorship and antiquity is equally striking—why then should we reject this mass of evidence, and accept the crude theories of certain modern pretenders in the antiquities of Ireland, who without even knowing the language undertake to tell us that there was no knowledge of the use of writing in Ireland before St. Patrick?

And is not such an assertion *a priori* highly improbable? The Romans had conquered Britain in the time of Agricola—the first century of the Christian era. The Britons themselves had very generally become Christians during the second and third centuries, and had to some extent at least been imbued with Roman civilization. Frequent intercourse, sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, existed between the Irish and Welsh tribes especially. A British king was

killed at the battle of Magh Mucruimhe in Galway where Cormac's own father was slain. The allies of Mac Con on that occasion were British. He himself had spent the years of his exile in Wales. Captives from Ireland were carried to Britain, and captives from Britain were carried to Ireland. Is it likely then that when the use of letters was quite common in Britain for three centuries no knowledge of their use would have come to Ireland until the advent of St. Patrick in the fifth century of the Christian era?

There is an ancient and well founded tradition that Cormac Mac Art died a Christian, or as the Four Masters say, "turned from the religion of the Druids to the worship of the true God." It is in itself highly probable. Some knowledge of Christianity must have penetrated into Ireland even so early as the reign of Cormac Mac Art. It is quite a popular error to suppose that there were no Christians in Ireland before the time of St. Patrick. Palladius had been sent from Rome before him "to the Scots," that is the Irish, "who believed in Christ." Besides that intimate connection between Ireland and Britain, of which we have spoken, must have carried some knowledge of Christianity, as well as of letters, from one country to the other. King Lucius, the first Christian King of the British, flourished quite half a century before the time of King Cormac. Tertullian speaks of the Isles of the Britains as subject to Christ about the time that Cormac's father, Art, was slain at Magh Mucruimhe. There was a regularly organized hierarchy in England during the third century, and three of their bishops were present at the Council of Arles in 314.

Nothing is more likely than that the message of the Gospels was brought from England to the ears of King Cormac, and that a prince, so learned and so wise, gave up the old religion of the Druids, and embraced the new religion of peace and love.

But it was a dangerous thing to do even for a king. The Druids were very popular and very influential, and moreover possessed, it was said, dreadful magical powers. They showed it afterwards in the time of St. Patrick, and now they showed it when they heard Cormac had given up the old religion of Erin, and become a convert to the new worship

from the East. The king's death was caused by the bone of a salmon sticking in his throat, and it was universally believed that this painful death was brought about by the magical power of Maelgenn, the chief of the Druids.

"They loosed their curse against the king,
They cursed him in his flesh and bones;
And daily in their mystic ring
They turned the maledictive stones.

"Till where at meat the monarch sate,
Amid the revel and the wine,
He choked upon the food he ate
At Cletty, southward of the Boyne."¹

So perished A.D. 267, the wisest and best of the ancient kings of Erin. Cormac, when dying, told his people not to bury him in the pagan cemetery of Brugh on the Boyne, but at Rosnaree, where he first believed, and with his face to the rising sun. But when the king was dead, his captains declared they would bury their king with his royal sires in Brugh :—

"Dead Cormac on his bier they laid;
He reigned a king for forty years,
And shame it were, his captains said,
He lay not with his royal peers.

"What though a dying man should rave
Of changes o'er the eastern sea;
In Brugh of Boyne shall be his grave
And not in noteless Rosnaree."

So they prepared to cross the fords of Boyne, and bury the king at Brugh. But royal Boyne was loyal to its dead king; "the deep full-hearted river rose" to bar the way; and when the bearers attempted to cross the ford, the swelling flood swept them from their feet, caught up the bier, and "proudly bore away the king" on its own heaving bosom. Next morning the corpse was found on the bank of the river at Rosnaree, and was duly interred within the hearing of its murmuring waters. There great Cormac was left to his rest with his face to the rising sun, awaiting the dawning of that glory which was soon to lighten over the hills and valleys of his native land.

✱ JOHN HEALY.

¹ *Lays of the Western Gael.*

THE ACT AND THE HABIT OF PERFECT CHARITY.

WITHIN the spacious periphery of Dogmatic and Scholastic theology there are no two objects more sharply differentiated than the Act and the Habit of Sanctifying Grace. They are, indeed, closely allied and kindred one of the other, the "*dilectio Dei super omnia*" being the initiatory principle and the ultimate issue of both; and yet, as objective realities, they occupy towards each other the essentially incommunicable relations of cause and effect, and are in distinctly marked contrast, the one being transient and momentary, while the other is enduring and permanent. All this notwithstanding, there is not within the wide domain of Scholastic controversy any one distinction more frequently or more unfortunately forgotten or ignored—with the result that the disputants not rarely evolve from texts of Sacred Scripture and passages of the Fathers most unexpected and unintended meanings. A typical illustration may be found in the diverse interpretations of the text *Qui non diligit, manet in morte*, or of that other text *Si habuero omnem fidem . . . Charitatem autem non habuero . . . nihil mihi prodest*. Once for all: let us never fail to recollect "*justificationem [charitatem] sumi posse active, vel passive*. Active est illa actio qua Deus aliquem efficit justum . . . Passive est terminus illius productionis, vel formalis qui ipsa est justitia; vel adaequatus qui est hominem justum constitui per illam justitiam." (Mazzella). The one is, like every act, fleeting—it no sooner comes into existence than it ceases to exist; the other is a state of continuous permanent duration. According to St. Paul, "*Charitas nunquam excidit*:" it is a "*donum physicum animae inhaerens*," which, unless expelled by mortal sin, constitutes the life of the soul through time and eternity.

Not only are the Act and the Habit of Charity distinct from each other as objective realities, but they are also distinct as being objects of immeasurably different intrinsic value. The Habit, viewed merely as an equipment of the soul, is described by St. Thomas as the "*virtutum gemma*,

quae caeteras ornat et perficit; nuptiarum vestis, quam qui non habet, mittitur in tenebras exteriores, quam e contra qui gestat, multitudinem exuit peccatorum." Viewed in its ineffably mysterious effects, it is the most precious gift which God, in the fullest exercise of His Omnipotence, can bestow upon man; for it imparts the "*consortium Divinae Naturae*," and ennobles those upon whom He confers it into "*haeredes quidem Dei, co-haeredes autem Christi*." Hence the Fathers and theologians of the Church have always described the man possessed of the Habit of Charity as, in a true and literal sense, "*a Deo deificatus*."

Practically we have a similar unanimity amongst theologians when they expound the intrinsic value of the *Act* of Perfect Charity; but in estimating that value there is—what does not exist in the case of the *Habit*—a possibility of exaggeration. There were theologians—the illustrious Vasquez amongst them—who held that the *Act* of Perfect Charity is, itself, the "*formal cause*" of man's sanctification, just as light is the cause of brightness or as fire is the cause of heat. They maintained that the love which is the essence of Perfect Charity unites man with God, of physical necessity and *eo ipso* that it is possessed: that is to say, that man's *Act* of Charity, *virtute sua* and without further interposition on the part of God, remits man's mortal sin and confers upon him the Habit of Sanctifying Grace with all its supernatural accompaniments. Other theologians deemed it a more defensible theory to maintain that Perfect Charity or Contrition was what they designated a "*partial cause*" (or a "*cause in part*") of man's sanctification—verifying as it does the Scriptural "*Convertimini ad me*," which receives its crowning complement by the mere fulfilment of the Divine compact "*et Ego convertar ad vos*." The love involved in perfect reconciliation is, they argued, the coalition of man's love of God with God's love of man, to which joint production man contributes his share by the eliciting of an *Act* of Perfect Charity or Contrition. Of the two theories this latter is the more specious; but neither the one nor the other is defensible, inasmuch as both exaggerate and enormously overstate the intrinsic value of the *Act*, by attributing to it an unauthorised agency in the process of justification.

That the Act of Perfect Contrition is not only not the complete cause of justification (in the sense described), but is not even in any measure a partial formal cause, is manifest from the words of the Council of Trent which, speaking of Contrition (Sess. vi. chap. 6), tells us "*hanc dispositionem seu praeparationem justificatio ipsa consequitur*"—and what ranks no higher than a preparatory disposition cannot be legitimately magnified into a principle of causation. Again: the same Holy Council affirms (Sess. vi. chap. 7) that there is but one, single, "*unica*," cause of justification—namely, the "*justitia Dei, non qua ipse justus est, sed qua nos justos facit*;" it is therefore the same cause that exclusively operates whether the subject upon whom justification is being conferred be capable of eliciting an Act of Contrition, or, as in the case of the infant at Baptism, be physically incapable of so doing. Furthermore, Suarez certifies (D. ix., a. ii.) that all theologians, with the exception of "*pauci ex antiquis*," unhesitatingly admit that even the moderate measure of "*retractation*" which forms part of attrition, "*non requiritur essentialiter ad tollendum peccatum habituale*," and De Lugo tells us that this is the "*sententia satis communis inter auctores nostrae Societatis—Suarez, Vasquez, et alii communiter*." Of course these writers do not hold—for no Catholic could hold—that such retractation of sin as is involved in at least imperfect contrition can *de facto* be dispensed with, for "*hic contritionis motus fuit quovis tempore necessarius*." (Trent). This necessity, however, is imposed by Divine ordinance, obedience to which cannot either wholly or partially withdraw from the "*unica causa justificationis*" the efficacy that belongs to it essentially and exclusively. Contrition, therefore, no matter in what degree or of what species, cannot be reputed as the formal cause of Sanctifying Grace: it is—in its highest appraisalment—a "*dispositio seu praeformatio quam*"—from the most absolutely gratuitous mercy of God—"justificatio ipsa consequitur."

Most absolutely gratuitous: for, according to the "*communis antiquiorum et recentiorum sententia*" (as De Lugo testifies), neither a single Act of Perfect Contrition, nor any number of similar acts performed by any number of men

could compensate God "ad aequalitatem" for the injury done towards Him by one mortal sin. This is what theologians mean to impress when they asseverate that the "injuria peccati gravis est prorsus incompensabilis;" and it underlies the sayings of the saints that "when they have done all, they have done nothing." Had not God, therefore—"qui ponit in mari manum suam, et in fluminibus dexteram suam"—mercifully bound Himself to requite the Act of Perfect Contrition by an infusion of Sanctifying Grace, He might most freely and blamelessly refuse to do so, without inflicting on the contrite sinner the faintest shadow of injustice. "Absolute negamus," writes De Lugo, "Contritionem esse satisfactionem aequalem pro peccato, neque enim ulla pura creatura potest satisfacere aequaliter pro peccato, quantumvis multiplicet obsequia et actus intensissimos." In his treatise on the Mystery of the Incarnation the same writer adds: "Communis et vera sententia negat, non solum loquendo ex rigore justitiae . . . sed etiam loquendo de satisfactione aequali per condignitatem, et valorem moralem ad placandum Deum offensum." (D. v., s. i., n. 2). Layman's reasoning on the same subject is no less irresistible than compendious: "Injuriam Deo illatam ad aequalitatem compensare non possumus, tum quia ipsa animi motio, ac detestatio peccati, est donum Dei supernaturale; tum quia pia animi in Deum conversio, ipso jure creationis aliisque titulis ipsi debita est; tum quia peccator Dei infiniti offensam re ipsa compensare non potest, sed cum Dei auxilio *affectum* compensandi exhibet, quem, quasi pro facto Deus reputans, peccatum ex misericordia gratis remittit, ac delet, hominemque per gratiae sanctificantis infusionem sibi conciliat." (*De Sac. Pœnit.* T. vi., c. i., n. 2). Every word of this extract is pregnant with deep and pointed force.

The highest point, therefore, towards compensating God, to which the sinner can reach under the influence of the most potent actual grace—is to entertain an *affectus*, a craving thirst and desire, to compensate Him. He may, indeed, by this act establish a claim *de congruo* on the benignant consideration of a God "cujus misericordia superexaltat justitiam." Many of our eminent theologians deny this: "Si autem

gratia, jam non ex operibus; alioquin gratia jam non est gratia" (*Rom. xi., 6*); but, at the very best, there his claim must end. He cannot reach to, and therefore cannot repair, the injury which his sin has inflicted; and this is simply what the Sacred Scripture and the Fathers inculcate when they tell us that nothing that falls short of the satisfaction of the Son of God could purchase the redemption of man.

It follows that in contrast with the offence given by mortal sin, the most perfect contrition of which man is capable shrinks into comparative insignificance. As St. Thomas has it: "*Offensa eo est major quo dignior est persona offensa et vilior offendens; sicut e contra satisfactio eo est minor quo dignior est persona cui offertur et vilior est persona a qua offeratur: cum ergo offensa crescat ex maiestate infinita Dei et vilitate hominis peccantis; satisfactio vero debeat decrescere ex eadem hominis parvitate et excellentia Dei cui offeratur; consequens est nunquam posse satisfactionem puri hominis adaequare gravitatem offensae.*" (*Apud Lugo: D. v., s. 2*). Not only is there in Contrition an absolute inadequacy of atonement, but—within the legitimate limits—we may say of the ratio which it bears to the malice of sin what we are accustomed to say of ethical and moral contrasts—*parvum pro nihilo reputatur*. It is a something in the eyes of Divine Mercy, for, as the Council of Trent defines, "*impetrat veniam peccatorum*;" but in the eyes of Divine Justice, and as an attempt at reparation, it is most miserably inappreciable. So inappreciable indeed, and so far removed from veritable expiation, that, *from this point of view*, the condition of the contrite man differs only in degree of helplessness from that of the man who is merely attrite. Measured by the stretch of Divine Mercy which is necessary to overspan the gulf that separates both from God, and to rescue either of them from the effects of mortal sin, the difference between the two is almost imperceptible. The humility which has at all times characterised the most favoured servants of God arises from a deeply impressed consciousness of this theological truth, and of that other truth—that the difference between them and the vilest sinners is itself the effect of God's gratuitously conferred grace.

This consideration will enable us to understand more clearly what must have oftentimes appeared to us incredible—the readiness with which God can extend pardon to the sinner who receives the Sacrament of Penance after no further effort to make reparation than is barely sufficient for attrition. In the case of the contrite man, whose soul is animated and actuated by a pure love of God, we discover less difficulty—although, in strict truth, the *title* of each is little better than an empty-handed appeal to gratuitous mercy. St. Paul describes all just men indiscriminately as “*justificati gratis per gratiam ipsius*” (*Rom. 3.*) Neither Contrition nor Attrition founds a claim to pardon, “*ob condignitatem operis*,” for “*condignitas operis*” is beyond the sphere of all those whose souls have not yet been clothed in the Habit of Grace. The concession of Sanctifying Grace is, therefore, in the one case and in the other, a concession which God could most justly withhold, just as He might (according to the Jesuit view referred to above) impart it to a man who is neither contrite nor attrite. It is another illustration of the parable of the workers in the vineyard; no man suffers an injustice though the same daily “denarius” is given to the labourer of one hour and to the man who has borne the “*pondus diei et aestus*.” In this condition of absolutely uncontrolled indifference, God may please to be satisfied with whatever disposition He wills; and in the abundance of His mercy He is satisfied with attrition and the Sacrament. Nay, more, in the exuberant fulness of His mercy and considerateness for man’s weakness, attrition combined with the Sacrament of Penance has been exalted by Him to the dignity of true “efficient cause,” while contrition, no matter how perfect, always holds the lower rank.

The object of either process is, of course, to ensure the adoption of such means as God requires for the attainment of the Habit of Charity, and, co-ordinately, the remission of mortal sin. When this Habit of Charity is secured, it is presumably of small moment, which of the alternative means—Perfect Charity or attrition with the Sacrament—has been employed. The Act, whichever it was, has passed away for ever; the Habit alone remains. But here a practical question.

arises: What is intended by the sufficiently trite expression of theologians—that, through the Sacrament of Penance, the *attritus fit contritus*? It does not mean (as a strict rendering of the words might imply) that when the attrite man has received the Sacrament of Penance validly, he feels a sensible impulse urging him to elicit Acts of Perfect Charity. La Croix appeals to the experience of penitents generally, as affording physical proof that this is not its meaning. Neither can it imply an imperceptible ontological changing of attrition into contrition. Such a change would be an impossibility, for, as we know, “*actus specificantur ex motivis*,” and the *motiva* from which attrition sprang remain, and must remain, unaltered. It must, therefore, signify that the attrite man becomes *contritus habitu*, which is saying, in another form of words, that attrition with the Sacrament is, in the identity of the effect which it produces, the full equivalent of contrition, since both immediately terminate in the Habit of Charity. Penitents should not, therefore, be disturbed, nor permitted to doubt the validity of the Sacraments which they have received, for the sole reason that they do not—as they sometimes lament—feel, after such confessions, a more ardent love of God. No matter through what instrumentality the Habit of Grace comes, “*omnis gloria ejus filiae Regis ab intus*.”

There is a still more practical question inextricably interwoven in the matter of the foregoing considerations, “*An qui in articulo mortis suscipit Sacramentum Poenitentiae cum attritione, teneatur insuper elicere actum Perfectae Contritionis?*” The answer of Ballerini, like very many of his answers to difficult questions, is a curt and decretorial—though, no doubt, a well-considered—negative. The answer given by Suarez is a characteristically anxious and elaborated affirmative. De Lugo, who devotes no fewer than eight columns to the discussion, denies the existence of any such obligation—adding “*haec sententia semper mihi verior visa est*.” St. Liguori pronounces “*utraque sententia probabilis, sed affirmativa est omnino consulenda* ;” and, somewhat further on the Saint adds: “*Imo dico esse omnino sequendam ab eo qui esset in actuali articulo mortis*,” “*Si*

utraque sententia," comments Ballerini, "est probabilis; ergo obligatio alterutrius imponi nequaquam potest. Obligatio enim dicitur a ligando. Atqui (ut centies repetit S. Doctor) lex dubia non obligat. Ergo lex mere probabilis non obligat." Concina, on the other side, thus peremptorily dismisses the words and arguments of De Lugo (*supra*): "Audistin'? Non probabilis modo sed verior etiam ipsi visa est haec sententia! Nobis autem semper falsa, et vi justii ratiocinii damnata videtur praefata doctrina."

All this impassioned disapproval notwithstanding, the position of De Lugo seems very strong. For, manifestly, if the obligation do exist, it must arise either (1) from positive law, or (2) from the fact that every man is rigorously bound to adopt perfectly safe and assured means of possessing himself of the indispensable Habit of Sanctifying Grace. If we look for the obligation amongst positive laws, our inquiry must end in our recognising a veritable *lex dubia*, seeing (as is abundantly evident from the references and extracts given above) that the *existence* of the law is questioned by many of our best theologians. As a general rule, a *lex dubia* has no binding force; and De Lugo, Ballerini, &c., have no hesitation in applying the axiomatic principle here. Again, even assuming the abstract existence of the law, its observance is not a *necessitas medii*, and bona fides, or inadvertence to such obligation—so common amongst dying persons—will excuse its non-observance. Furthermore, in circumstances such as we contemplate, theologians state with unhesitating confidence that the confessor is not bound to suggest—nor *justified* in suggesting—the existence of the positive law, especially where (as commonly happens) he has reason to fear that the admonition would lead to disturbing anxiety and scruple, and to nothing better. (2.) If we hold that the obligation is (as Suarez maintains) a necessity arising from each man's being bound to secure, by the adoption of undoubtedly certain means, the possession of Sanctifying Grace—and bound most particularly *in articulo mortis*—De Lugo, Ballerini, and a whole host of our most distinguished theological writers reply that, in the case under discussion, the moribund has abundantly and beyond all reasonable doubt

fulfilled his obligation, "nam post Tridentini definitionem, licet non sit omnino de fide, est tamen moraliter ad minus certum quod attritio cum Sacramento Poenitentiae sufficiat ad justificationem *Opinio negans probabilis non est post Tridentinum.* (De Lugo, D. vii., s. xlii., n. 271-6). Ballerini approvingly quotes the verdict of Sanchez: "Jure optimo obligatio reprobatur," and the words of Tamburini: "Ponere hanc obligationem, quae certe fundamento solido non innititur, nihil aliud est, nisi scrupulos ingerere."

Strongly convinced as those writers are of the incontrovertible truth of their views, at least in theory, they, nevertheless, take care to recommend a course of practice which confessors would be wise in adopting. Ballerini writes: "Opportunissime moribundi ad actus charitatis eliciendos iterandosque excitentur;" and De Lugo says: "Expediet itaque, et oportebit excitare poenitentem ad dolorem de peccatis propter Deum, et ad perfectam contritionem ac dilectionem Dei super omnia, propositis motivis opportunis; non tamen expedit regulariter proponere obligationem, et laqueos inficere, in materia praesertim adeo incerta, ut visum est." In further confirmation of this salutary counsel, it can be no harm to subjoin the suggestive words of Father Antoine: "In praxi semper quantum potest, adducendi sunt poenitentes ad eliciendam contritionem perfectam; Tum quia actus ejus Deo gratior est, utilior poenitenti, et idoneus qui suppleat defectus qui ex parte ministri, vel poenitentis ipsius occurrere possunt, ut si alteruter non esset vere baptizatus." And although no massing together of probabilities or utilities can make a law or impose an obligation; and although we can no longer doubt that attrition with the Sacrament of Penance confers the Habit of Sanctifying Grace, still the crisis is so supremely momentous for the dying man that he will be sure to receive from his zealous and prudent confessor all the advantages of a counsel so fruitful of supernatural good.

C. J. M.

THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN IN THE YEAR 1697.

IN the old series of the I. E. RECORD, vol. v., January, 1860, an interesting manuscript preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, was given to publicity for the first time. It was a report presented to the Privy Council of Ireland on the 1st of June, 1630, drawn up by Dr. Launcelot Bulkeley, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, and purporting to be a description of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin, giving the names of all the Catholic clergy (at least as far as he could ascertain them), then serving in the different parishes. Its interest lies in the fact that it is the first list of the Catholic clergy we have, or are ever likely to discover, since Elizabeth's reign, and it is tolerably complete. A somewhat similar document of a much later date lies hidden away on the dusty book-shelves of Marsh's Library. Its date is 1697, and also the work of Protestant hands. The object of its compilation was clearly the detection of Regulars who, in defiance of the articles of Limerick, were then being proscribed and banished from the kingdom. All Bishops, Vicars-General, Jesuits and Friars, were compelled to quit the kingdom on or before the 1st of May, 1698, and their return was adjudged high treason. The number of religious banished in that year amounted, according to Captain South, to 454.

A touching testimony is borne to the violence of this persecution by a short report of the meeting of the *Definitores* of the Franciscan Friars in Dublin, on the 15th of February, 1697, and preserved in the Irish Record Office:—

"In Nomine Domini. Amen.

"Congregatio Diff^{rum}. Dublinii hac die 15 Feb. 1697. Sequentia puncta erant proposita,

"1^a. An expediat ut fratres se conferant ad partes ultra marinas juxta decreta Parliamenti?

"2^a. An cum vel sine obediencialibus?

"3^a. Quid agendum de bonis Conventuum?

"4^m. An sit supplicandum rectoribus Gubernii pro decrepitis et senio confectis Nostrae Religionis ?

"5^m. Quid de Novitiis ?"

To these queries the following answers would seem to have been agreed upon :

"Ad 1^m. Obediendum esse decreto Parliamenti.

"Ad 2^m. Affirmative.

"Ad 3^m. Monet venerabile Definitorium ut utensilia sacra, et etiam domestica majoris momenti distribuenda inter Benefactores Conventibus magis addictos (qui proprio chirographo agnoscent se ista recepisse) hocque de consensu Discretorum Conventus. Injungimus insuper ut hujusmodi nullo modo oppignorare, aut alienare valeant; eorumque inventarium in manu syndici relinquunt. Advertendum tamen in inventario praefato specificandas esse personas quibus praefata bona erant commissa, illosque ac syndicum monendos esse, ut nec bona nec inventarium ulli dent nisi de consensu communitatis istius conventus ad quem spectat vel Diffinitorium, et Guardianus quilibet teneatur exemplar illius inventarii transmittere ad P^m. Prov. vel Diffin. istius Plagae.

"Ad 4^m. Affirmative.

"Ad 5^m. Transmittendos esse aliquibus PP^{bns}. gravibus de mandato R. A. P. Minri. Prov. ac ven^{bns}. Diffinitorii."

This forced absence was of short duration, though the force remained, for amongst the same bundle of papers there is a document from the General of the Franciscans, dated January 5, 1700, ordering Fr. Anthony Kelly to go into Ireland to preach and confess, and in 1707, just nine years after their expulsion, "a year," says Gilbert, "particularly awful in the annals of terror," they found courage enough to hold a General Chapter in Dublin, at which no less than sixty-four Friars attended.

To return to our manuscript, it will be a connecting link, though at a very long interval, with the List of the Clergy given in 1630, and will also help to explain the List of 1704, published for the first time in Battersby's *Catholic Directory* for 1838, and subsequently in vol. xii., 1876, of the I. E. RECORD. It is entitled, "A perticul^r. acc^t. of the Romish Clergy, Secular and Regular in every parrish of the Dioces of Dublin," and may be found in the Catalogue of Marsh's Library, under Class v. 3, Tab. 1, No. 18. It has been referred to, and quoted by D'Alton, Dr. Moran and others, but never before published as far as we know.

**A PARTICULAR ACC^T. OF THE ROMISH CLERGY, SECULAR AND
REGULAR, IN EVERY PARRISH OF THE DIOCES OF DUBLIN.**

(From a MSS. in Marsh's Library, Class v. 3, Tab. I., No. 18.)

St. Audoen's Parrish, March the 2nd, 1697.

City of Dublin.

Secular. Edward Murphy¹ parish priest, supposed
Vicar-Generall.

Thomas Austin, his Assistant.

—— Neagh priest att Patrick Andrews
house in Bridge Street.

Patrick Lutterell, att William Dayly's, att
the signe of the Sun in Cooke Street.

Jeremiah Netterville, priest, at the signe of
the Harpe in Cooke Street.

Regular. Thomas Marshall }
James Ffannin } All Dominican Fryers
James Eagan } att the Convent in
Christopher Farrell } Cooke-street

Bryan Kennedy }
William Bryan } St. Augustin Ffryars'
att the Convent in St.
Audeon's Arch.

Edward Chamberlin, Jesuit, liveing neare
the Convent in Cooke Street.

Arthur Walsh, a Carmelite att the Convent
in Corne Markett.

These are all that are at present to be found butt there
are others who were lately in the Parish that are now
withedrawn & supposed to be sculking aboute the towne
& they are as follows

Regular. Johnson, a Jesuit, who did live att Mr. Synott's
on Merchants Key.

Secular. Ignatius Carbery, priest }
Michael Fitzgerald, priest } Who both lived in
Bridge Street.

Regulars. Clement Ash }
Bryan Libamy } Were formerly Augustan
Michael Fflanelly } Fryars.

One (D)? Halpin & some other Fryars whose names

¹Subsequently Bishop of Kildare, 1707, and Archbishop of Dublin, 1724.

cannot be found out did lately belong to the Convent of Carmelites.

There are severall lay Brothers belonging to each of the Convents.

City of Dublin. St. Michael's Parish.

| | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|---|----------|
| Secular. | James Russell ¹ | } | Priests. |
| | Valentine Rivera. | | |
| | Bryan Murry | | |
| | Jerome Nettervell | | |
| | Patrick Luttrell | | |
| | William Ryan | | |
| | Emer Megennis | | |

The seaven secular Priests abovenamed are obliged to officiate and say Mass in the Chapple of St. Michael's Parish & nowhere else for the people of seaven parishes (viz.) St. Michael's, St. John's, St. Nicholas, St. Werburgh's, St. Andrew's, St. Bride's & St. Peter's.

City of Dublin. St. Michan's Parish.

William Dalton, parish priest, lodgeing att Figham Bramhams, Barb^s in Smith-Field.
 James Gibbons, Priest, Assist^t. to William Dalton, att the Chappell in Channel row, lodgeing at Mr. Elleston's, at Channell Row.
 John Linegar,^s priest, lodgeing att widdow Linnegar's in Church Street.
 Lawrence Dowdall, lodgeing att Matthias Burgesses in Church Street.
 Richard Murphy, priest, lodgeing att Edmond Reynolds in Smith-Field.
 William Dardis, parish priest of Abby-Larks in ye County of Longford, lodgeing att Matthew Barrett's in Smithfield.

Regular. John Weldon, Capuchin Frier, lodgeing att Luke Dowdall's in Smithfield.

¹ Dean of Dublin, and brother of Archbishop Russell who died 1694.

² Afterwards first parish priest of St. Mary's Catholic parish, which was not established until 1707, and Archbishop of Dublin from 1734 to 1756.

City of Dublin. St. Mary's Parish.
Secular. Fergus Farrell, priest, Chaplain to the Lady
Castlehaven, who lives in Capell Street,
near ye mint.

City of Dublin. St. John's Parish.
Secular. ——— Russell,¹ parish priest of St. John's,
and titular Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin,
liveing in Back Lane.

No regulars can be found in this parish.

City of Dublin. St. Werburgh's Parish.
Secular. James Russell,² parish priest of the Parish of
St. Werburgh's, liveing at Mr. Geoghan's
in Cook Street.

No regulars can be found in this parish.

City of Dublin. St. Andrew's Parish.
Secular. Russell,³ parish priest of St. Andrew's,
Dublin.

No regulars can be found in this parish.

City of Dublin. St. Nicholas within the Walls.
Secular. James Russell,⁴ parish priest of St. Nicholas
Within, Dublin, liveing in Cooke Street.

No regulars can be found in this parish.

City of Dublin. St. Nicholas Without the Walls.
Secular. Dr. Edmond Burne,⁵ parish priest of St.
Nicholas Without the Walls.
——— Dowdall, Assistant to Dr. Byrne.
Terence Smith, now in the country.

Regulars of ye Order of St. Francis.

Ignatius Kelly
John Handly
John Brady
Philip Brady
Francis Cruise
Anthony Lynch
Anthony Dunlevi
Browne

Now in ye country.⁶

¹ Same as P.P. of St. Michael's. ² Same as in preceding note. ³ Same.

⁴ Still the Dean. ⁵ Archbishop of Dublin from 1707 to 1723.

⁶ Probably those who held the meeting above referred to.

- City of Dublin. St. Peter's Parish.
No Secular or Regular in this parish.
- City of Dublin. St. Bridgett's Parish.
No Secular or Regular in this parish.
- City of Dublin. St. Katherin's Parish.
- Secular. Mr. Brohy, parish priest of St. Catherine's.
Thomas Cumberford, his assistant.
Valentine Rivers, a priest and only a lodger
in St. Katherines parish, but officiates in
St. Michael's parish.
- Regular. Bryan McTernon, a Jesuite.
St. Paul's Parish.¹
- Secular. Father Dempsey, Parish Priest of St. Michan's,
is said to be a Titular Bishop,² and lodges
at my Lady Clanmaluras in y^e said parish.
William Dardis calls himself parish priest of
Abbey-Larka, in the Co. Longford; he is
said to be a Regular.
- Secular. Father James Gibbons,³ said to be a Jesuite,
but calls himself assistant to Father Dalton,⁴
who is butt an assistant himself to Father
Dempsey.
Richard Murphy calls himself a secular
priest lodgeing now in Bridge Street.

¹ St. Paul's together with St. Mary's were only detached from St. Michan's and erected into civil parishes by Act of Parliament of this same year 1697. They did not become distinct Catholic parishes until 1707, under Archbishop Byrne.

² This must evidently be the Bishop of Kildare in hiding, John Dempsey, whose whereabouts after 1694 Fr. Comerford was unable to ascertain. See *Collections Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin*.

³ Gibbons in 1704 is registered as Rector of Kinsaly, but living at Grangegorman.

⁴ Evidently Father Dalton was not the P.P. of St. Michan's as stated higher up, but only assistant or administrator for Bishop Dempsey. Dr. Nary is registered P.P. of St. Michan's in the list of 1704, and Dalton of St. Paul's. This would seem to imply that Dr. Dempsey had died previous to that date.

Regular. Father John Meldon, Capuchin Ffryer, lodging in Smithfield.
Father Netterville, a Jesuit, lodges on the Key at Dr. Cruise's house.
Father Berminghame, sometimes in the parish of St. Paul's, sometimes in Cook Street.
Parish of St. James'.
Return made for St. Katherine's parish for both being united.

✠ N. D.

(*To be continued.*)

SECULAR KNOWLEDGE AS RELATED TO PIETY.

"When you get me a good man made out of arguments, I will get you a good dinner with reading you the cookery book."—*Middlemarch*, chapter xvii.

THE world has never been wholly purged from the presence of evil men since the memorable occasion when the destructive waters of the Deluge swept them all away, some four thousands of years ago. Whether they now form a larger percentage than at the beginning, we shall not pause to enquire. It is enough for our purpose to remind the reader that the actual number of atheists, criminals, thieves, drunkards, and immoral characters has immensely multiplied even though the relative proportions may continue much the same. All classes of disreputable persons have increased with the increase of population, which in England has more than trebled during the present century. Indeed they now constitute a host so vast that, if their power of combination and their skill in the use of arms were at all commensurate with their known depravity and malignity, they might not merely sack London with ease, but even rout any army that could be put into the field against them.¹ Being for the most

¹ See *The Seven Curses of London*, by the Amateur Casual. Chapter vi. opens with :—"The happily ignorant reader . . . will be shocked and amazed to learn that within the limits of the City of London alone, an army of male and female thieves, twenty thousand strong, find daily and nightly employment," &c., p. 85.

part a disorderly and cowardly crew, with little power of cohesion there is, perhaps, no immediate danger. Still their threats and murmurs reverberate occasionally through the calmer and more peaceful regions of society, and seem to menace a coming storm, and to suggest the opportuneness of a careful enquiry into the method by which it is proposed either to meet it, or else to ward it off altogether.

The very multitude of the dissolute classes has made them bold ; so that though they are beginning to feel that secrecy is becoming daily less possible, they are nevertheless conscious that it is becoming daily less necessary. Indeed, evil no longer attempts to hide itself, but stalks abroad in open daylight, and flaunts its shame in the face of every passer-by. None can quite close their eyes to it, nor wholly ignore its presence. Even the indifferent and the irresponsible have been somewhat startled, while the authorities, whose duty it is to consider such matters, have at last reached that interesting condition of mind when they feel that "*really something must be done.*" Meetings have been held, and committees and boards of enquiry formed. The result has been the prescription of a remedy in every sense worthy of this age of materialism, and natural religion. They have proposed to cure the general lawlessness, immorality and rampant animalism by the spread of education, having first, however, carefully eliminated from it just the only element that could by any possibility have rendered it effective, viz., religion. Education must forthwith be not merely universal, but secular and unsectarian. Such is the prescription. Its inadequacy was foreseen by the Church from the outset. She accordingly condemned the scheme as soon as it was propounded, and opposed it to the best of her power in every land. She recognised the remedy to be utterly useless because based upon an entirely false assumption—upon the assumption that men are irreligious and impure, not because their "*nature is prone to evil,*" but because their minds are unenlightened, and that they indulge their worst passions and gratify their most animal propensities, not because their hearts are depraved, but because their intellects are undeveloped. Such quack-physicians have evidently never read, or if they have read,

have never given any heed to the warning of the Holy Spirit which would have informed them, that not from the head, but "from the *heart* come forth evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false testimonies, blasphemies." (*Matt. xv., 19.*)

To anyone not wholly ignorant of man's fallen nature, it was obvious from the outset that such a mere nostrum could never end in anything better than delusion and disappointment. Experience has since proved the justice of such fears. For the experiment has now been tried, and the so-called remedy applied sufficiently long to enable us to pronounce it a complete failure. Indeed, so far from improving the state of the patient, *i.e.*, society—it has rendered it more hopeless and desperate than ever.

To convince ourselves of this we have only to examine the results of education during the past half century. A glance is sufficient to satisfy, even the casual observer, that men have not been improved morally or spiritually by the acquisition of a little more book-lore.

Perhaps nothing is so remarkable as the advance made in every branch of learning during the present century. But has virtue advanced at a corresponding pace? Is there even such an amelioration in the general tone of society as to suggest any necessary connection whatsoever between learning and the practice of virtue? Is there any sensible diminution of crime, drunkenness, and vice? Schools have started up upon every side. Teachers have been multiplied many times over; they have increased in proficiency as well as in numbers, and now form a vast army, doing battle with ignorance from one end of the country to the other. We are constantly hearing of examinations, and passes and awards, and of certificates, scholarships and degrees. We may even gather some notion of the urgency of the demand for knowledge by the extraordinary abundance of the literary supplies. Books are now multiplied beyond all precedent, and lie scattered over the country as thick as leaves in Vallombrosa. The whole earth is flooded with them. We have treatises without number upon every possible subject from astronomy to gastronomy, and from matters the most sublime to matters

the most ridiculous and trivial. Every subject is discussed, and from every point of view, and so as to suit all tastes and every grade of intelligence.

What shall we say of the ceaseless stream of newspapers and periodicals? What of the countless magazines, reviews, pamphlets, and the whole stock-in-trade of ephemeral publications of one kind or another that tease and torment one like swarms of summer insects, not by reason of their individual importance, but by reason of their enormous multitudes, their extraordinary ubiquity and their startling aggressiveness! Whatever else all this may denote it certainly denotes an unprecedented diffusion of general information and undigested knowledge of some sort or another. Indeed, it is an incontestable fact that for one who could read in the last century we now have fifty—perhaps, a hundred and fifty; and that the poorest pedlar or bagman of the period has the use of a far better stocked library than many a lord or knight of the shire could boast of in the olden time. Learning has rapidly increased with the facilities for learning, which are now a hundred-fold greater than what they were in the time of the Georges.

This much we must all admit. All we are now concerned with is, to enquire whether such merely secular knowledge has helped to sanctify, humanise, and elevate mankind. Whether, in a word, it offers a man any distinct aid in the great and all important work of his eternal salvation. The subject is a most practical one in these days, and well deserving of our serious consideration; for while men are struggling so hard after secular knowledge it is most important to gauge its true value.

If we look below the surface of modern society; if we probe the glittering exterior and tear off the outward trappings of respectability, shall we find that education has raised the common standard of morality? Shall we find that the general tone of public opinion is purer and more virtuous? Does vice appear more odious, and debauchery more loathsome now in the eyes of men? Is the stench of moral corruption becoming more offensive and intolerable than formerly? In a word, is education doing what was so loudly and so

arrogantly put forth as one of its chief ends and aims? It would hardly seem so. It was only a few short years ago that a state of things was discovered and made public, here in the very metropolis itself, which would have disgraced ancient Babylon, and brought a blush of shame to the cheek of even a respectable pagan. Most of us will probably remember how the flimsy veil of external propriety was withdrawn for a moment by a bold and fearless hand, and how it disclosed a fester of gross immorality eating into and corroding the very heart of the great English Empire, which boasts itself one of the most civilized and enlightened on the face of the earth. A cancer so running over with putrefaction and foulness, that we can do no more (for Christian minds could endure no more) than refer to those statements of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Maiden Tribute* that were laid before the world in the year 1885.

Such an instance as that goes far to show that education alone cannot cope with the unclean spirit, that wisdom is no match for debauchery, and that learning is powerless to hurl the Dagon of passion from its pedestal, and dash it to the ground. For in the shameful revelations just referred to, it was not the ignorant nor the unlettered whose deeds made men sick with horror, and drew forth cries of shame and indignation. On the contrary, we are expressly assured that some of the highest in the land were the most deeply implicated.

Experience has testified again and again that learning is no bestower of virtue, and that between the one and the other there is no necessary connection. Learning will neither make a knave honest, nor a drunkard sober. Rather the reverse. If a man be a villain learning will serve but to make him a greater villain, a more cunning, a more subtle, and therefore a more successful villain. As the uplifted arm of an assassin is not stayed by sharpening his murderous blade, neither is a villain by sharpening his depraved wits. If he were before a thief he will now become a more daring and a more skilful one. He will do his work on a larger scale. Instead of breaking into houses after nightfall or stopping the traveller on his lonely way, he will forge signa-

tures or issue counterfeit coin, and in a word hold the more exalted positions in his nefarious profession.

Read the history of crime. Study the career of criminals of every class. Shall we not find that considering their respective numbers and temptations a larger proportion of the educated are concerned than of the uneducated? What class of men, for example, are they who come before the public as fraudulent bankrupts, and who, with infinite skill and ingenuity, float bubble companies by which hundreds and thousands sink beneath the dark waters of penury and want never to rise again? Who, again we may ask, are the responsible makers of adulterated goods and the users of false trade marks? Are they poor ignorant Ninivites who know not their right hand from their left? Are they not rather shrewd, quickwitted, well-educated men full of worldly wisdom and prudence. Has their education served to make them honest? But let us inquire further. Who are the users of light weights and the notorious cheaters in great commercial transactions; who are they who send out men and goods in unseaworthy vessels; who are the cheaters in insurance and other companies? Or, again, what are we to think of the mighty swindlers, wholesale spendthrifts and reckless gamblers and betters, whether on the turf or at the card table?¹ Even murderers are by no means invariably conspicuous for lack of mental discernment, nay, they but too often display a knowledge and a skill which in the prosecution of any other enterprise would wring from us exclamations of admiration and applause.²

Or, to turn to a somewhat different class. We may ask if the famous leaders of rebellion against the Church and the authority of Christ's vicar were remarkable for ignorance? Were not the notorious heresiarchs and apostates men of considerable worldly wisdom and culture? Call to mind the ambitious and violent Arius, the subtle and hypocritical Pelagius; consider such characters as Wickliff, John Knox, and Martin Luther, the scholarly King Henry VIII., and his accomplished daughter, Queen Elizabeth, the murderer of so

¹ See *The Study of Sociology*, by H. Spencer.

² See *Murder as one of the Fine Arts*, by De Quincey.

many priests, religious and devout laymen. Compare the knowledge of their heads with the venom of their hearts and judge how little erudition has to do with piety, or even with justice. If from persons we turn to places the same truth is forced upon us. Where are persons on an average better educated in town or country? Unquestionably in towns. Yet crimes of all kinds are far more prevalent among the inhabitants of large populous centres than elsewhere. Cities are the best educated, yet criminally the worst. It has been pointed out more than once that a general and rapid rise in popular and secular education is followed almost invariably by a rise in crime.¹

To what conclusion does all this point, but that there is no essential connection between knowledge and virtue; that the one is no necessary concomitant of the other, and that great mental strength and great moral weakness may both be tenants of the same soul. Even King Solomon himself, whom the infallible Spirit of God assures us was the wisest of all men, and whose wisdom is compared by the inspired writer to the sands of the seashore, was not restrained by his wisdom from yielding to the grossest excesses of idolatry and adultery. Indeed the self-same unerring authority who points him out to us as the wisest of men, proclaims him also, almost in the same breath, to have been one of the most profligate and vicious.

What then are we to conclude? Shall we say that secular knowledge is antagonistic to virtue? No, but that it is distinct from it and independent of it, and that sanctity may shine forth fair and bright without its aid. Jesus Christ, the only true physician of this sickly sin-stained world, has prescribed many means by which it might be restored to a healthier state. Prayer, the sacraments, fasting, alms-deeds, meditation, penance, are all mentioned, but no where does He mention mere secular education. And although He Himself is the Infinite Wisdom of God, we never read that He ever attempted to enforce His doctrines by any display of worldly learning or profound erudition, on the other hand

¹ See *Ch. Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1885, p. 245.

it is quite certain that the boasted wisdom of the Pharisees, Scribes, and Doctors of the Law did not render them one whit more amenable to His teaching, nor in any way readier to accept His doctrine than the poor, the ignorant, and the unlettered, but just the reverse.

"Then do Catholics reject wisdom and make light of knowledge?" will ask the scoffing infidel. Do Catholics despise the learned and the sages of antiquity? Is the Church of God an advocate of ignorance? Far from it. As the sun by its very nature is the chief source of light as well of heat, so is the Church by its very constitution the chief centre of learning as well as of piety. Her track through the centuries is an imperishable evidence of this fact. She cannot show herself in any country or in any age without imparting light, which is knowledge, and heat, which is love.

Any unbiassed thinker who has turned over the pages of bye-gone history, or whose mind is however slightly tinged with a knowledge of the past, will be compelled to admit that she has ever been the guardian of knowledge and the promoter of science. None have ever so consistently encouraged philosophy, history, literature and science as the popes and bishops of the Church, and even Protestants are loud in their testimony to the fact, that it was "to the care and labours of the monks that we [*i.e.* Protestants] owe the valuable remains of antiquity as well, sacred and profane."

The profoundest minds and the keenest intellects the world has ever known, have developed within her fold and expanded under her benign influence. Names might be quoted passages might be cited, and references might be given were we writing a volume and not a mere sketch. In a brief essay such as this, the digression would be too long. Let it then suffice to say that the Church has ever fostered learning and patronised the arts, though she has never so far forgotten her mission as to confuse knowledge with piety. She has cherished it as she cherishes every other natural gift of God, but she has never put it on a level with the supernatural. She loves learning but *her* love at least is not blind. She loves it sincerely, but only when informed by supernatural charity. Those among her children, especially noted for their learning,

she even honours with the title of Doctors of the Universal Church. Yet, here again, mark well, only on condition of their having been first declared saints. There is not a Doctor of the Church from St. Basil and St. Gregory to St. Bonaventure and St. A. Liguori whose heroic sanctity was not ascertained and proved before the title was conferred upon him. Indeed, the line of action of the Church as we look back upon it across the long path of ages, constantly points to the fact, that sanctity is her whole (and speaking absolutely), her only direct end and aim. Learning, knowledge, mathematics, philosophy, history, the arts and sciences may come in its train and welcome; but only as valuable auxiliaries of piety—only as its servants and handmaids.

Hence education, however successful, however prolific in results; whether school-board education with its colourless creed, or secular education with no creed at all, can neither save nor sanctify without religion. What indeed is sanctity but the union between our created wills and the divine will of God? Or in other words, more suitable perhaps to modern ears, what is it but “the force within us making for righteousness.”¹ Here we may observe that every force is made up of two wholly distinct elements. Firstly, there is its velocity or momentum, and secondly, there is its path or direction. It is obvious that the momentum is essentially distinct from the direction. By adding to our knowledge we add to the momentum or power, for as the old saw has it, “knowledge is power,” but no increase of power, no possible access of momentum can in any way help us unless it be duly directed. Misdirected power is useless, and worse than useless. In what way does an ocean steamer for instance, benefit by possessing powerful engines if the helmsman steers her against a rock? They will serve but to hasten her destruction, and to render it more thorough and complete. So too a man with knowledge, but without religion, is like a powerful vessel with a worthless pilot. His very knowledge perverted and misapplied will only render him more dangerous and more culpable; since if once the will be corrupted, the

¹ Cardinal Deschamps defines it to be “*le mouvement de l'âme vers sa fin.*”

greater the learning the greater the evil. Ignorance is indeed a misfortune in the natural order, but there is one thing worse even than ignorance, and that is a perverted and and malicious intelligence.

From the foregoing considerations it is clear that we cannot dispense with that training of the will, and that moulding of the heart which is the essential outcome of true religious principles. Without the exercise of self-control, obedience, submission to authority, and the practice of the virtues of charity, humility, and patience, enjoined by the Church, one may possibly manufacture a clever man, but a virtuous or truly moral one, never. To ignore the necessity of a thoroughly religious training, to overlook the action of grace, and to disregard the repeated warnings of the Spirit of God, is not really to advance towards perfection, but rather to prepare the way for a speedy and disastrous downfall.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

THE ALLEGED FALL OF POPE LIBERIUS.—II.

IN our last article on this subject we have shown that the alleged fall of Liberius is in no way opposed to Papal Infallibility as understood by Catholics; that the admission of the one is quite compatible with belief in the other. We can, therefore, afford, as far as our faith is concerned, to examine calmly and dispassionately the arguments for and against the alleged fall, and accept that opinion which has the weight of evidence in its favour.

Baronius¹ was the first historian of note that entered with anything like fulness into the arguments on each side, and came to the conclusion that Liberius signed the first Sirmian creed, without, however, falling into the Arian heresy. This was the chief reason that influenced him to omit the name of Liberius in the new Roman Martyrology which he compiled, though it was found in the one² used in Rome before his time.

¹ *Annals*, a. 357, n. 47.

² *Valesian Martyrology*.

The deservedly high character of the Oratorian Annalist, together with the apparent conclusiveness of his arguments, were sufficient to have his opinion accepted by many who wanted the time or the will to examine the question for themselves. It was not till the beginning of the last century that the documents on which Baronius chiefly based his opinion were proved to be forgeries by the Abbé Corgne, in his learned *Dissertation sur le Pape Libere*. Since his time the question has been critically examined by many eminent Catholic historians, with the result that most of them, viz., Bohrbacher, Zaccaria, Hergoenrether, Stilling, Jungmann, &c., agree with Abbé Corgne in holding that Liberius signed neither an Arian formulary of faith nor the condemnation of St. Athanasius. In the following pages we shall examine, as fully as the space at our disposal will permit, 1st, the arguments adduced to establish the fall of Liberius; and 2ndly, the arguments of a positive character which prove that Liberius is innocent of the charges brought against him.

§1. THE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE ALLEGED FALL.

These arguments can be reduced to the following: (a.) two passages found in the writings of St. Athanasius; (b.) two passages taken from the works of St. Jerome; (c.) four letters attributed to Liberius, together with certain comments said to have been added by St. Hilary; (d.) the authority of Sozomen. These arguments we shall consider separately, and show their insufficiency to bring home to Liberius the charges with which his enemies wish to connect his name.

A. Writings of St Athanasius.

The first argument is taken from two passages in the writings of St. Athanasius. The following, which is found in his *Apology against the Arians*, is the first of these passages.¹ "Therefore, when some said that our case was doubtful, and were endeavouring to annul the decision that had been given in our favour, our fellow-labourers in the ministry were willing to undergo any punishment, and even to be sent into exile, rather than see the judgment of so

¹ Nn. 89, 90.

many worthy bishops set at naught. If those faithful bishops had offered but a verbal opposition to our enemies who were endeavouring to destroy what had been done in our favour; or, if they belonged to the lower walks of life, and had not been the bishops of great cities and illustrious churches, there might be a suspicion that they were influenced by human motives or personal considerations. But they took our side not merely in words, but went into exile for our sake. And to their number belongs Liberius, for though he *did not bear the hardships of exile to the end*, he remained in exile two years because he knew there was a conspiracy against us. I may also mention the illustrious Hosius, together with bishops from Gaul, Spain, Lybia, and Pentapolis; for though he did not resist the threats of Constantius for a long time, still the open violence and tortures without end inflicted by the Emperor made him yield for a time, not that he considered us guilty, but because in his feeble old age he could not endure the tortures of the lash." The following taken from the *History of the Arians*,¹ is the second passage referred to. "At length Liberius, after two years spent in exile, was broken down in health and spirits, and after having been threatened with death he *consented to subscribe*. But in this very fact we have the clearest proof of the violence used by the Arians, and the hatred entertained by Liberius for their heresy, as well as of his sympathy for Athanasius, as long as he retained his freedom of action."

Firstly: We hold that these extracts were never written by St. Athanasius; for the works from which they were taken were written before the date of the alleged fall of Liberius. The *Apology* must have been written before the year 353, because it represents Ursacius and Valens as having given up the Arian heresy and having accepted the Nicene creed. But they relapsed into their former errors about the middle of the year 352, nor did they ever afterwards return to the Catholic faith. The *History of the Arians* was written before 357, because Leontius of Antioch was still living; for speaking of those who defended the Nicene creed, Athanasius says,² "To their number belongs Leontius, the present

¹ N. 4.² N. 4.

bishop of Antioch." We learn from Socrates¹ that Leontius died at the beginning of the year 357, and the history is not continued beyond the March of the year in which he died. But according to those who assign the earliest date to the fall of Liberius, it could not have occurred before August of 357. Therefore the two works from which these extracts are taken, were written before the date of the alleged fall. It may, however, be said that though the works were written before 357, the passages quoted were afterwards inserted by St. Athanasius. The objections to this supposition are so strong, that, with the exception of Hefele, it is rejected by every writer of note. (a.) The unfinished style of the passages in Greek, in which they were originally written, smacks more of the tyro in that language than of St. Athanasius, who was a polished Greek scholar. (b.) St. Athanasius speaks in flattering terms of Liberius in works written after 358, in none of which does there occur a word about his fall. (c.) It is not at all likely that St. Athanasius would speak of himself in the third person, as he is spoken of in the second of the passages quoted. (d.) These two works of St. Athanasius were in the hands of the Greek historians, Socrates and Theodoret, who flourished early in the fifth century. They frequently quote from them in their writings: but when describing the return of Liberius, and the cause that led to it, they never mention his fall, which they certainly would have done, had they the authority of St. Athanasius for the statement. For these reasons we hold that the passages were not written by St. Athanasius, but that they are interpolations of the fifth or some succeeding century.

Secondly: Even if we admit the authenticity of these passages, they do not prove that Liberius accepted an Arian creed. The first makes no reference whatever to any creed, neither does it state that Liberius subscribed to the condemnation of St. Athanasius. All that it states is, that Liberius did not endure the tortures of exile to the end (*εἰς τὸ τέλος*): which may mean to the end of his life, as he was permitted to return to Rome after two years. This in-

¹ L. II. 37.

terpretation is to some extent supported by the context; for while Liberius is represented as not having suffered *to the end*, Hosius and the other bishops are described as having yielded to open violence in subscribing to the condemnation of Athanasius. In the second passage Liberius is said to have *subscribed*. To what did he subscribe? Was it to an Arian creed, or to the condemnation of Athanasius, or to both? It is not stated. If the sense is to be determined by the context and the circumstances of the times, the meaning of the writer is that he subscribed to the condemnation of Athanasius.—1stly, The writer, whoever he was, is speaking of the sufferings endured by Liberius out of regard for Athanasius and hatred of the heresy he was combating. 2ndly, The great object of the Emperor in his combat with Liberius was the condemnation of Athanasius. The acceptance of an Arian formulary of faith was for the time a point of minor importance, and was looked on simply as a means to an end. Thus, in the Council of Arles, the only question that occupied the attention of the Fathers was the condemnation of Athanasius; at the Council of Milan an Arian creed was presented for acceptance, but only as a means of securing the conviction of Athanasius. In the next place, Felix, the imperial nominee, who occupied the See of Rome during the exile of Liberius, was orthodox in faith, but consented to the condemnation of Athanasius.

With regard then to the argument taken from the works of St. Athanasius, we say, *firstly*, that the passages were never written by St. Athanasius, and *secondly*, it cannot be shown they imply that Liberius subscribed to an Arian creed.

B. Writings of St. Jerome.

The second argument to prove the fall of Liberius is taken from two works of St. Jerome, viz., the *Chronicon* and *Catalogus Scriptorum*.¹ In the former we find the following: "Liberius was consecrated the thirty-fourth bishop of Rome, and when he was driven into exile on account of his faith, all the clergy swore that they would receive no

¹ Sometimes called *De Viris Illustribus*.

other bishop in his place. But when Felix was intruded into his See by the Arians, most of them proved false to their oath, and after a year were expelled with Felix, because Liberius being worn out by the hardships of his exile, subscribed to an heretical creed, and was accorded a triumphal reception on his return to Rome." In the other work¹ referred to, when speaking of Fortunatian, St. Jerome is made to say : "Fortunatian, bishop of Aquileia, during the reign of Constantius, wrote commentaries on the Gospels in a concise and simple style. He is held in detestation because he was the first to tempt Liberius on his way into exile and force him to sign an Arian creed."² At first sight these extracts would appear to prove conclusively that Liberius accepted an Arian creed. We shall find on examining them that they supply little or no foundation for such a conclusion.

(a.) The first of these extracts is not found in the oldest MS. of the *Chronicon* extant, viz., that preserved in the Vatican, neither is it found in the *Codex Lucensis*, another very old MS. of the *Chronicon*. (b.) The *Chronicon* and *Catalogus Scriptorum* are full of interpolations, especially the former. One at least of the two extracts must be an interpolation, as they contain irreconcilable statements, and cannot therefore be supposed to have been written by the same person. The first states that Liberius was a year in exile before he consented to subscribe to an Arian creed ; while the second says that being tempted he yielded *on his way* into exile. (c.) The two passages are full of such glaring errors about important facts, that the authority of the writer or writers, as the case may be, must be set at a very low value. For instance, we are told in the first, that most of the clergy proved false to their oath not to recognise Felix, and in the second, that Liberius signed an Arian formula of faith on his way into exile, both of which statements are at variance with well established fact. (d.) The supposition of St. Jerome's being the writer of these extracts is quite incompatible with his expressed opinions, and

¹ C. 97.

² "Ad exilium pergentem primus sollicitavit ac fregit et ad subscriptionem hæreseos compulit."

with his relations to St. Damasus, the immediate successor of Liberius. About the year 376, the church of Antioch was distracted by the Meletian schism, three rival bishops claiming the title of patriarch. There was at the same time another question agitating the public mind, viz., which of the two words, "*hypostasis*" or "*ousia*," should be used to express the Latin word *persona*. St. Jerome having been asked to express his opinion on these questions, wrote two letters to Pope Damasus in 377, asking him to point out in virtue of his supreme authority the course he should take. In these letters he thus addresses St. Damasus: "I am joined in communion with your Holiness, that is, with the chair of St. Peter: upon that rock I know the Church is built. Whoever eats the lamb out of that house is a profane person. Whoever is not in the ark shall perish in the flood. . . . Whoever gathers not with you scatters; that is, he who is not Christ's belongs to Antiochrist. We ask what the word *hypostasis* signifies? They say a *subsisting person*. We answer, if that be the meaning we agree to it. . . . All the time I cease not to cry out: '*Whoever is united to the chair of Peter he is mine.*'" Can it be supposed that St. Jerome would have thus addressed Damasus, and said that "*Whoever is united to the chair of Peter he is mine,*" had he known that his immediate predecessor in that chair subscribed to an Arian confession of faith? Nor can it be said that St. Jerome was ignorant of the alleged fall before 377; but became aware of it before 380, when the *Chronicon* appeared, or before 392, when the *Catalogus Scriptorum* was completed. For the fall of Liberius, did it occur, was the most momentous event in the whole history of the Arian controversy, and St. Jerome had opportunities of knowing it before 377, which he never had afterwards; so that it could not by any possibility have escaped his knowledge up to the time that he wrote the letters referred to. He was a student in Rome when Liberius returned in 358, and remained there for many years afterwards. In 370 he visited Rufinus, a priest of Aquileia, with whom he remained for more than a year, and thus, if we accept the authority of the second passage, he had the most reliable means of information; for according to

it, Fortunatian, Bishop of Aquileia, was the man who played the part of tempter with Liberius, and secured his acceptance of an heretical creed. And still we find Rufinus declaring shortly afterwards: "Liberius, bishop of Rome, returned while Constantius was alive; but whether this was due to his yielding to the will of the Emperor, or the urgent entreaties of the Romans, I have not ascertained for certain." Had Liberius signed an Arian Creed, as his enemies assert, Rufinus would have known it from his bishop, who is represented as the cause of the alleged fall. We know from Rufinus and Sozomen of a report having been circulated that Liberius had embraced the Arian faith before his release from exile. This is just what we should expect. But it appears to us incredible that St. Jerome, had he accepted the truth of this report, would have referred in such glowing terms to the orthodoxy of the chair of Peter—(a) The extract from the *Chronicon* contains an implicit attack on St. Damasus such as could not have been written by his attached friend and afterwards his private secretary (381-4). The Luciferian schismatics who were most violent at the time charged Damasus with having joined the party of Felix during the exile of Liberius. The charge was but the malicious invention of the Luciferians, and was circulated for the purpose of discrediting Damasus with the orthodox Christians. Had St. Jerome stated that "most of the Roman clergy had proved false to their oath and joined the party of Felix," without expressly excepting Damasus, would not his statement be taken on account of the circumstances of the times as corroborating the charge of the Luciferians? It is not likely that if St. Jerome had thus publicly admitted the charge against Damasus in 380, he should be appointed his private secretary the year following.

In conclusion we say; (a.) that the two passages were certainly not written by St. Jerome; (b.) that they are most likely interpolations of the Arians or Luciferians; (c.) that the authority of the writers is not sufficient to prove the fall of Liberius, as they clearly accepted unauthenticated reports that had been spread by his enemies.

C. Letters attributed to Liberius.

The third argument by which it is sought to establish the fall of Liberius is taken from certain letters attributed to himself, and preserved in a collection known as *Fragmenta Sti. Hilarii*. The collection was first edited under the present title in 1693 by a Benedictine named Peter Coustant, who supposed that it formed part of a lost work of St. Hilary's, referred to by St. Jerome under the name of a *Book against Valens and Ursacius, containing a History of the Synods of Rimini and Seleucia*. The collection consists of fifteen fragments, containing the copies of letters written by different persons on different subjects. Coustant says that he was very doubtful about the authorship of the collection, as the fragments were found in a disconnected and disordered state; nor was there anything to indicate that they were written by St. Hilary, except that his name is written on one. At length, however, he inclined in favour of the opinion previously expressed by Nicholas Faber, viz., that St. Hilary was the writer. Among the letters contained in this collection are four said to have been written by Liberius, in three of which he admits that he condemned Athanasius; and in the remaining one he further admits that he signed an Arian Creed, to which are added some comments attributed to St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, condemning the conduct of Liberius. Thus, a twofold argument is taken from this collection; *firstly*, the admissions contained in the letters; and, *secondly*, the comments on these admissions attributed to St. Hilary. If these letters were written by Liberius, or if the comments on the letters were written by St. Hilary, then Liberius stands, condemned, at least, of having consented to the condemnation of Athanasius. For St. Hilary was a contemporary of Liberius, and shortly after the return of the latter to Rome he visited the scene of his exile, so that his testimony against Liberius would be very strong indeed. We shall, however, show that no such testimony is given either by Liberius himself, or by St. Hilary.

Firstly: If we admit that St. Hilary was the writer, and that the meaning of the letters is to be limited by the com-

ments, the collection contains no proof that Liberius accepted an Arian Creed. For the following is the only passage that contains such a charge:—"Amoto Athanasio a communione omnium nostrum cujus nec epistolia a me suscipienda sunt, dico me cum omnibus vobis et cum universis episcopis orientailbus seu per universas provincias pacem et unitatem habere. Nam ut verius sciatis me vera fide per hanc epistolam ea loqui, Dominus ac frater meus communis Demophilus, qui dignatus est pro sua benevolentia fidem vestram et catholicam exponere quae Sirmii a pluribus fratribus et coepiscopis nostris tractata, exposita et suscepta est." But on this the writer makes the significant remark—"Haec est perfidia Ariana. Hoc ego notavi non apostata. Liberius sequentia." Therefore, according to the writer the only passage in the letters reflecting on the orthodoxy of Liberius is an Arian interpolation.

Secondly : The collection was not written by St. Hilary ; (a.) the letters, as we shall see, are forgeries, and must have been known to be such to St. Hilary ; (b.) the letters contain many statements which St. Hilary must have known to be false ; (c.) the comments, *v.g.*, "*Anathema tibi Liberi*," "*prevaricator Liberi*," &c., are unworthy of St. Hilary, and as we shall afterwards show, are at variance with the flattering character which he has drawn of Liberius in other works whose authenticity cannot be questioned.

Thirdly : The learned writer in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*,¹ Jungmann, and others, have proved to demonstration that these letters were not written by Liberius. It would be impossible within the limits of a short paper like the present to go into the details of the arguments by which this conclusion is established. Suffice it to say, (a.), that while there is a striking similarity in style between the letters quoted against Liberius, there is an equally striking dissimilarity between these letters and his authentic letters, many of which have come down to us ; (b.), the letters contain statements that are false, and that were known to be such to Liberius ; for instance, it is stated that before he

¹ Sept. Tom. ii., p. 590.

went to Milan to meet the Emperor he consented to excommunicate Athanasius. Why then was he brought to Milan and sent into exile? (c.) The first of these letters is so obviously a forgery that no one now maintains its authenticity; neither is the authenticity of the other letters maintained by modern writers, except by such as wish to make a point against Catholics as, *v.g.*, Döllinger and Page.

The difficulty in our admitting that these letters were forged will disappear when we call to mind that at the time of which we are treating forgery was extensively resorted to for the purpose either of discrediting an opponent or securing the influence of a great name. Protestant historians without exception admit that many forged letters appeared in the name of Liberius during his lifetime, and the comment already quoted from the *Fragmenta Sti. Hilarii* shows that the writer believed that the Arians had recourse to forgery to blacken his character.

Nor was Liberius the only person in whose name letters were forged by the Arians. Athanasius, in his *Apology*¹ to Constantius, says that many letters were written by the Arians, both in his own name and that of the Emperor. Seeing then that forgery was not an unusual device of the Arians, it appears to us that there could be no occasion when they would be more likely to have recourse to it than when Liberius was allowed to return from exile. And we have adduced sufficient reasons to show that they had recourse to it in the case of the letters under consideration.

D. The Authority of Sozomen.

In the fourth book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, Sozomen gives the following account of Liberius's return to Rome:—
 “Not long after those events the Emperor, having returned to Sirmium from Rome, received a deputation from the Western Bishops, and recalled Liberius from Beraea. Constantius urged him in the presence of the deputies of the Eastern Bishops, and of the other priests who were at the court, to confess that the Son is not of the *same substance* as

¹ N. 180-6.

² Cap. xv.

the Father. He was instigated to this measure by Basil, Eustathius, and Eusebius, who possessed great influence over him. They had formed a compilation in one document¹ of the decrees enacted at the Council of Sirmium against Paul of Samosata and Photinus, to which they subjoined a formula of faith drawn up at Antioch at the consecration of the Church, as if certain persons had, under the pretext of the term, '*con-substantial*,' attempted to establish a heresy of their own. Liberius, Athanasius, Alexander, Severianus, and Crescentius, Bishops of Africa, were induced to assent to this document, as were likewise Ursacius, Germanicus, Bishop of Sirmium, Valens, Bishop of Mursa, and all the other Eastern Bishops who were present. They likewise approved of a confession of faith drawn up by Liberius, in which he declared that those who would not admit the Son to be like unto the Father in substance and in all other respects, are excommunicated. For when Eudoxius and his partisans at Antioch who favoured the heresy of Aetius, received the letter of Hosius, they *circulated a report* that Liberius had renounced the term '*con-substantial*,' and had admitted that the Son is dissimilar from the Father. After these enactments had been made by the Western Bishops, the Emperor permitted Liberius to return to Rome. The Bishops who were then convened at Sirmium wrote to Felix, who governed the Roman Church, and to the other Bishops, desiring them to receive Liberius; they directed that Felix and Liberius should share the Apostolical throne and be associated together without disunion in the discharge of the ministerial functions, and that whatever illegalities might have occurred in the ordination of the one or banishment of the other might be buried in oblivion. The people of Rome regarded Liberius as a good man, and esteemed him highly on account of the courage he had evinced in opposing the Emperor, so that they had even excited sedition on his account, and had gone so far as to shed blood. Felix survived but a short time, and Liberius found himself in sole possession of the Church."

Hefele says that the account thus given by Sozomen was the

¹ Called by some the Third Sirmian Creed.

chief reason why he admitted the fall of Liberius. We shall show that Sozomen's authority is not reliable both on account of the time when he lived, his character as a historian, and the many glaring mistakes that occur in the passage quoted, as well as in many other parts of his work. He did not commence to write his history till 443, nearly a century after the date of the reputed fall of Liberius. Consequently he had to depend on the writings of others, and reports that were in circulation regarding Liberius. Reports, as we have seen, were circulated before his time that Liberius had accepted an Arian Creed. These reports were received as true by Sozomen, who did not possess that critical mind that would have enabled him to examine carefully the evidence on which reports were based, and distinguish the true from the false. It is on this account that his history of the Arian heresy is so full of inaccuracies. He admits himself that it was very difficult to get a correct account of the Arian movement. "If anyone," he says,¹ "should conclude my history to be false because he meets with conflicting statements in other writings, let him know that since the dogmas of Arius and other more recent hypotheses have been broached, the rulers of the churches differing in opinion among themselves have transmitted their own peculiar views for the benefit of their respective followers. . . . Intent on maintaining the orthodoxy of their own dogmas, the partisans of each sect respectively formed a collection of such epistles as favoured their own heresy." The editor of the English translation (Oxford edition) says of Sozomen's History:—"It is generally admitted to have suffered many alterations and mutilations, and this may in some measure serve to account for the frequent inaccuracies in point both of narrative and chronology which pervade the nine books of which it is composed." And St. Gregory the Great, speaking² of Sozomen, says:—"The Holy See refuses to accept his history because of the number of falsehoods which it contains." Such, then, being the character of Sozomen as an historian of Arianism, we must receive with great reserve whatever he says on the subject, and submit it to a searching criticism. When we

¹ Book I, chap. i.

² Ep. L. II, n. 31.

come to examine the extract itself it supplies ample evidence either of its being an interpolation, or that the writer was badly informed. St. Hilary gives an account of the meeting that took place at Sirmium between the Emperor, the representatives¹ of the Council of Ancyra, and the Arian Bishops. He had the best possible opportunity of being accurately informed about the meeting, as he was travelling in Asia Minor at the time, and was near Sirmium. He professes to give the names of those present, and he mentions only the Emperor, the three representatives of the Council of Ancyra, and the three Arian Bishops, viz., Ursacius, Valens, and Germinius. It is clear that had Liberius and Athanasius been present, as Sozomen states, their names would have been the very first mentioned. In the next place, it is stated that the Creed did not contain the word "*con-substantial*," and that nevertheless it was accepted by Athanasius. If there is anything more certain than another in the whole history of Arianism it is, that after the Council of Nice St. Athanasius never consented to accept a profession of faith that did not contain the test of orthodoxy with which his name will ever remain associated. Lastly, so little does he know about the event that he professes to describe as to clearly imply that Liberius, after his return to Rome, continued to govern the Church conjointly with Felix until the death of the latter, whereas it is quite certain, as we shall afterwards see, that on his return Felix was forced to consult for his safety in flight.

Even admitting the accuracy of the narrative, there is nothing in it to show that Liberius either condemned St. Athanasius or denied the con-substantiality of the Son and the Father. It says nothing about the condemnation of St. Athanasius. It represents Liberius as having given his assent to a Creed which did not contain the word "*con-substantial*." But the omission of the word in the circumstances did not imply its rejection or the denial of the doctrine expressed by it; for the question in dispute at Sirmium was not between the Catholics and the Arians, but between the semi-Arians and the Anomaeans regarding the Divinity of the Son, which

¹ They were semi-Arians.

was admitted by the former and denied by the latter. In accepting a Creed that recognised the Divinity of the Son and condemned the Anomæan heresy, he would have given his assent to a doctrine which every Catholic is bound to believe. He was urged by Constantius, according to Sozomen, "to confess that the Son is not of the same substance with the Father." We are not told that the Emperor's efforts met with success. On the contrary, it is pretty clearly intimated that they were not successful, as, otherwise, why should the report circulated by the Arians, "that Liberius had renounced the term *con-substantial*," be styled a mere "rumour."

The authority of Philortorgius, a writer of the 5th century, is sometimes quoted against Liberius. But his character as an historian and the purpose of his work render it impossible to attach any weight to his statements. He was an avowed Arian, and undertook to prove that Arianism had been the general belief of Christians from the earliest times. Such a writer would naturally receive without much careful examination the truth of any report favourable to his cause. Moreover his work is lost, a mere outline only being preserved in the writings of Photius, so that we cannot know how far precisely the charge against Liberius rests on his authority.

We have briefly examined the different arguments by which it is sought to establish the fall of Liberius, and shown how little value is to be attached to them. Most of the extracts on which they are based are Arian forgeries, while the rest are either forgeries or betray so much ignorance on the part of the writers that they cannot be accepted as sufficient to establish any charge against Liberius. The positive arguments in favour of his innocence we must defer for another paper.

T. GILMARTIN.

SAINT FECHIN OF FORE.

SAINT FECHIN was born in the seventh century at Bile, in the barony of Leney, Co. Sligo.¹ He was of the royal blood of Ireland, a descendant of Fionn Fuathart, brother to Conn of the Hundred Battles; of the same race was Saint Brigid. His father's name was Koelcharna, that of his mother, Lassar, who came from a royal race in Munster. It is worthy of notice that the name Lassar was one which belonged to several of our Irish saints, whose names are recorded in our calendars.*

The education of Fechin was confided to St. Nathy of Achonry, under whose guardianship the future saint made rapid progress in virtue and learning. It is uncertain how long Fechin remained with St. Nathy; it is stated by some writers that he stayed with him until he was ordained priest, while others say that he left St. Nathy before he had completed his ecclesiastical course.

Doubts may exist as to the time, and circumstances which led Fechin to seek a retreat, where he could devote himself to fasting, and prayer; but Fobhar, or Fore, is said to have been selected by him, his steps being guided there by an angel. Fore is situated in the barony of Fore, Co. Westmeath, and was some time an Episcopal See. Ussher states that Fore was called by the Irish *Baille Leabhair*, "the Town of Books." Colgan, Archdall, and Lanigan follow Ussher in that derivation. Here are Ussher's words "Ab habitationis loco quem Latine Favoriam, Hibernice *balle-leabair* aut urbem Librorum dixeris appellatum invenio." O'Donovan states in a note to his edition of the *Four Masters* (Vol. iii., p. 22) that Ussher's statement was accepted as the true one, until the locality was examined by the Ordnance Survey in 1837. O'Donovan

¹ Named from the saint, Bile-Fechin.

* There were at least five saints of the name—two of whom were descended from Laeghaire, son of Niall, viz. Lassar V. commemorated on 20th August, of Cill Arcaigach in Westmeath, and Lassar (Lassara) niece of St. Fortchern, Bishop of Trim. See *Mart. Doneg.*, *Mart. Tall.* etc. She was a contemporary of St. Finian of Clonard.

affirms that the Irish name, as pronounced in Westmeath, is *Baile Fobair*, which means the town of Fore, and not the Town of Books. It is stated in the life of St. Fechin that the place was anciently called *Gleann-Fobhar*,—Fobhar is supposed to have the same signification as Tobar, a well, for besides the spring which turned Saint Fechin's mill, at Fore, there were two holy wells dedicated to the saint,—*Tobar na Cogaine*, and *Dabach Feichin*.

Saint Fechin was not long at Fore, until he drew about him a host of disciples, attracted to his monastery by the shining light of his sanctity. We are told of the number in the following verse:—

“Dehinc fuit monachorum
Dux et pater trecentorum
Quos instruxit lege morum
Murus contra vitia.”

The monastery was situated on a firm spot of ground, in the midst of a bog surrounded by a beautiful country. The rule observed in Fechin's Monastery was very severe, and foremost in every work of exalted piety was the holy founder, whose habit of life, as related in an ancient manuscript, was like unto Saint Anthony's.

“The Hospitable Fechin of Fobhar loved
It was not a false mortification
To lay his fleshless ribs upon the
Hard rocks without clothes.”

We note that he is called the “Hospitable Fechin;” such no doubt he was, and like his Divine Master had great compassion for the poor; he entertained the leper, and sought liberty for the captive, he taught that poverty was no dishonour but often a blessing, and that the true source of wealth was found in God's grace.

Saint Fechin was gifted with the power of working miracles, he raised the dead to life, and by the efficacy of his prayers water flowed from the parched earth. Saint Fechin's labours were not confined to the monastery of Fore; several other foundations throughout Ireland are attributed to him. Our ecclesiastical writers have questioned as to the number; but it has been confidently asserted that

Immagh (now Omev), on the coast of Galway, owes its origin to Saint Fechin. We are told in his life, that he at first met with great opposition from the islanders, who refused to provide him with food. But God did not desert his faithful servant, for we read that Guaire, King of Connaught, hearing of the saint's necessities, sent him provisions.¹ The people who at first showed obduracy in abjuring paganism, stricken by God's grace and the zeal of their apostle, became fervent converts, and placed themselves and their island at the disposal of Fechin. We find on another occasion, the saint acting as mediator, and peace-maker, when King Donald II. marched with an army into the territory of Hy-Niall. The king listened to the entreaty of Fechin, and desisted from his design of encroachment. Cong, in Co. Galway, Ballysodare and Drumrat, in Co. Sligo, and Termoufechin in Louth, are associated with the name of Fechin. Scotland honors our saint, and we find Ecclesfechin, in Dumfriesshire called thus from him. There is no evidence to prove that Fechin, ever was in Scotland, his labours appear to have been confined to his own country. In Forbes' *Scottish Calendar* there is notice of Fechin; two lives of him were published by Colgan in *Acta Sanctorum*, while in Canon O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Irish Saints* we have every available information, from all the authorities about the saint's life. There are many traditions preserved at Fore of St. Fechin, and his name is held in living reverence by the Westmeath people.² The old church, supposed to have been built by St. Fechin, is still in wonderful preservation; it measures 60 feet, by 23 feet 9 inches. Of the doorway, Dr. Petrie remarks: "It is constructed like that of Our Lady's Church, Glendalough, has a plain architrave over it, which, however, is not continued about its sides, and above this is a projecting tablet in the centre of which is sculptured in relief a plain cross within a circle." This cross is alluded to in the

¹ This King of Connaught who is so celebrated by the Irish poets, for his unbounded hospitality and munificence, is the common ancestor of the families of O'Heyne, O'Clery, MacGillakelly, and other families in Co. Galway. (O'Donovan, note to *Four Masters*, under A.D. 662, vol. ii., p. 273.) See also *Tribes of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 54.

² See *Diocese of Meath*. Dean Cogan. Vols. i. and ii.

Life of St. Fechin, published by Colgan in *Acta Sanctorum Cambrensis* has described the mill of St. Fechin, as "hewn by the saint's hands, on the side of a rock, within which as also the church, women do not enter." The same writers relates that the vengeance of heaven descended upon three soldiers of De Lacy, for having profaned the place ; one of the soldiers was consumed by fire, another became insane, and the third met with a sudden death while in company with De Lacy. Among the miracles performed by the saint, we are told that a certain cleric called Ronan, suffered for a long space of time from a grievous headache ; the advice of the best physicians proved of no avail in his case. Ronan, while in Britain, was recommended by a pious hermit to have recourse to Fechin, so eminent for sanctity and miracles. The cleric consented to do so, and upon his return to Ireland visited Fechin, and was restored to health. On one occasion Fechin received a leper into his monastery, and appealed to the charity of the queen, wife to King Diarmaid, for relief and aid in ministering to the wants of the poor sufferer. The queen consented to take part in this work of charity, and it is said that the leper bestowed upon the queen his staff, which she afterwards gave to St. Fechin ; this staff was known as *Bachal Fechin*, and was preserved for a long time at Fore.¹

St. Fechin in one of his journeys through the country spent a Sunday in prayer at Poulaphouca, Co. Wicklow. We hear of his being at Naas, where he caused the liberation of captives, by his entreaties with the King of Leinster. A cross was erected in the market place of Naas, in commemoration of Fechin, and the monastery in that neighbourhood, called Fulach Fobhair, is ascribed to him.

St. Fechin died in his monastery at Fore ; previous to that event he called together all his monks, he besought them to despise the things of earth, and to ambition only heavenly delights. On the 20th January, 664, Fechin resigned his pure spirit into the hands of God. He died of

¹ See *Life of St. Fechin* by Canon O'Hanlon ; also his *Life of St. David*, Patron of Naas.

the terrible plague then raging in Ireland, called the Buidhe-Connail.¹

The Martyrology of Donegal, under 20th January, refers thus to St. Fechin—

"Feichen, Abbot of Fobhair of Baile-Fhobhair in Meath, A.D. 664. It was Feichen of Fobhair also that consecrated Imaigh, an Island, in which there is a Church of Feichen in the West of Connaught, in O'Flaherty's Country, as is evi lent from his own life, in which many wonders and miracles are read of. He was of the race of Eochaidh Finnfuathart, of which is also Bridget herself, according to the poem beginning 'The Hagiology of the Saints of Inisfail, etc.'"

I have endeavoured to give a brief outline of Fechin's holy life. May I not add in the words of Blessed Edmund Campion, that the memory of God's friends are more dear to a realm than all the victories and triumphs of the world?

JOHN M. THUNDER.

THE "POTENTIA" AND "ACTUS;" THE "GENUS" AND "DIFFERENTIA" OF SCHOLASTICISM.

THE schoolmen distinguish two conditions of being, one real the other ideal. They call them also orders. The ideal order is logical. The real may be physical, metaphysical, or moral. It is physical if subject to change or perceptible by the senses; metaphysical, if not thus subject or perceptible; moral if it involves relationship to a law binding a free will. Change may imply a transition to a different state of being; a passing from one place to another; or the exercise and development of vegetable, animal, and intellectual life. The first is called substantial, the second local, the third vital. In two ways a thing is liable to change; directly, when it is so of its own nature; indirectly

¹ The following saints died of the plague: St. Ronan, son of Bearach; St. Aileran, the Wise; St. Cronan, Son of Silne; St. Manchan of Leath; St. Ultan and Colman Cas, Abbot of Clonmacnoise. (See *Four Masters and Martyrology of Tallaght*). In the *Annals of Innisfallen* Fechin's death is given in the following lines:—"Fechine Fobhair quievit in Christo; et cæteri multo in ea nocte dormierunt de mortalitate."

when it is so from alliance or contact with another. By alliance I mean an essential bond of union such as that subsisting between soul and body; when the latter moves, the former keeps it company. Contact is of two kinds; one is by the application of a spiritual power as that of an angel acting on matter. This is *Contactus Virtutis*, of which I do not here speak. The other kind is by touch; a man sitting or even sleeping in a railway carriage, from his contact with it, is moved indirectly by the motion of the train. Similarly a thing is perceptible by the senses directly when it is their own proper object, as colour, sound, flavour, &c.; indirectly, when it is perceptible by them through the medium of something else. But this medium must be tied to the object exhibited through it. Both must be parts of a whole, or one must be a natural adjunct of the other. The apparitions of angelic spirits do not make them objects of sensation even indirectly. On the other hand, a material substance is rendered sensible through the accidents of quantity and quality which adhere to it. Many intellectual and spiritual emotions are manifested visibly in the play of features, audibly through the organ of speech. The latter are a congenial means of sensible reflection and reproduction. In scholasticism the science of physics is a wide-spreading branch which covers a large field now broken into departments for special cultivation. These are natural philosophy, general and particular, psychology, motion, time, which is its measure, and so on. From what I have said it is evident that the term physical has an elastic meaning, and that it is often used not only in a gross, but also in a very refined sense. It is no wonder then to find eminent theologians who hold that God physically moves the intellect and will to elicit their proper acts; that such motion is physical, and that the sacraments physically produce grace in the soul. According to St. Thomas everything not part of another is a compound of two elements, one perfect, the other imperfect. These if essential in the physical order, are matter and form, which I rapidly sketched in former papers. I now rise to the metaphysical which is above and beyond the other. I may not be free to assert that God belongs to it, for though unchangeable, yet he is

not circumscribed. But as we cannot help classifying the subject of our thoughts, so for our intellectual convenience, if you will, for our necessity, we are drawn to place him in this order as the noblest of all. The angels partake of the divine character more largely than man. They have a kind of fixity of being. They dwell in themselves, not selfishly, but as at home calmly reposing, and they pursue an object not fitfully or tumultuously, but with quiet perseverance and steady aim. They are not subject to local motion. They may reach the end of their journey without passing through intermediate space. They may travel as quickly as lightning. It depends on their inclination; if they like, it may be instantaneously. If we were dealing with them instead of mankind, the terms of the educational problem would be extremely simplified. Speaking generally they do not obtain knowledge by a process requiring time, or by methods changing with the fashions of the age. Let an angel but glance at a scientific principle and through it he will see the remotest conclusions necessarily flowing from it. Let him but perceive the letters of an alphabet with some inflected words and he will at once construct the language which is built on their progressive combinations. His skill in mastering such will be immeasurably superior to that which we reckon prodigious in Mezzofanti and others. He has extraordinary strength of will. His determination once made for good or evil is irreversible. "*Angelus habet liberum arbitrium inflexibile post electionem. [Voluntas angeli] postquam jam adhaesit, [alicui] immobiliter adhaeret*" (D. Thomas 1 parte, quaest. 63, art. 6 ad 3, quaest. 64, art. 2, in corpore). He chooses his line of conduct with a full view of its results and abides unflinchingly by them. His moral education is finished. This is not easily understood by man who may change his mind often in twenty-four hours, but in proportion as he advances to a true conception of it, he will be less and less puzzled to answer why judgment came so swiftly on the angels' fall. Surely the angelic spirits are entitled to hold a metaphysical rank. A similar claim is made on behalf of being, entitas, with its attributes unity, truth, and goodness, unitas, veritas, bonitas. All these are inseparable, invariable,

therefore unchangeable; they are one and the same, but differently named under different aspects. As undivided, being is unity, as related to an intellect and will, it is truth and goodness.

They are transcendental or extend to every substance, and to many of its modifications. They are in the possession of wicked men, even of the demons. I have used abstract terms which signify a perfection apart from its recipient. Instead of these the concrete terms are a being, one, true, and good—*Ens, unum, verum, bonum*. They signify a perfection existing in its recipient. Physical things have a two-fold essence, one changeable, of which I have already spoken. Another unchangeable which belongs to the metaphysical order. *Essentiae rerum sunt immutabiles*; consistunt in indivisibili; non suscipiunt magis aut minus. They are like numbers which are altered by the addition or subtraction of 1. By the addition of reason animal becomes man; by its subtraction man becomes animal. In the order I am now considering, the parts of composition are *potentia*, imperfection and *actus*, perfection. There is no *potentia* without two conditions; an absence of something and a fitness for it. To give instances of failure in the first, *homo non est in potentia ut sit rationalis nec animal ut sit sensitivum, nec planta ut sit vivens*. Instances of failure in the second, *planta non est in potentia ut sit animal, nec animal ut sit homo, nec homo ut sit angelus*. Instances fulfilling both conditions, *materia est in potentia ad formam substantialem; forma est in potentia ad existendum*. An *actus* is either essential or accidental; the former may be in *potentia* to the latter. This, if a quality is permanent, if an action is transient. Man is in *potentia* to be a musician, architect, theologian, &c. And because his powers are sometimes quiescent as in sleep, this is one reason why he is also in *potentia* to know, love see, walk, strike, &c. *Actu agere*, to be up and doing is a perfection opposed to the inactivity of idleness. Nothing created, of its own nature has existence otherwise it would exist necessarily and be on a level with God. Everything then, from the highest to the lowest, is in *potentia* to exist. Even being is no exception, for it is defined, *id cuius actus est esse; id cui debetur esse*. Being has an

essential claim to existence as something *due*, but not to its actual *possession*. It has an inalienable *jus ad rem*, not a similar *jus in re*. *Materia* is always *potentia*, but not *vice versa*. *Forma* is always *actus*, and *vice versa*, unless joined to the epithet *substantialis*, it is then the *actus* or perfection only of material substances. The essence of an angel is *forma* or *actus purus*, a *single* element, free from the impurities of matter, but as it is in *potentia* to existence, the union of both forms a *compound*. The same is true of being. God alone is absolutely simple. By simplicity is meant the absence of composition; by perfect simplicity, its utter absence. *Deus solus est forma vel actus purissimus nullam habens potentialitatem admixtam*. God alone is perfection unmixed, like gold without alloy. I will mention a few axioms bearing on the present subject:—*Actus in aliquo ordine purus, in eo ordine perfectus est. Actus in omni ordine purus, est omnino perfectus. Potentia nequit seipsam reducere in actum sed reduci debet ab alio existente in actu; nemo enim dat quod non habet.*

The logical order is based upon the physical and metaphysical. It springs from mental reflexion on objects of these two orders. The mind in first knowing anything makes an abstraction by which it obtains an idea, called *prima intentio* or *species primo intentionalis*. These, *intentio*, *species*, *idea*, are here synonymous terms. Having two or more ideas of this sort, it compares them, and thus gains an other idea named *secunda intentio* or *species secundo intentionalis*. This appertains to the logical order which is a production of the reason, and therefore *ens rationis*. If a comparison discovers likeness or unlikeness in an essential point, it suggests the notion of *genus* or *differentia*; a union of both is the notion of *species*. The genera, &c., &c., are many, and variously described from the position they occupy on a figure of a tree, which for illustration sake, was devised by Porphyry, an eminent commentator of Aristotle. The trunk supports the genera and species; the branches at regular intervals shooting forth to right and left, support the *differentiae*. On the trunk beginning from above, *substantia*, *corpus*, *vivens*, *animal*, *homo*; on the branches—to the right—*materialis*, *vitalis*,

sensitiva; to the left—spiritualia. The rest on this side are bare, for if covered, they would exhibit the differentiae angelicae, which are not enumerated. Look up and count downwards. Each genus added to a differentia becomes the following species. As substance with the differentia materialis, is a body, with the differentia spiritualis, is an angel. A higher and lower species are distinguished from each other; the former by a negative, the latter by a positive differentia. As an animal has sensation, while a plant is without it. In the list of genera, the first is called supremum or remotum, in that of species, suprema, in that of differentiae, prima. The last in each respectively is called proximum, infima, ultima or propria. The others are named subalterna, or intermedia, with variations of course according to gender and number. If we again cast our eye on the tree, or rather a supposed diagram of it, we shall notice that a genus under one aspect, may be differentia, or species under another, but in the whole catalogue there can be only one genus supremum, and in every species, one genus proximum, and differentia propria. Let us now take man as the basis of our observations. St. Gregory in a homily on the words, "Praedicate evangelium omni creaturae," says, "Omnis creaturae nomine signatur homo. Habet namque commune esse cum lapidibus, vivere cum plantis, sentire cum animalibus, intelligere cum angelis." Ergo juxta aliquid omnis creatura est homo. Man, therefore, in one specific nature, contains several genera, differentiae, species. But he has only one genus proximum, i.e., animale and differentia ultima, i.e., rationalis. And this is why man is defined, not *substantia* or *vivens*, but *animal rationale*, for the definition of any object ought to explain its *whole* generic nature as well as that which is proper to itself alone. A thorough knowledge of it must be deep and extensive. We attain depth by penetrating its kernel or innermost part; we attain extent by ascertaining its relationship with all things else. Oportet ut definitio alicujus rei constet ex ejus genere proximo et differentia ultima. Ens rationis is unum in ratione. Unity is opposed to distinction; and so we have distinctio rationis. This is twofold; rationis ratiocinantis and ratiocinatae. The first is fanciful, because it is groundless.

The second has a foundation in reality. The simplicity of the Divine nature admits *really* no distinction. But because it is an equivalent of many perfections, we distinguish these one from another, distinctione *rationis* cum fundamento in *re*. We attribute them to God as distinct *only secundum nostrum* intelligendi modum. All classifications, divisions into genera, &c., are founded on distinctiones *rationis*. Any distinction existing independently of our conception is a *distinctio realis* or *ex parte rei*, as between hands and feet, eyes and ears. What we separate we may combine in thought and thus frame many *composita rationis*, some of them being *ex genere et differentia*. A genus nearly answers to *materia* or *potentia*; a *differentia*, to *forma* or *actus*. The physical and metaphysical orders are always real, but they are also ideal when we know them. The logical is always ideal. The moral order for us presupposes the existence of these and would be unintelligible without them. It is related to intelligence, freedom, and law. Intelligence is the root of freedom, which is the power of choice, and law is the standard of morality. Intelligence and will go together; the object of the one being universal truth, that of the other is universal goodness, which alone exhausts its capacity for loving. A partial good, in its own way, may or may not realize this ideal. For having shadow as well as light, an appearance of evil or of good, its shady or its luminous side may be turned towards the will. The latter, therefore, is free in selecting or rejecting it. Conformity with a law, a swerving from it, is the relation which constitutes good or evil in moral actions. Naturally the doctrine of physics, metaphysics and logic, is employed to explain those relations. They are treated as having the elements of composition already mentioned. The matter and form of virtues and vices, their *potentia* and *actus*, specific unity and distinction, are elaborately discussed, and no one has written about them more philosophically than St. Thomas. No one has traced them with minuter subtlety. And he has carried his profound speculations into the cognate departments of ascetical and mystical theology. Others have pursued a similar course; one instance may suffice. In

expounding the obligation of confessing the species of a sin they are careful to point out that not the species *suprema*, or *subalterna*, but the *infima* is meant. The Church, herself, it is well known, has made abundant use of scholastic language in her dogmatic teaching concerning the nature of the sacraments and other important points of a practical bearing. Metaphysical disquisitions are not always so theoretical as they at first sight appear. St. Thomas has demonstrated a close alliance between them and the science of morality. Thus we know that some of the most efficient ministers of grace have been deeply versed in them. And years spent in these studies were the forerunners of a career of activity marked by substantial results. Nor in the discussion of moral questions is logic to be despised. For although some reputed to be bad logicians keep the law admirably and *vice versa*, yet I suppose that every body has a logic of his own, and may come to a right or wrong conclusion through a process which cannot always be analysed by the aid of technical rules. But the example of St. Thomas is a final answer to all such objections. He excelled in the knowledge of metaphysics and logic no less than in the knowledge and practice of holiness. In both lines he was the angel of the schools. It is obvious to remark the great disagreement between the divisions of ancient and modern philosophy. Doubtless excellent reasons might be adduced to justify the old usage and the new; but it seems wise to abstain from assault or defence, and to note the very different sometimes opposite meaning of identical terms in each. Every creature has imperfection for its inheritance coming to it from its original nothingness. It must have *materia*, or *potentia*, or *genus*. God alone, the *Actus purissimus*, is without any of these. He is the summit of perfection. He terminates the scale of being in one direction. *Materia prima*, the *potentia pura*, terminates it in another. It is the extreme of imperfection. We cannot rise above the one; we cannot sink below the other. Beyond these two poles, we meet nothing. Between them are ranged all things which have more or less of unity, truth, beauty and perfection, accordingly as they are more

or less distant from either. Starting from the highest point, we descend step by step, noticing the gradations on the principle "*Ultima primorum junguntur principibus secundorum.*" The lowest of the angelic kingdom touch the highest of the rational, the lowest of the rational, the highest of the animal, the lowest of the animal the highest of the vegetable, the lowest of the vegetable, the highest of the mineral kingdom, until we reach *materia prima*, an *ens umbratile*, the faintest shadow of supreme perfection. I have to express a caution. I have used the words "*conjunguntur*" and "*touch*." The lowest and highest indeed *touch* on one another, but are not identified; they are specifically distinct. We regard God as Him who sends forth the rays of wisdom and goodness through creation. This is like the prismatic glass and refracts them into millions of hues of ever-changeful brilliancy—we catching glimpses of the divine works, reunite the rays, and trace them back to one pure beam of eternal light.

T. J. DEELY, O.P.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

THE PRAYER IN THE "COMMON" OF SAINTS.

"What is the object of the two prayers in the 'Common' of Martyrs, Confessors, &c.

"*Homo.*"

The Rubrics forbid the repetition in the same part of the Office of the Versicles, Antiphon or Prayer which has been already used. Now it sometimes happens that a commemoration has to be taken from the same "Common" from which the Office itself is taken. If, then, only one prayer was given it would be manifestly impossible to make such commemoration without repeating the prayer. In Ireland we have so many Offices taken entirely from the "Common" that the

necessity for changing the prayer when making a commemoration frequently arises. For the special Rubric relating to our correspondent's question we refer him to the general Rubrics of the Breviary, Tit. 9 No. 8, where he will find the following statement, among others, worth reading:—"Si item occurrat ut eadem sit oratio Festi de quo fit Officium, et ejus de quo fit commemoratio, mutetur oratio pro commemoratione in aliam de Communi." It may be useful to direct our correspondent's attention to the words *mutetur oratio pro commemoratione*. In all cases, therefore, the prayer to be changed is that used in the commemoration.

II.

HOW IS THE PHRASE "PRAESENTE CADAVERE" TO BE UNDERSTOOD?

"By reason of the privilege granted to the Irish bishops it is lawful to say a low Requiem Mass *praesente cadavere*, except on certain days. In those dioceses in which it is still permitted to have Mass in private houses, what *praesentia cadaveris* would be required to enable a priest to avail himself of this privilege? Should the corpse be in the very apartment in which Mass is celebrated, or would it be sufficient if it were in any apartment of the house.

"SUBSCRIBER"

In the case of an ordinary dwelling-house—the case contemplated by "Subscriber"—we are of opinion that the presence of the corpse in any apartment would suffice. The meaning to be attached to such phrases as *praesente cadavere* is that in which they would be received by men generally. Any other meaning would be strained, and should not, without the strongest reason, be admitted. Now, we believe most men would, without any hesitation, admit that a corpse in any apartment in an ordinary family residence was *morally* present in any other apartment of the same.

We have designedly confined ourselves to the case of a family dwelling, because in the first place our correspondent's question does not go farther, and in the second place we think that the solution given applies only to this case, and could not, therefore, be extended to convents, colleges, workhouses, hospitals, or such like institutions.

III.

NAMES TO BE GIVEN IN BAPTISM.

"Will you please inform a number of the readers of your valuable journal, as to the extent of the obligation to give to children at baptism only names of saints or of the virtues? Many of the old people here have such baptismal names as "Sheridan," "Emmet," "Burke," &c., &c., and sometimes insist on them being given to their children, alleging that they themselves had received them at baptism.

"SUBSCRIBER."

The general Rubrics of the Roman Ritual, Tit. 2, chap 1, no. 54, gives the following direction which bears on the subject of our correspondent's question :—

"Et quoniam iis qui baptizantur, tamquam Dei filiis in Christo regenerandis, et in ejus militiam adscribendis, nomen imponitur, curet [Parochus], ne obscoena, fabulosa, aut ridicula vel inanium deorum, vel impiorum ethnicorum hominum nomina imponantur, sed potius, quatenus fieri potest, Sanctorum quorum exemplis fideles ad pie vivendum excitentur, et patrociniiis protegantur."

This rubric, as is evident, does not impose a strict precept, but merely admonishes the priest to prevent as far as he can certain kinds of names from being given at baptism, and to secure instead, that the names of eminent servants of God should be given. Baruffaldi says :—"Rationabiliter utitur rubrica illo verbo *curet*, quod rigore non praecepit."

But even in the supposition that the words quoted from the Ritual impose a grave precept, the names mentioned by our correspondent might still be permitted without scruple. For in the rubric the line is drawn at the name of "wicked heathens," and it is unnecessary to say that none of those mentioned come under that category.

Besides there is a question in the Rubrics, not of family names, or surnames, but of what are called "Christian names." Family names, then, whatsoever they are, may be given at baptism, in conjunction with a *praenomen* or "Christian name," and if, as in the cases instanced by our correspondent, the parents of a child express a wish that their child should receive a certain family name, we are of opinion that the

priest is not justified in refusing to comply with this wish. The fact, too, that the name had been received by one or other of the parents, is a very good reason why they should wish to have it given to their child.

We, therefore, willingly agree with the conclusion at which Baruffaldi arrives. "Quare," he says, "nulla esse rejicienda nomina a baptizante judicarem, nisi vere ea, quae in contemptum fidei Christianae sunt et odiosa Ecclesiae."

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONFERENCE OF BOSSUET WITH CLAUDE.

REV. DEAR SIR,—This memorable conference brings before the mind of the theological student several points of interest in the controversy between Catholics and Protestants respecting the Church, and amongst them comes conspicuously to the front the all-important question of the rule of faith. It is the boast of Protestants, that they liberated the human mind from the bondage in which it was enslaved by the authoritative teaching and guidance of the Catholic Church in their adoption of the principle of private judgment and self-guidance in matters of faith. It is on account of this principle they were originally cast out of the Catholic Church, as it was also in virtue of the same principle they themselves called out to those who might be disposed to follow them in the words of the Apocalypse : "Go out from her, my people, that you be not partakers of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues." (*Apoc.* xviii., 4.) Thus applying in the licence of private interpretation to the Catholic Church the warning voice from heaven respecting the fall of Babylon as heard by St. John in the vision of Patmos. In point of fact, the principle of private judgment is the very corner stone on which the pseudo-reformation was constructed, and Protestants look to it, as they cannot but look to it, as a principle of life or death to their system. Hence, as the Church question was the subject on which Mademoiselle de Duras desired to be enlightened, Bossuet was afforded a special opportunity of exposing this principle in his discussion with its great champion,

the minister Claude. Amongst his other arguments he insisted that the principle in question entailed of necessity the shocking consequence of casting a Christian for a certain period into doubt as to the very basis of the Christian faith, and made him thereby an infidel till by his own private examination and study he should convince himself that the Scriptures are really inspired by God. Claude, as we know sought to retort the argument by maintaining that previous examination was equally necessary to establish the authority of the Church ; " for," said he to Bossuet, " the Christian to whom you propose the authority of the Church either believes it without examining the matter, or he doubts it. If he doubt it, he is an infidel by the fact, but, on the contrary, if he doubt it not, by what other authority is he to be assured ? Is the authority of the Church a thing self-evident ? Is it not necessary to find it out by some sort of enquiry ? Here then is your own difficulty recoiling upon yourself, and you have to answer it just as much as I have to answer the difficulty you advance with respect to the Scriptures. Either then let us both eschew the difficulty, or let us solve it together, and, so far as I am concerned, I promise to answer you in reference to the Scriptures what you will reply to me in reference to the Church." The retort, no doubt, was a clever one, and cleverly put, and although in dialectic strife a retort is not held to be a refutation, or a solution of a difficulty, it casts, notwithstanding, on the other side the onus of pointing out the disparity between the cases sought to be paralleled. It is thought Bossuet was not very happy in his effort to this effect, on which account our modern authors referring to the conference in their dissertations on the doctrinal authority of the Church, and the subject of Divine faith, labour to show how a baptized child arriving at the age of discretion can without examination lay hold on the authority of the Church, and receive from her, as the ordinary channel of revelation the truths of faith, and thus relying on her authority reach the Divine veracity to ground thereon, as the ultimate motive of supernatural faith, his acceptance of, and belief in, the truths she proposes to him and all Christians for their acceptance and belief, due allowance being made for particular cases in which the truths of revelation may become otherwise known and be equally objects of faith without having been proposed by the Church. They set out from an analysis of an act of faith in which they agree in presenting to us the following ingredients or component parts:—

- 1°. The object or truth proposed to be believed :
- 2°. The motive on account of which we do believe, which must be the veracity of God Himself, as He reveals what we are to believe :
- 3°. The principle of

our faith which is the grace of God operating within our souls : 4°. The motives of credibility or the reasons whereby we become assured of the revelation of what we believe : and, finally, the external organ applying these motives of credibility. The three first of these ingredients belong to God exclusively, and are in no degree within our competency, but the two latter engage our co-operation having for object to produce in us that firm assent required to complete the act of faith ; and then the great question is, how the habitual faith infused by baptism is developed into actual faith as the baptized child arrives at the years of discretion ? The Church must intervene with her authority as the ordinary external organ to this effect, and here the problem presents itself, how in the Catholic system the baptized child can lay hold on the authority of the Church, and the Church lay hold on the mind of the child, dispensing with all previous examination as to the claims of the Church to such authority. In solving this problem our theologians go into various theories, some of which border on scientific methods, others are in a great degree controversial and abstruse, whilst others deal not only with the child arrived at the years of discretion, but with persons of every age, dividing them into categories according as they may be learned or unlearned, domestics of the faith, or inquirers from without with a view to enter the one Fold under the one Shepherd.

It is always difficult to analyse an effect produced by two or more concurring and different causes so as to apportion to each its particular share of efficiency and efficacy in the effect produced. For instance, let us suppose the case of a paralyzed man, who, however, retains some power over his limbs, but not enough to execute a certain act proposed to him to perform. You give him the help he requires, and the act is performed by the joint forces contributed by both. You cannot say how much of the act is yours, and how much is his, all that you know is, that both shared in it, and that it is the combined act of both. This difficulty becomes immeasurably increased when the different forces belong, one to the natural, and the other to the supernatural order, both combining for the same effect. Applying this to the act of faith we have to consider Divine grace and human nature mingling their forces to produce the act. Divine grace as infused in baptism becomes operative according to the occasion, as some are of opinion, or, according to the more general teaching, as it is aided by actual grace, on one side, and the consent and co-operation of the human will, on the other. I apprehend we are disposed in our theological discussions to take undue account of the latter cause, and not

to give sufficient consideration to the former. It is, therefore, of supreme importance that in this concurrence of the supernatural and natural we consider how much the latter predominates. St. Paul would enlighten us on this subject, where he says : " Not that we are sufficient to think anything of ourselves as of ourselves, but all our sufficiency is from God " (2 *Cor.* iii. 5), and he has already warned us, that we cannot invoke that Divine Name, " the only name under heaven given to man, whereby we must be saved " (*Acts*, iv. 12), without the assistance of grace : " No man can say, the Lord Jesus, but by the Holy Ghost " (1 *Cor.* xii., 3), and all this in accordance with the general rule of the concurrence of Divine grace with our will, which he states in these terms : " It is God who worketh in you, to will and accomplish according to his good will " (*Phil.* ii. 13). This teaching the Apostle had from our Divine Lord Himself, who inculcates it in most emphatic words, saying : " Without me you can do nothing " (*John* xv. 5) ; and to illustrate the meaning of His words, He makes use of the comparison of a vine and its branches, saying : " Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, unless it abide in the vine, so neither can you, unless you abide in me. I am the vine ; you the branches. He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit " (*Ibid.* 4, 5). Now our Divine Lord abides in us, and we in Him by His Divine grace, and in the same way as the vital sap pervades the vine communicating itself from stem to branches, in order to produce fruit, so likewise must Divine grace pervade our soul and all her faculties that we may produce good works in the supernatural order. St. Augustine, the great oracle on the subject of grace, commenting on this passage of the Gospel, speaks as follows : " He [our Divine Lord] does not say without Me you can do but little, but absolutely, you can do nothing. Whether, therefore, there be question of little or much, it cannot be done without Him, without Whom nothing can be done ; because unless the branch abide in the vine, and live of its root, it can bear no fruit of itself. But although Christ could not be the vine, unless He were man, yet He could not communicate that grace to the vine, unless He were God " (*Trac.* 81, in *Joan. sub med.*) The pious author of the *Imitation of Christ* treating of the corruption of nature and the efficacy of Divine Grace in the fifty-fifth chapter of the third book, amongst other things says : " The little force that remains (incorrupt) is like a spark lying hid in the ashes. This is our natural reason enveloped in darkness all around, possessing yet the power of judging between good and evil, and of discriminating

between truth and falsehood, although unable to accomplish all that it approves, and not enjoying any longer the full light of truth, nor the healthy state of its affections ;" and then further on he exclaims : " O, how very necessary, O Lord, is Thy grace for me to begin anything good, to proceed with it, and accomplish it!" How vain, therefore, is it not to attempt to estimate the respective shares our poor human nature and Divine grace have in our actual faith? We know, indeed, that grace has a very much larger share than our natural efforts, but we have neither measure, number, nor weight to estimate one or the other.

Now let us take with us these teachings of the necessity we have of Divine grace, and its efficacy in the supernatural order to the consideration of the lambs of the fold arrived at the age of discretion that we may see how the latent principle of Divine faith infused into their souls by the grace of baptism becomes developed into actual faith, so that they accept and believe without examination, and on the authority of the Church, the truths she proposes to them to accept and believe as having been revealed by God. At that age, as we know from what we every day see, learning is believing, that is, as the understanding begins to unfold its powers, children believe without hesitation or doubt what they are told by their parents, and those around them, about the things of this world. This is the order of nature as established by the Almighty; and very soon they come to understand that there is another world, an unseen world, as well as this visible world, which they see around them. Indeed, so soon does this knowledge come into their minds, that we do not recollect when we did not possess it. Their parents, or those engaged by their parents, are their teachers, and the catechism is their oracle; but they understand quite well that parents and others do not teach this knowledge from themselves, but as they have received it from the other world to which it relates. In the same way they understand the contents of the catechism, as they learn it, to have come from the other world, just as they know that the river flowing on before their eyes comes from its origin or source. We are not here, let me observe, in a region of speculation, or in the mists of theoretic hypothesis, nor are we dealing with logical deductions drawn from far-off principles. We are, on the contrary, dealing with a state of being and progress, of which we all have had actual and conscious experience, and which is yet living and fresh in our memories, and we recollect in particular that a doubt, or shadow of a doubt, or the least misgiving never crossed our minds respecting what we were

taught. From the teaching of parents, and the learning of our catechism, we fell into the hands of our parish priests or their assistants. We went to Confession, we were prepared for Confirmation and first Communion. We were duly instructed as to what we should know and believe respecting these Divine institutions. Had we any doubt in believing what we were taught? Not the slightest; perhaps we have even to desire that our faith were as vivacious now that we are arrived at maturity, as it was at that tender age. How explain this? The explanation is quite simple. The two principles have met and become united—the principle of faith, or habitual faith, as infused in baptism, and the external proposition of the truths of faith, as we were taught them, and thus our habitual faith infused into our souls in baptism became actual faith as we arrived at the age of discretion, Divine grace having the principal share in the joint result according to what we have seen above.

But it is our boast that we have our teaching from a perpetually visible and infallible Church, and so far as we have seen our instructors were fallible men, who having lived their time passed away. Parents are fallible and they pass away. So also may it be said of the parish clergy. They are fallible and they pass away. This is, indeed, true, yet we insist that we were taught on infallible authority. How is this, and how is it to be accounted for? Very simply. The testimony of man in the natural order is an illustration. We have information given us by our fellow men of the occurrences of this world—information of facts present and past, natural and supernatural. We believe their information as infallible. Yet the authors are fallible men. Nay, St. Paul assures us that “every man is a liar, as it is written,” (*Rom. iii 4.*) that is, we are all, according to our poor human nature, liable to mendacity and error. Whence then comes the testimony of fallible men to be infallible in the information they give us in history, or orally? Is not this a paradox? By no means. Their testimony is infallible simply because they cannot deceive us, even though they desired to do so, owing to the circumstances and conditions accompanying their information as it reaches us, circumstances and conditions which associate mankind at large with what they relate, and thereby put it beyond all controversy and dispute. In a similar way the parent teaches, but he teaches what is taught by other parents, and is known and believed by the body of the faithful at large, and the correctness of his teaching is guaranteed, because, if taught otherwise the error would be sure to be exposed. The priests preach in season, and out of season, as St. Paul exhorts his beloved

Timothy, and the orthodoxy of their preaching is secured by the certainty that, if they preached incorrectly, their error would soon become known and exposed. The catechism of the diocese is authorized by the Bishop of the diocese, and as he goes amongst his flock he preaches to them. The more exalted his dignity is, the more certain would it be that, if there were anything unsound in his preaching or teaching, it would be made public, and a voice of warning would be raised against him. Our libraries are richly stored with volumes of all sizes that have stood the test of ages, and new works are every day teeming from the press on religious subjects. Seminaries and universities are, as they have been for centuries, in active operation, teaching the future instructors of the faithful according to orthodox standards, and these institutions exercise a zealous, not to say a jealous, vigilance on each other, and the controversies they have carried on before the whole world to maintain the utmost purity of doctrine leave no doubt possible as to the teaching about which they are unanimous, for their ruling maxim has always been: "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus charitas.*" Therefore we arrive at the conclusion that, putting the teaching of the Church merely on the same footing as the testimony of men in the natural order, the child accepts and believes the one as he accepts and believes the other without questioning it, or examining it, without the shadow of a doubt, and with the fullest security according to an order instituted by God Himself, and so it is, that having got forward in life we can all look back and apply to ourselves the words of St. Basil, as he says of himself, writing to his friend, Eustatius, Bishop of Sebaste, in the following terms: "Although the rest of my life were to me a subject of mourning, of this one thing, however, I can venture to glory in the Lord, that I never entertained false ideas about God, nor did I, in course of time, change the conviction of my mind, but I have constantly maintained the knowledge I acquired in my childhood, and subsequently from my grandmother, Macrina, respecting God and the Blessed Mother, increased by due enlargements, and matured in me. For I did not take up ideas, one after another, as my understanding was ripening, but I carried out the principles I had received from these sources and perfected them."

But in the matter of faith we have still a better cause to plead, and a higher level of assurance and security to rest upon. We will, however, postpone this for the present, in order to settle a little account with M. Claude. As we have seen, he retorted on Bossuet, and said, "What you maintain in support of the authority of the Church holds equally for

the Scriptures." Let us see if this be so. Be it said, that the Protestant child has the advantage of domestic teaching equally as the Catholic child, that he is also instructed by his pastor, as the Catholic child by the priest, that he is prepared, in due time, likewise for Confirmation, and first Communion, and that he has the preaching and teaching of his church to give him a full knowledge of his religion. By all means granted. But what do they all teach him? If they teach him honestly, and consistently with the fundamental principles of their system, they must tell him their church is fallible, and may teach error, and that all private teaching, such as that of parents or others must be still more fallible. This they cannot deny nor evade, for they have no other plea to advance for the revolt of Protestantism against the Catholic Church. Therefore Bossuet depicted most correctly the attitude of the Protestant parent, as he puts the Scriptures into the hands of his child, when the latter has reached the years of discretion, saying: "Here, my child, are the Scriptures, which I believe to be inspired by God. Read them, examine them, and see if they be true or be a fable. The church believes them to be inspired, but the church may be deceived, and you are not in a state to make with her this act of faith, I believe, as I believe God exists, that He has inspired these Scriptures." Behold, therefore, this child arrived only at the years of discretion launched, and sent adrift without rudder, chart, or compass upon a stormy sea, to be "tossed to and fro, and carried about by every wind of doctrine" (*Ephes.* iv. 14) on a voyage of discovery to look after not one book only, but some sixty books even according to the reduced canon of Protestants, and to satisfy himself by personal examination, and his private judgment, if all and each of these books be inspired by God, and then afterwards to form his own ideas independently of his church, its ministers, consistories, colloques, and assemblies, being not only free, but absolutely bound to adopt by preference his own interpretation of the sacred text throughout from Genesis to the Apocalypse. Who is it, that does not see at a glance that he has an impossible task put before him? Who can for a moment believe, that the God of infinite wisdom, "Who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth" (*1 Tim.* ii. 4), could have instituted such a rule of faith, such a method of finding out, what is to be believed in faith, and what is to be practised in morals, to attain salvation? No wonder, therefore, that when Bossuet had exposed such a system, he added that, if adhered to, and acted upon, it would inevitably lead to manifest

impiety. But sentiment interposes taking the place of dogma on the latitudinarian pretension, that if we "decline from evil and do good" (*Ps.* xxxvi. 27), the Supreme Judge will not take account of what we believe or do not believe, what church we frequent, or to what denomination of Christians we adhere, a pretension, which has given birth to over two hundred different sects in England and Wales alone, not to speak of other countries, where it has been equally prolific.

How different is the case of the Catholic. Taken by the hand, when he yet retains the innocence of his baptism he is conducted by authority in the way of truth, the habit of faith he has taken from the baptismal font concurring with the instruction he receives for the development of actual faith within his soul, which without a shadow of doubt goes on growing and increasing, as he grows and increases in years, as St. Basil says of himself in his letter to his friend, the Bishop of Sebaste already referred to. In his early instructions he may, or may not be, informed, that the Church is infallible, that according to the words of St. Augustine, "she does not approve of anything, do anything, or remain silent as to anything contrary to faith or rectitude of life" (*Epist. ad Jamear*). This matters little, for if we are well guarded and protected, we are equally safe, whether we know it or not. The concern rests with those, who guard and protect us. This is our happy position as members of a Church divinely endowed with infallibility. She is witness to the truth from the beginning. She is the teacher of that truth to all her children young and old, and she is a judge to decide the truth amidst the errors, which spring up from time to time, owing to the temerity and pride of intellect, which urge "the unlearned and unstable to wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction." (*2 Pet.* iii. 16). Under this threefold guardianship of his Church the Catholic has the unspeakable happiness to enjoy a peace, in which he may say with the Psalmist: "In peace in the self-same I will sleep, and I will rest, for Thou, O Lord, singularly hast settled me in hope" (*Ps.* iv. 9-10). With reason, therefore, did Bossuet say, "O happy they, who by a special favour of God are born and brought up in the bosom of the true Church. O blessed, indeed, they, in whom human prepossessions are united to the true faith, which the Holy Ghost has infused into their souls in Baptism. They are exempted from a great temptation, and from the dreadful trouble of distinguishing what is of God in the faith of their Church from that which is of man."

I will close these observations by a little anecdote in illustration of the words of the great Bishop.

I had the pleasure of being intimately acquainted with the late Mr. Henry Wilberforce, and, one day, in conversation with him, I said, "Mr. Wilberforce, you must have come through a great ordeal of mind in ceasing to be a Protestant parson, and becoming a Catholic layman." "O," said he, "well for you, that you never had to go through such an ordeal. Only conceive it! If, four years ago, it was proposed to me to seek the truth in the Catholic Church, I would have taken the proposal just as I would conceive the idea at present to go to Constantinople, and seek the truth amongst the Turks,"

THE AUTHOR OF "THE CLAIMS OF THE UNINSTRUCTED
DEAF-MUTE TO BE ADMITTED TO THE SACRAMENTS."

THE CHURCH ABROAD.

OUR ROMAN LETTER.

The following very important document, throwing a light on the real intent and object of the Italian Freemason society and its intimate connection with the Italian government, has appeared recently in the *Revista della Massoneria Italiana*, which is published in Rome under the auspices of the "Grand Orient of the Valley of the Tiber."

"THE MOST POWERFUL GRAND MASTER TO ALL THE ASSEMBLIES
OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNION.

"(Circular N. 10.)

"*Illustrious and Dear Venerable B.*

"*Worthy and Beloved Brethren,*

"As we announced in our last circular, the Italian Freemasonry, having collected all its scattered branches into one strong body, powerful both in its aspirations and in its will, and recognised in every Department, must now apply itself assiduously to studies and labours that correspond to its character, principles and traditions.

"If the past year has, thanks to the unanimous co-operation of all our best and most distinguished Brothers, given the Order the great advantage of uniting our forces, the coming year should give us the consolations and the glory of a wise, humane and profitable work, in which those forces may be proved, and may cordially co-operate for the good of humanity and the progress of our country.

"The Supreme Powers of the institution, having come together in Rome on the 27th of last January, have made provision that the Italian Reunions may be entrusted with an undertaking truly worthy of the Freemason Society, and in conformity with the most urgent and vital necessities of our country.

"The Freemason Society, as you know, worthy and dear Brothers, is principally an institution designed to form, reform, and confirm consciences and characters.

"The *Liberi Muratori* carry, from the reunions that have taken them in for the purpose of examining and obtaining the deepest and most intimate knowledge of the great social problems, the fruits of their studies and their convictions; and they propagate them in the profane world. Thus, in whatever grade the Freemasons may be placed, they work according to the impulses received in the Order, and according to its doctrines and aspirations. But for all that, every practical collective work of one or all the Reunions ought not, and cannot, be neglected whenever it may be advantageous to develop it at certain times in the midst of the civil world.

"Nor has, we shall not say the advantage but the absolute necessity of a collective work, ever imposed itself so strongly on the Italian Reunions as it does to-day. Our enemies, very strongly organised, obeying a single word of command which proceeds from the Vatican, and is resounded to the smallest and darkest corners of the clerical world, endeavour to suffocate the spirit of Freemasonry, that is to say, of Liberty, Civilisation and Science. The Masonic Reunions cannot, therefore, lose time in dry polemic discussions, but they should rather enter the lists united, and openly labour for the most speedy realisation of our ideas.

"It is necessary to combat the iniquitous work of the clericals, which tends to loosen the ties of the political unity of the State, and to procure on the contrary that those ties may become daily more homogeneous, stronger and closer.

"The Great Orient of Italy inspired by these considerations, wishes and commands that all the Reunions *keep guard over the religious works*; that THEY ATTEND ASSIDUOUSLY TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTIONS; that they control the conduct of the mayors; that they study the conditions and the progress of the elementary schools, and that they examine what may be the respective requirements of their districts so that they be in perfect accord with the laws of a foreseeing and civil State. The Reunions are consequently directed to form five permanent Commissions, that shall remain in office as long as the

chiefs of the division, composed of three or of five Brothers, to whom the different works above spoken of may be entrusted; therefore, they shall immediately nominate,

1. A Commission of vigilance for religious works.
2. A Commission for administrative elections.
3. A Commission for the control of the mayors.
4. A Commission for elementary schools.
5. A Commission for local necessities.

"These Commissioners should represent the eye, the mind, the heart and the arm of the Freemasonry *coming from their temples*, and seeing, studying, feeling and working, in the profane world. The Commissaries selected from amongst the brothers shall be those who for their studies and their position may be most suited for the special labour of each respective commission.

"The results of these labours, or their eventual proposals or complaints should be sent to the Venerable, who on his part will transmit them to the Grand Master of the Order. Wherever more than one re-union has been formed in a district they shall hold a plenary council of all the brothers, in which they shall nominate and constitute the Commissions, as well as the Venerable by whom their communications shall be forwarded to the Grand Master.

"Thus, Venerable and Dear Brothers, Freemasonry can do much, and do it quickly and well. It is, however, necessary that no one shall be wanting in the performance of his duty, that all shall help the Commissions with news and advice, and that the requests and complaints sent to the Grand Master be sincerely and highly inspired by a sentiment of what is just and true, and that they avoid in the most absolute manner every preconceived object either of persons or of parties. The Order cannot take into account anything except the progress and good of the country. It has gained this great object in a short time, and hence the profane respect it, and its enemies fear it. Let us maintain it in this clear atmosphere, and keep away from us those who perchance have shown themselves to be intent on personal ends or petty ambitions. Hence it is that I make known to you that from this out I shall take no notice of requests, complaints, or petitions of a personal character unless it be to repair losses, or to vindicate injustices. In this case the Grand Orient should be staunch, and shall be so—if informed directly by the Venerables—to any brother, but I do not intend that the Supreme Authority of the Order should assume the defence of private interests

which would diminish its prestige also with the Government, of being altogether dedicated to protect and defend the high interests of liberty and of the country.

"This idea and this method of working was explained by me, and unanimously approved of in the solemn meetings of the Supreme Powers. Also in the *Agape* celebrated on the same evening of the 27th January, with the intervention of the Great Dignitaries of the Order, I made another proposal which ALL THE LIBERAL ITALIAN PRESS has, with my permission, taken up, commenting on, and praising it. What that proposition is you shall understand more clearly, O brethren, from the text of the discourse with which I inaugurated the *Agape* and which I send you herewith.

"Let the reunions and the brothers be prepared and disposed from this very moment to keep alive by means of conferences, pamphlets, and articles, the question that I have raised, so that it may be quickly resolved, according to the dictates of humanity, and the principles of justice.

"I include also a copy of the fundamental principles for the good government of the reunions, and for their relations with the Supreme Authority of the Freemasonry. Let them be followed with scrupulous exactness since discipline and order are indispensable conditions for a successful and fruitful life. As Great Master, aware of the immense responsibility that lies upon me in the eyes of the Order and of the country, I shall not permit that anyone of the laws discussed and approved of by our assemblies, shall be violated with impunity. Reason itself, and the experience of the past few years, teach me that to raise or maintain the very great dignity of our institute, it is necessary to be most severe in enforcing the application of all our laws, and the fulfilment of all duties. Hence, I request the venerables and the orators to co-operate energetically with me in this noble undertaking, and I am able from this moment to assure them that if the Italian Freemasonry continues in the ascendant movement that has been given it by its complete unification, it will become the favourite amongst the most powerful and most glorious Masonic branches of the other nations in the world.

"The list of the Masonic bodies of the Italian communion shall be published in a few days. Let all the reunions, therefore, hasten to communicate the results of their elections, and let them remember that the annual and half-yearly reports, now ready, shall be forwarded to those who, according to circulars, *n.g.*, are not in arrears with their contributions.

"VENERABLE AND DEAR BROTHERS, the labour confided to you by the Grand Orient is of extraordinary importance; gird yourselves, therefore, to perform it with that faith that is inspired by just causes with that enthusiasm that is the offspring of generous aspirations. Let us prove that if there are in Italy and in the world persons who would wish to obstruct human progress, there are also those who facilitate its development by their studies and by their labours, and who accelerate the looked for definite triumphs.

"This Circular shall be read by all the Venerables in the first meeting. In summoning it they shall make known to the Brothers that news regarding important communications from the Government of the Order shall be given. The Commissioners shall be formed within the month of February; the Venerables shall keep me informed about them. In the meantime let them acknowledge immediately the receipt of the present. Accept, worthy and dear brothers, my most affectionate and fraternal salutation.

"Given in the Valley of the Tiber at the Orient of Rome, from the seat of the Grand Orient of Italy, the 9th day of the XII. month of the year V. .: L. .: 000888, and of the E. .: V. .: the 9th February, 1888.

"The Grand Master of the Order,

"ADRIAN LEMMI."

The letters V. L. stand for *vera luce* or true date, and the zeros are to show that there was no beginning to the date of the world. E. V. stand for *era volgare*.

This letter shows clearly three things. Firstly, that the Italian Government is completely the slave of the Freemason society; for its action since the publication of that letter seems to have had but one object in view, that namely of carrying out to the letter the precepts set forth in it. Hence we hear of mayors and public functionaries being deposed wholesale for sympathising with the Catholic cause, and it has introduced the celebrated new penal code against priests who dare to open their mouths in defence of the rights of religion, etc. Secondly, it shows us that even these greatest enemies of religion acknowledge with undisguised fury and dismay the increasing moral and political power of the Church. Thirdly, it shows us that the primary object of Italian Freemasonry and its slavish instrument, the Italian Government is to "form, reform, and confirm consciences and characters," by "combating the action of the Church," and the teachings of the Vatican throughout the "clerical world." What this letter means is clear to every Catholic. In this letter we have a striking illustration of the powers of evil

collected together under the command of a despotic dictator who sends forth his decrees into the "profane world" to the creatures that obey his command! Milton's picture of Satan, his glory withered, surrounded by the fallen angels like a forest oak struck by lightning "that stands on the blasted heath," is not more terrible. If we consider the Vicar of Christ, on the other hand with his followers beneath the standard of the cross it will give us a fair illustration of St. Ignatius' meditation on the two standards of the powers of good and evil.

THE NEW PENAL CODE IN ITALY.

The following are the four celebrated articles relating to the clergy in the bill presented by Crispi's Government to the Chamber of Deputies known as the "New Penal Code." They do not require comment.

173. "The ministers of religion who in the exercise of their functions, publicly censure or outrage the institutions or laws of the State, or the action of the authority (*i.e.*, who dare to protest against the wholesale vandalism and robbery carried on against the Church, or against the insults daily offered by the so-called *authority* to the Pope and ecclesiastics generally), are to be punished by imprisonment for a year and a fine of 1,000 francs.

174. "Any minister of religion who, abusing the moral force derived from his ministry, shall stir up ill-feelings against the institutions or the laws of the State, or the acts of the authority, or who shall otherwise transgress his duties towards his country, or those that are inherent with a public charge, or who shall interfere with legitimate patrimonial interests, or shall trouble the peace of families shall be punished by imprisonment varying from six months to three years with a fine of from 500 to 3,000 francs, and temporal or perpetual interdiction from ecclesiastical benefices.

175. "Any minister of religion who shall exercise any exterior acts of worship in opposition to the decisions of the government, shall be punished by three months' imprisonment, and a fine varying from 50 to 1,500 francs.

176. "Any minister of religion who in the exercise or abuse of his ministry, shall be guilty of any offence shall undergo the punishment assigned by the law for that offence, augmented from one-sixth to one-third, unless the fact of his being a minister of religion is already included in the law."

Here are the laws that the Italian Government are endeavouring

to pass in Rome under the very eyes of the Pope! Nevertheless, they try to persuade people that the Holy Father has no need of temporal power, that he is perfectly respected and defended by the Italian Government! Thus they are celebrating his sacerdotal jubilee!

The fact is, they are frantic at perceiving the increasing power—both political and moral—of the Pope, and they hold on everything they can grasp to vent their bottled-up rage against him. They are exasperated at the extraordinary success of the jubilee. They see emperors and kings vying with each other in sending costly gifts and complimentary envoys. They see over six millions of pounds worth of gorgeous gifts crowded together in the most magnificent exhibition that even the fastidious Romans have ever seen. They see thousands of pilgrims streaming into Rome continually, who have come at great expense from far-off lands to get one glance at the Vicar of Christ, the hero of the Vatican, and they know that those are but a few, compared with the millions who are united heart and soul with them. They see that whilst they have been robbing him of all they could lay hand on, these poor people have brought him considerably over two millions sterling in cash within little more than half a year! All this have they seen and much more. It has driven them to a state of phrenzy, and as we see by the last masonic circular, they have resolved to unite all their forces in one desperate attempt to destroy the increasing power of the Church, and to put up the standard of vice in its place, but this desire shall perish, for it is the desire of the wicked. “*Peccator videbit et irascetur, dentibus suis fremit et tabescet; desiderium peccatorum peribit.*”

M. HOWLETT.

DOCUMENTS.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. APPOINTING THE
LAST SUNDAY IN SEPTEMBER OF THIS YEAR, AS A DAY OF
SPECIAL DEVOTION FOR THE RELIEF OF THE SOULS IN
PURGATORY.

SUMMARY.

The Holy Father has already opened the Spiritual Treasure of the Church in various ways for the benefit of the living, on the occasion of his Sacerdotal Jubilee.

He wishes to extend also special relief to the Church suffering,

With this purpose he appoints the last Sunday in next September as a day for a special Commemoration of the Souls in Purgatory. On that day the Pope himself will celebrate a Requiem Mass, and enjoins the same on all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates having episcopal jurisdiction, in their respective churches. The Mass will be as on All Soul's Day, and celebrated with all possible solemnity.

It is the wish of His Holiness that this order should be observed also in all parochial and collegiate churches, and by all priests, secular and regular, provided the Mass corresponding to the Office is not omitted in churches where such an obligation exists.

All priests saying a Requiem Mass on that day may gain the Indulgence of the Privileged Altar.

The faithful are exhorted to go to Confession and Communion on that day, and by so doing they may gain a Plenary Indulgence for the Souls in Purgatory.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA
PAPAE XIII.

EPISTOLA VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATEBUS
ARCHIEPISCOPIIS ET EPISCOPIIS UNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM
ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Quod anniversarius Sacerdotii Nostri dies quinquagesimus nuper Ecclesiae peroptato illuxerit, acceptum, ut oportet, referimus summae Dei benignitati, cuius nutu arbitrioque providentissimo omnis vita hominum regitur. Ac pari modo tantam ubique animorum consensionem in obsequiis, in effusa liberalitate, in publicis laetitiae significationibus nemo poterat nisi Ille excitare, cuius omnino imperium est in hominum mentes et voluntates et cordia, quique eventus rerum ad christianae religionis gloriam dirigit et moderatur. — Praeclarum quidem et memorabile factum, ex quo ipsi Ecclesiae hostes, vel inviti et nolentes, suis ipsi oculis perspiciunt, quemadmodum divina eius vita ac divinitus ingenita virtus vigeat semper, atque adeo persuadere sibi cogantur, insano prorsus conatu gentes impias fremere et inania meditari adversus Dominum et adversus Christum eius.

Iamvero, ut quam latissime huius beneficii divini et memoria manaret et utilitas, caelestium gratiarum thesauros universo Nobis concredito regi reclusimus: nec sane praetermisimus divinae pietatis munera iis implorare, qui extra unicum salutis Arcam adhuc versantur: quod hoc consilio fecimus, *ut omnes gentes et populi, in fide*

caritatis vinculo sociati, unico ovili sub uno pastore citius aggregentur : ipsa sane *Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum* cum gemitibus exoravimus in solemnī Sacro Canonizationis mox celebratae.

Nos enim et ad triumphantem Ecclesiam sublati oculis, heroibus christianis, de quibus iam absoluta feliciter erat praestantissimarum virtutum ac miraculorum ad iuris tramites cognitio, aliis sanctorum summos honores, aliis beatorum cultum solemniter decrevimus et tribuimus ut ea quae in caelis est Hierusalem, cum hac ipsa quae in terris peregrinatur a Domino, communione laetitiae iungeretur.

Verum quo huic ipsi rei veluti cumulus, Deo adiuvante, imponatur, Apostolicae Nostrae caritatis officia; de plenitudine infiniti spiritualis thesauri, ad eos quoque dilectos Ecclesiae filios, largius quo fieri possit, proferre cupimus, qui morte iustorum obita de militia huius vitae migrarunt cum signo fidei, ac mysticae vitis inserti propagini; ita tamen ut prohibeantur ingressu in aeternam requiem usque dum divinae iustitiae ultrici pro contractis debitis ad minimum reddant quadrantem. Movemur autem tum piis catholicorum votis quibus consilium hoc Nostrum pergratum esse scimus, tum lacrimabili poenarum, quibus defunctorum animae cruciantur, atrocitate; sed praeterea, et maxime movemur consuetudine Ecclesiae, quae, vel inter mundiores per annum solemnitates sanctam et salubrem agit defunctorum memoriam, ut a peccatis solvantur.

Itaque cum ex Catholica doctrina exploratum sit *animas in Purgatorio detentas Fidelium suffragii, potissimum vero acceptabili Altaris sacrificio, iuvari*, nullum censemus neque utilius neque optatius a Nobis proficisci ad eas posse pignus, quam si multiplicemus in locis omnibus pro satisfactione ipsarum oblationem mundam sacrosancti Sacrificii Mediatoris nostri divini.

Quare statuimus, cum necessariis omnibus dispensationibus et derogationibus, *ultimam Dominicam proxime venturi mensis Septembris* tanquam amplissimae expiationis diem, quo celebretur a Nobis, itaque a singulis fratribus Nostris Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis aliisque Praelatis Dioecesim habentibus in suis cuiusque Ecclesiis Patriarchalibus, Metropolitanis et Cathedralibus, specialis missa defunctorum, maiori qua fieri potest solemnitate, eoque ritu qui in missali adsignatur in *Commemoratione omnium fidelium defunctorum*. Id ipsum fieri probamus in Parochialibus et Collegiatis Ecclesiis tam saecularium quam regularium, et ab omnibus sacerdotibus, dummodo ne omittatur missa officio diei respondens, ubicumque est obligatio. Alios autem Christifideles vehementer hortamur, ut, facta sacramentali confessione, ad purgantium animarum suffragia.

gium angelico pane se devote reficiant. His vero plenariam Indulgentiam pro defunctis; singulis, ut dictum est supra, celebrantibus, Altaris privilegium, auctoritate Apostolica impertimur.

Sic nimirum pie animae in quibus nozarum reliquiae terribili cruciatuum magnitudine eluuntur peropportunum ac singulare solatium percipient ex Hostia salutari, quam Ecclesia universa, Capiti suo visibili coniuncta eodemque caritatis affectu inflammata, Deo est oblatura ut eis locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis indulgeat sempiternae.

Interea Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, universoque Clero et populo curae vestrae concredito, Apostolicam benedictionem, caelestium munerum auspicem, peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum in die solemnī Paschatis an. MDCCCLXXXVIII. Pontificatus Nostri undecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

ROSMINI'S FORTY CONDEMNED PROPOSITIONS.

E.ME AC R.ME DOMINE MI OBS.ME,

Hisce adiunctum litteris transmittitur ad Amplitudinem Tuam decretum generale quo a Suprema Congregatione E.morum Patrum una mecum Inquisitorum Generalium, adprobante et confirmante SS. mo Domino Nostro Leone XIII., plures propositiones ex operibus quae sub nomine Antonii Rosmini Serbati edita sunt damnantur et proscribuntur. Quapropter excitatur pastoralis cura et vigilantia Eminētiaē Tuae ut a damnatis huiusmodi doctrinis oves fidei tuae concreditas quam diligentissime custodias; ac si qui forte sint in ista dioecesi qui illis adhuc faveant eos ad S. Sedis iudicium docili animo recipiendum inducere studeas. Praecipue vero eniteris ut mentes adolescentium, eorum praesertim qui in spem Ecclesiae in Seminario aluntur, germana catholicae Ecclesiae doctrina e puris fontibus Sanctorum Patrum, Ecclesiae Doctorum. probatorum auctorum, ac praecipue Angelici Doctoris S. Thomae Aquinatis, hausta imbuantur.

Et Em. tiae Tuae manus humillime deosculor.

Datum Romae, die 7 Martii, 1888.

Humillimus et addictissimus Servus verus.

R. CARD. MONACO.

DECRETUM.

Feria IV. die 14 Decembris, 1887.

Post obitum Antonii Rosmini Serbati quaedam eius nomine in lucem prodierunt scripta, quibus plura doctrinae capita, quorum germina in prioribus huius Auctoris libris continebantur, clarius

evoluntur atque explicantur. Quae res accuratiora studia non hominum tantum in theologicis ac philosophicis disciplinis praestantium, sed etiam Sacrorum in Ecclesia Antistitum, excitarunt. Hi non paucas propositiones, quae catholicae veritati haud consonae videbantur, ex posthumis praesertim illius libris exscripserunt, et Supremo S. Sedis iudicio subiecerunt.

Porro SS. D. N. Leo divina providentia Papa XIII., cui maxime curae est ut depositum catholicae doctrinae ab erroribus immune parumque servetur, delatas propositiones Sacro consilio E. morum Patrum Cardinalium in universa christiana republica Inquisitorum Generalium examinandas commisit.

Quare, uti mos est Supremae Congregationis, instituto diligentissimo examine, factaque earum propositionum collatione cum reliquis Auctoris doctrinis prout potissimum ex posthumis libris elucescunt, propositiones quae sequuntur in proprio Auctoris sensu reprobandas, damnandas ac proscribendas esse iudicavit, prout hoc generali decreto reprobat, damnat, proscribit: quin exinde cuiquam deducere liceat ceteras eiusdem Auctoris doctrinas quae per hoc decretum non damnantur ullo modo adprobari.

Facta autem de his omnibus SS. mo D. N. Leoni XIII. accurata relatione, Sanctitas Sua decretum E. morum Patrum adprobavit, confirmavit, atque ab omnibus servari mandavit.

PROPOSITIONES CONDEMNATÆ.

I. In ordine rerum creatarum immediate manifestatur humano intellectui aliquid divini in se ipso, huiusmodi nempe quod ad divinam naturam pertineat.

II. Cum divinum dicimus in natura, vocabulum istud *divinum* non usurpamus ad significandum effectum non divinum causae divinae; neque mens nobis est loqui de *divino* quodam quod tale sit per participationem.

III. In natura igitur universi, id est in intelligentiis quae in ipsa sunt, aliquid est cui convenit denominatio divini non sensu figurato, sed proprio.

Est actualitas non distincta a reliquo actualitatis divinae.

IV. Esse indeterminatum, quod procul dubio notum est omnibus intelligentiis, est divinum illud quod homini in natura manifestatur.

V. Esse quod homo intuetur necesse est ut sit aliquid entis necessarii et aeterni, causae creantis, determinantis ac finientis omnium entium contingentium; atque hoc est Deus.

VI. In esse quod praescindit a creaturis et a Deo, quod est esse

indeterminatum, atque in Deo, esse non indeterminato sed absoluto, eadem est essentia.

VII. Esse indeterminatum intuitionis, esse initiale, est aliquid Verbi, quod mens Patris distinguit non realiter sed secundum rationem a Verbo.

VIII. Entia finita quibus componitur mundus resultant ex duobus elementis, id est ex termino reali finito et ex esse initiali quod eidem termino tribuit formam entis.

IX. Esse, obiectum intuitionis, est actus initialis omnium entium.

Esse initiale est initium tam cognoscibilem quam subsistentium: est pariter initium Dei, prout a nobis concipitur, et creaturarum.

X. Esse virtuale et sine limitibus est prima ac simplicissima omnium entitatum, adeo ut quaelibet alia entitas sit composita, et inter ipsius componentia semper et necessario sit esse virtuale.—Est pars essentialis omnium omnino entitatum, ut cogitatione dividantur.

XI. Quidditas (id quod res est) entis finiti non constituitur eo quod habet positivi, sed suis limitibus. Quidditas entis infiniti constituitur entitate, et est positiva; quidditas vero entis finiti constituitur limitibus entitatis, et est negativa.

XII. Finita realitas non est, sed Deus facit eam esse addendo infinitae realitati limitationem.

Esse initiale fit essentia omnis entis realis.

Esse quod actuatur naturas finitas, ipsis coniunctum, est recisum a Deo.

XIII. Discrimen inter esse absolutum et esse relativum non illud est quod intercedit substantiam inter et substantiam, sed aliud multo maius; unum enim est absolute ens, alterum est absolute non-ens. At hoc alterum est relative ens. Cum autem ponitur ens relativum, non multiplicatur absolute ens; hinc absolutum et relativum absolute non sunt unica substantia, sed unicum esse; atque hoc sensu nulla est diversitas esse, imo habetur unitas esse.

XIV. Divina abstractione producitur esse initiale, primum finitorum entium elementum; divina vero imaginatione producitur reale finitum, seu realitates omnes quibus mundus constat.

XV. Tertia operatio esse absoluti mundum creantis est divina synthesis, id est unio duorum elementorum: quae sunt *esse initiale*, commune omnium finitorum entium initium, atque *reale finitum*, seu potius diversa realia finita, termini diversi eiusdem esse initialis. Qua unione creantur entia finita.

XVI. Esse initiale per divinam synthesis ab intelligentia relatum, non ut intelligibile sed mere ut essentia, ad terminos finitos reales, efficit ut existant entia finita subjective et realiter.

XVII. Id unum efficit Deus creando, quod totum actum esse creaturarum integre ponit: hic igitur actus proprie non est factus sed positus.

XVIII. Amor quo Deus se diligit etiam in creaturis, et qui est ratio qua se determinat ad creandum, moralem necessitatem constituit, quae in ente perfectissimo semper inducit effectum: huiusmodi enim necessitas tantummodo in pluribus entibus imperfectis integram relinquit libertatem bilateralem.

XIX. Verbum est materia illa invisibilis ex qua, ut dicitur Sap. XI. 18, creatae fuerunt res omnes universae.

XX. Non repugnat ut anima humana generatione multiplicetur. ita ut concipiatur eam ab imperfecto, nempe a gradu sensitivo, ad perfectum, nempe ad gradum intellectivum, procedere.

XXI. Cum sensitivo principio intuitibile fit esse, hoc solo tactu, hac sui unione, principium illud antea solum sentiens, nunc simul intelligens, ad nobiliorem statum evehitur, naturam mutat, ac fit intelligens, subsistens atque immortale.

XXII. Non est cogitatu impossibile divina potentia fieri posse ut a corpore animato dividatur anima intellectiva, et ipsum adhuc maneat animale: maneret nempe in ipso, tamquam basis puri animalis, principium animale, quod antea in eo erat veluti appendix.

XXIII. In statu naturali, anima defuncti existit perinde ac non existeret: cum non possit ullam super seipsam reflexionem exercere, aut ullam habere sui conscientiam, ipsius conditio similis dici potest statui tenebrarum perpetuarum et somni sempiterni.

XXIV. Forma substantialis corporis est potius effectus animae atque interior terminus operationis ipsius: propterea forma substantialis corporis non est ipsa anima.

Unio animae et corporis proprie consistit in immanenti perceptione, qua subjectum intuens ideam affirmat sensibile, postquam in hac eius essentiam intuitum fuerit.

XXV. Revelato mysterio SS. mae Trinitatis, potest ipsius existentia demonstrari argumentis mere speculativis, negativis quidem et indirectis, huiusmodi tamen ut per ipsa veritas illa ad philosophicas disciplinas revocetur, atque fiat propositio scientifica sicut ceterae: si enim ipsa negaretur, doctrina theosophica *purae rationis* non modo incompleta maneret, sed etiam omni ex parte absurditatibus scatens annihilaretur.

XXVI. Tres supremae formae *esse*, nempe subjectivitas, objectivitas, sanctitas, seu realitas, idealitas, moralitas, si transferantur ad esse absolutum, non possunt aliter concipi nisi ut personae subsistentes et viventes.

Verbum, quatenus objectum amatum, et non quatenus Verbum, id est, objectum in se subsistens per se cognitum, est personae Spiritus Sancti.

XXVII. In humanitate Christi humana voluntas fuit ita rapta a Sp. Sancto ad adhaerendum Esse objectivo, idest Verbo, ut illa ipsi integre tradiderit regimen hominis, et verbum illud personaliter assumpserit, ita sibi uniens naturam humanam. Hinc voluntas humana desiit esse personalis in homine, et, cum sit persona in aliis hominibus, in Christo remansit natura.

XXVIII. In christiana doctrina, Verbum, character et facies Dei, imprimitur in animo eorum qui cum fide suscipiunt baptismum Christi.

Verbum, id est character in anima impressum, in doctrina christiana est Esse reale (infinite) per se manifestum, quod deinde novimus esse secundam personam SSmae Trinitatis.

XXIX. A catholica doctrina, quae sola est veritas, minime alienam putamus hanc coniecturam: In eucharistico Sacramento substantia panis et vini fit vera caro et verus sanguis Christi, quando Christus eam facit terminum sui principii sentientis, ipsamque sua vita vivificat: eo ferme modo quo panis et vinum vere transubstantiantur in nostram carnem et sanguinem, quia fiunt terminus nostri principii sentientis.

XXX. Peracta transubstantiatione, intelligi potest corpori Christi glorioso partem aliquam adiungi in ipso incorporatam, indivisam, pariterque gloriosam.

XXXI. In Sacramento eucharistiae, *vi verborum* corpus et sanguis Christi est tantum ea mensura quae respondet quantitati (a quel tanto) substantiae panis et vini quae transubstantiantur: reliquum corporis Christi ibi est *per concomitantiam*.

XXXII. Quoniam qui non manducat carnem Filii hominis et bibit eius sanguinem non habet vitam in se; et nihilominus qui moriuntur cum baptismo aquae, sanguinis aut desiderii certo consequuntur vitam aeternam, dicendum est his qui in hac vita non comederunt corpus et sanguinem Christi subministrari hunc coelestem cibum in futura vita, ipso mortis instanti.

: Hinc etiam Sanctis V. T. potuit Christus descendens ad inferos seipsum communicare sub speciebus panis et vini, ut aptos eos redderet ad visionem Dei.

XXXIII. Cum daemones fructum possederint, putarunt se ingressuros in hominem si de illo ederet; converso enim cibo in corpus hominis animatum, ipsi poterant libere ingredi animalitatem, idest in vitam subjectivam huius entis, atque, ita de eo disponere sicut proposuerant.

XXXIV. Ad preservandam B. V. Mariam a labe originis, satis erat ut incorruptum maneret minimum semen in homine, neglectum forte ab ipso daemone; e quo corrupto semine, de generatione in generationem transfuso, suo tempore oriretur Virgo Maria.

XXXV. Quo magis attenditur ordo iustificationis in homine, eo aptior apparet modus dicendi scripturalis quod Deus peccata quaedam tegit aut non imputat. Iuxta Psalmistam discrimen est inter iniquitates quae remittuntur et peccata quae teguntur: illae, ut videtur, sunt culpae actuales et liberae, haec vero sunt peccata non libera eorum qui pertinent ad populum Dei, quibus propterea nullum afferunt nocumentum.

XXXVI. Ordo supernaturalis constituitur manifestatione esse in plenitudine suae formae realis; cuius communicationis seu manifestationis effectus est sensus (sentimento) deiformis, qui inchoatus in hac vita constituit lumen fidei et gratiae, completus in altera vita constituit lumen gloriae.

XXXVII. Primum lumen reddens animam intelligentem est esse ideale; alterum primum lumen est etiam esse, non tamen mere ideale sed subsistens ac vivens: illud abscondens suam personalitatem ostendit solum suam obiectivitatem: et qui videt alterum (quod est Verbum), etiamsi per speculum et in aenigmate, videt Deum.

XXXVIII. Deus est obiectum visionis beatificae, in quantum est auctor operum *ad extra*.

XXXIX. Vestigia sapientiae ac bonitatis quae in creaturis relucunt, sunt comprehensoribus necessaria; ipsa enim in aeterno exemplari collecta sunt ea Ipsius pars quae ab illis videri possit (che è loro accessibile), ipsaque argumentum praebent laudibus, quas in aeternum Deo Beati concinunt.

XL. Cum Deus non possit, nec per lumen gloriae, totaliter se communicare entibus finitis, non potuit essentiam suam comprehensoribus revelare et communicare nisi eo modo qui finitis intelligentiis sit accommodatus: scilicet Deus se illis manifestat quatenus cum ipsis relationem habet ut eorum creator, provisor, redemptor, sanctificator.

PROTEST OF THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF ENGLAND ON THE THROWING OPEN OF THE PARLIAMENTARY OATH.

The undersigned Catholic Bishops have heard with great anxiety that a Bill is now passing the House of Commons, whereby it shall

Be made optional for Members elected to Parliament either to take the Oath, or to make an Affirmation, which does not, as heretofore, imply a belief in God as a Lawgiver and Judge, but is accommodated to those who deny these truths of natural religion.

They, therefore, are constrained by their office to record their judgment and belief that no man is a fit and proper person to make laws for the homes and domestic life, or for the social and public welfare of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who does not believe at least in natural religion and natural morality.

They have no sympathy with the multiplication of needless oaths. But the office of Legislator is the highest responsibility in the Civil State, and has been wisely guarded by the solemnity of an oath. The purity of Parliament depends upon the probity, fortitude, and knowledge of its Members. And these qualities are tested, so far as man can test them, by the oath, in which every man intrusted with a share in the supreme power of legislation binds himself, by a sanction higher than that of any mere human authority, to be faithful to God, and to the divine law, in making laws for the Commonwealth. To efface the recognition of God in our public Legislature, is an act which will surely bring evil consequences.

If the undersigned Bishops were to look on in silence, they would seem to share in this grave responsibility, from which they desire to free themselves and all whom they represent.

Archbishop's House, Westminster, April 12th, 1888.

HENRY EDWARD, Cardinal Archbishop.

- ✠ WILLIAM, Bishop of Plymouth.
- ✠ WILLIAM, Bishop of Clifton.
- ✠ ROBERT, Bishop of Leeds.
- ✠ HERBERT, Bishop of Salford.
- ✠ BERNARD, Bishop of Liverpool.
- ✠ JOHN CUTHBERT, Bishop of Newport and Menevia.
- ✠ EDWARD, Bishop of Nottingham.
- ✠ EDMUND, Bishop of Shrewsbury.
- ✠ EDWARD, Bishop of Birmingham.
- ✠ RICHARD, Bishop of Middlesbrough.
- ✠ ARTHUR, Bishop of Northampton.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Portsmouth.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Southwark.
- ✠ HENRY, Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle.

LETTER OF CONGRATULATION FROM HIS HOLINESS, LEO XIII,
TO FREDERICK III., EMPEROR OF GERMANY, ON HIS
ACCESSION TO THE THRONE.

(PRESENTED BY ARCHBISHOP GALLIMBERTI, NUNCIO AT VIENNA.)

Triste de gloriosissimi Majestatis Tuae parentis obitu nuntium vehementi cor Nostrum perculit moerore. Haud pauca enim nec levia prout in Nos animi testimonia ab Eo accepimus, nec minora in posterum sperabamus. Acerbum vero Majestatis Tuae dolorem, probe pensantibus si quid ad eum levandum Nostrae litterae conferre poterant, Nobis ipsis magno id erit solatio et quieti. Hoc expleto officio, gratulationes Nostras Majestati Tuae ob Ejus in tam conspicuum et potens imperium successionem deferimus, ac parem in Te ei, quam in semper recolendae memoriae genitore Tuo erga Nos propensam voluntatem experti sumus reperturos esse confidimus. Superest ut valetudo Tua confirmetur, ac diutissime in Tuorum subditorum utilitatem hoc aevo fruaris. Id Nos ab omnipotenti Deo ferventer exposcimus, et ab Ejus quoque benignitate petimus, ut perfectae caritatis vinculis Nos et Majestatem Tuam conjungere dignetur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die XV. Martii anno MDCCCLXXXVIII Pontificatus Nostri Anno Undecimo. Leo PP. XIII. Serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi Frederico III. Germaniae Imperatori, Borussiae Regi illustri.

The Emperor sent Prince Herman de Hatzfeldt-Trachenberg, one of the gentlemen of his household, to thank the Pope, and announce officially his coronation.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

NOTES IN REMEMBRANCE AND LAST RELICS OF AUGUSTUS LAW, S.J. By the Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J. Second edition. London and New York: Burns and Oates, Limited.

A SHORT sketch of an interesting and varied life is given in the present little volume. The subject of the memoir is Augustus Law, whose earlier years were spent as midshipman in her Majesty's navy, from which he passed to the quiet solitude of the Jesuit noviceship.

As a priest and religious Augustus Law especially commends himself to us. His kind and gentle manner won for him the esteem and admiration of those with whom he came in contact. His zeal for the salvation of souls was unbounded. He would not rest content with labouring at home, he wished to go abroad and shed the light of the Gospel. In this glorious work we find him engaged, first in Demerara, afterwards on the Zambesi Mission South Africa, where, after much suffering and privation, a self-sacrificing life came to a close.

It is unnecessary to refer to the manner in which the work has been executed. Father Russell's name gives ample proof of its intrinsic worth and literary merit.

BOOK OF HOLY INDULGENCES, compiled from the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, and other approved sources. **NEW ISSUE**, Including Recent Decisions and Concessions. By Very Rev. M. Comerford, V.F., M.R.I.A. Dublin: James Duffy & Sons, 14 and 15, Wellington-quay.

WE have pleasure in announcing a *New Issue* of Fr. Comerford's valuable book on Indulgences. The body of the work, which has not been changed, consists of four parts. In the first part the nature of Indulgences, their different kinds, and the conditions upon which they are obtainable, are explained. The second part consists of a collection of indulgenced prayers. The third part deals with various religious associations, the privileges and Indulgences attached to the Five Scapulars, &c. The fourth part is a Calendar setting forth the Indulgences that may be gained, by whom, and on what conditions, from day to day throughout the year.

A special feature of the present issue is a Supplement in which are embodied the most recent Decisions and Concessions. Amongst them we may instance the Prayers after Low Mass, and the October Devotions—the Rosary and the Litany of the Blessed Virgin—both indulgenced by our present Holy Father Pope Leo XIII.

Another feature of this enlarged Edition is an Appendix containing legislation on the Privileged Altar, the Apostolic Benediction in *Articulo Mortis*, Scapulars, and the Erection of the Stations of the Cross. Some privileges granted to Priests connected with the Society of the Holy Childhood are also set forth.

The importance of the subject and the reputation of the Author, will, we are confident, secure for his book a wide circle of readers.

J. P. M'D.

A MONTH OF PIOUS THOUGHTS under the special Patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary. By the Rev. J. Van Volckxsom, S.J. Translated from the French by Mrs. Harting. London: Burns & Oates (Limited). Dublin: Gill & Son.

Numerous editions of this little manual have already appeared in various languages, and the pious and cultivated lady, who has executed for the benefit of English readers the excellent translation before us, could not have selected a more opportune time to publish it. No one will assert that the demand for devotional literature, of a superior character, relating to the *Month of Mary*, has been satisfied by the publications that are easily accessible to the ordinary votaries of the Blessed Virgin. On the contrary the general feeling is that much still remains to be done in order to place an adequate supply of useful and agreeable pabulum within their reach. To meet this want, Mrs. Harting's little work goes as far as any book of its dimensions could be expected to, and contains immeasurably more acceptable and solid, food for meditation and instruction, than is to be found in some of the larger works on the same subject. It smacks so little of the idioms of a foreign tongue, that the reader will never feel that it is a translation he has before him. The book possesses the necessary episcopal authorization, and we have great pleasure in recommending it.

E.M.

LIST OF MUSIC published by order of the Commission appointed in the Diocesan Synod of Dublin, 25th November, 1879, for the purpose of examining and authorising the music to be used in the Churches of the Diocese of Dublin. Second Edition, containing the original list of 1880, and all music authorised up to January, 1888. (Edited and classified for the Commission by Joseph Seymour). Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1888.

We wish to call attention to the second edition of the authorised list of music issued by the Dublin Diocesan Commission. It is intended as a supplement to the list of the year 1880, and contains a complete catalogue of music, approved by the Commission, from the date of its appointment up to January, 1888. The document is to be regarded as official, and its provisions obligatory, prescribing the use of music in the churches of the Diocese of Dublin.

The classification observed through the work is admirable. In the various sections of the first part may be found arranged in

the alphabetical order of the names of the different composers, the approved Masses, while the second portion of "the list" deals with "Benediction Music" and "Motets."

The Commissioners, as we should expect, have done the work of compilation in a most efficient manner. We appreciate the choice selection of music, which is "grave and ecclesiastical in character," admirably suited to "honour God and promote piety."

As an instance of the exhaustive nature of the list, we subjoin a few items from the music assigned for Holy Week.

LAMENTATIONS.

WITT, *Cantus Sacri ad I. Noct. Tridui Sacri* Op. 6, Pustet.

BOHLEN, *The Nine Lamentations*, for men's voices. Larsen: Aix-la-Chapelle.

TURBA PASSIONIS.

BELLA, for four men's voices, in Seiler's *Laudate Dominum*.

DRESSLER, *Passio Domini Nostri*, etc. Op. 2.

EH., for men's voices, in Witt's *Cantus Sacri*.

SORINA. See *Musica Divina*.

VITTORIA. Butler's Edition.

OUR LADY'S MONTH, compiled by J. S. Fletcher, and published with the *Imprimatur* of Cardinal Manning. London: R. Washbourne.

THIS neat little volume contains for each of the days of the month devoted to the Blessed Virgin, the name of the feast, an appropriate hymn, text of scripture, extract from a spiritual writer, and an indulgenced prayer. We are confident that the perusal of this little work will increase the devotion of Our Lady's clients.

CATHOLIC TOTAL ABSTINENCE LEAGUE OF THE CROSS. By authority of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. London. 1888.

WE earnestly hope that this little Manual, consisting of only eight pages of a very small book, will be widely read by our people. It explains admirably the origin, principles, and necessity of the League, its fundamental rules, and the character of the organisation. It also gives an enumeration of the Indulgences granted to the League, and describes in a few sentences on what its success depends.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JUNE, 1888.

THE POETRY OF MATTHEW ARNOLD.

IT has been remarked by a very profound critic that England owes her supremacy in literature almost entirely to her poets. It is needless to repeat here the parallels he has drawn between her literary celebrities in other departments, and those of foreign countries, past and present. It is quietly acknowledged that in all sciences requiring depth and profundity of thought, combined with the cognate talent for dogged and persistent labour, England will not bear a moment's comparison with Germany; and that in the lighter and more graceful arts, such as essays and critiques, she has never had a Montaigne or Sainte-Beuve. But in the divinest art of all—that of wedding the loftiest thoughts to the sweetest language, she stands pre-eminent, without rival, without equal, at least since the time that Apollo honoured Pindar with half the fruit-offerings of his altars, and the face of Sappho was engraved on the current coinage of Mitylene. It is, therefore, no measured praise to say, as most of our critics have said of Matthew Arnold, that in a country, rendered illustrious by its poets, and in an age, which boasts of its distinction in their number and uniform excellence, a great *littérateur* claims the chief notice of the present, and the more matured admiration of future generations, solely because of his supreme endowments as a singer.

Yet it must be said, that if the recognition of M. Arnold's gifts as a poet is neither very qualified nor uncertain, it was

made tardily, and with some apparent reluctance. The fame of Tennyson has so completely overshadowed that of all his contemporaries, that it was difficult to wake the public ear to melodies almost as sweet as those of its favourite. And even yet we are told that Arnold's poetry is a sealed book to the multitude, for the reason that it is so excessively polished and refined, that the practical genius of the English people, which detests the semblance of affectation, will not brook its Attic perfection; and that for the same reason, the verdict of posterity is rather doubtful, unless, indeed, it grows cultured beyond present possibilities of belief.

The truth appears to be that if M. Arnold does not rank with the highest divinities, he may well take a place among the demigods of his art; and that, if he can never become popular in the sense that he will be read in every household, and his poems used as a minor gospel of life, at least he will always have a place on the shelves of those who possess or affect the taste for appreciating noble thinking and language that is polished and artistic.

M. Arnold's poetic genius is imitative rather than creative. No distinctive character, thought, or teaching can be attributed to him; and with the exception of one or two remarkable poems, he exhibits no originality of style. His longer and more ambitious efforts, such as *Tristram and Iseult*, *Sohrab and Rustum*, are quite unique in design worked out with infinite care, exceedingly tender and pathetic, yet lacking that freshness, which would make them unfamiliar, and entitle them to be called the peculiar creations of their author. Amongst his shorter productions, a *Memory-Picture* might have been written by one of the early lyrists who immediately preceded Shakspeare and Ben Jonson; *Stagirius* might fit in admirably with *The Dream of Gerontius*; and we can characterise only one as absolutely original in thought, metre, and rhythm, that is *The Forsaken Merman*, redolent in every line of the sea, the peculiar object of M. Arnold's nature-worship. But two influences can be distinctly, almost too easily, traced in these poems—that of the ancient dramatists of Greece, and that of him, who appears to have moulded and modelled all modern

poetic thought—William Wordsworth. The influence of the former is detected in the structure, that of the latter in the spirit, of his poems. M. Arnold has had the courage of framing one or two of his longer poems on the models of the Hellenic masterpieces; and they were welcomed by the public, not so much we venture to say, for their intrinsic merit, as because they were accepted as a seasonable protest against the tradition that poetry was to be locked up, line after line, in the trammels of rhyme. Yet it has long since been laid down as an absolute impossibility—this attempt to construct a modern drama, or dramatic poem, that would exhibit the passion and pathos that filled the easy, natural lives of the ancients, and this, too, with the short rapid action of the Greek dramas. Mr. Swinburne has attempted it in *Phædra*, and *Atalanta in Calydon*; but although he possesses an extraordinary power over the language, and the latter tragedy is unique for its beauty and originality, it is not Greek in any sense. Neither can the *Strayed Reveller* of M. Arnold be called “the subtly interwoven harmony of a poem,” as some have designated it; for though the author evidently desired to keep it strictly within the lines of Greek models, and writes of thyrsi and “fawnskins wet with dew,” as if he had seen the raging Bacchanals of Euripides, it is ancient poetry without the light and perfume of Greece, and modern poetry without its music. But where M. Arnold has achieved his most conspicuous success is in his creation of a metrical rhythm adapted from the ancient choruses, and consisting of irregular, but well-accented lines unrhymed, and devoted principally to elegiacs; and hence, if for no other reason, it is most probable that of all his poems, *Rugby Chapel* and *Heine’s Grave* will be those for which he will be best remembered, and which will be regarded as his characteristic creations.

Although in general the structure of his lines is very perfect, it cannot be said that it ever attains to the marvellous music of Tennyson, with whom alone he can be compared. His verses are more transparent, but less melodious; and it is rather difficult to understand how the charge of super-

refinement or affectation could be brought against him. In truth, here and there, in lyrics and sonnets, which demand perfect smoothness, his lines are neither soft nor regular; and he slips into solecisms, such as Tennyson would have lost his right hand rather than write. That unpleasant Americanism "say" recurs more than once; and the expression "let be" in the sense of not troubling nor molesting, is used at least in two lyrics—that called *Requiescat*—

"Her heart was tired, tired,
And now they let her be;"

and in *Meeting* ;—

"Ah! warn some more ambitious heart,
And let the peaceful be!"

On the other hand, we catch glimpses of expressions, such as "some wet bird-haunted English lawn," and "the soft, ash-coloured hair," which claim for M. Arnold one of Tennyson's chiefest charms—his power of noting and using dexterously the most common-place accidents or appearances of nature.

It is, however, in his cast of thought that the influence of Wordsworth is so distinctly observable. We have here the same passionate love of Nature that characterises the latter, the same interpretation of its thousand moods, the same coercing of sounds and sights into the service of human joy or sorrow, and invariably the same distinct moral at the end, occurring as regularly as the *envoi* of a French *ballade*. But we miss the serenity that lifted Wordsworth's poetry high above ordinary levels, and makes it rank as a kind of philosophical system, with definite credences and promises, and glorifying the meanest things by the perception that they serve some wise and fruitful end in the great economy of creation. And we miss the high tone of faith that lends to such poetry its calm cheerfulness, and find another dreary example of how impotent art is to preserve the strains of the loftiest verse from sinking into a low, weary monody of despair and gloom. It is this defect which makes Arnold's poetry so unlike his master's. He has apparently imitated

him so far as to select the very subjects that Wordsworth treated. We have in his two sonnets to "A Republican Friend," a repetition of the enthusiasm of the latter for freedom, and his subsequent change of opinion owing to the excesses of the French Revolution; and there is a startling similarity of tone and thought between the lines:—

"The hush among the shining stars,
The calm upon the moonlit sea,"

(*Switzerland, 3. A Farewell.*)

and the well-known lines:—

"The silence that is in the starry sky,
The sleep that is among the lonely hills."

Yet no one rises from a study of Wordsworth without a feeling of hopeful calm and a renewed vigour in doing what is right; and few will close M. Arnold's poems without a dreary sensation that somehow everything is wrong—there is some initial mistake that vitiates the beauty and utility of Creation, and the sooner this universe of ours comes to an end the better. He has a morbid idea of the restlessness and pain of humanity. In the picture-gallery of Nature he sees everywhere but Dantean circles of irredeemable and hopeless misery, nor will he hear any music other than that of the eternal sobbing of humanity, chorused by the infinite sea:—

"For most men in a brazen prison live,
Where, in the sun's hot eye,
With heads bent o'er their toil, they languidly
Their lives to some unmeaning taskwork give,
Dreaming of nought beyond their prison wall.
And as, year after year,
Fresh products of their *barren* labour fall
From their tired hands, and rest
Never yet comes more near,
Gloom settles slowly down over their breast.
And while they try to stem
The waves of mournful thought by which they are prest,
Death in their prison reaches them
Unfreed, having seen nothing, still unblest."

And if one escape perchance, it is to meet a more dreadful fate from

“ The freshening wind and blackening sea.
And then the tempest strikes him ; and between
The lightning bursts is seen
Only a driving wreck,
And the pale master on his spar-strewn deck
With anguished face and flying hair
Grasping the rudder hard,
Still bent to make some port, he knows not where,
Still standing for some false, impossible shore.
And sterner comes the roar
Of sea and wind, and through the deepening gloom
Fainter and fainter wreck and helmsman loom,
And he too disappears, and comes no more.
Is there no life, but these alone ?
Madman or slave, must man be one ? ”

Yet, his remedy for this weariness of life is that of Wordsworth. Lay thine ear close to the heart of Mother Nature, and try to hear her teachings, and apply her lessons! In the “untroubled and unpassionate heavens,” observe

“ A world above man’s head to let him see
How boundless might his soul’s horizons be,
How vast, yet of what clear transparency ! ”
(A Summer Night.)

The sea, “bringing its eternal note of sadness in,” reminds him, as it did Sophocles of old, of

“ The turbid ebb and flow
Of human misery ; ”

but here he falters, for the abandonment of beliefs that could strengthen and solace has taken from the world the hope of a final solution of the mystery of pain :

“ The sea of faith,
Was once, too, at the full, and round earth’s shore
Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furl’d.
But now I only hear
Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar,
Retreating, to the breath
Of the night-wind, down the vast edges drear
And naked shingles of the world.”

Yet, once again does he lean on the teachings of natural

religion, and from the mechanical, unconscious workings of stars and seas derive the lesson—

“ Resolve to be thyself ; and know that he
Who finds himself loses his misery !”

(*Self-Dependence.*)

There are none of these alternations of faith and unfaith, hope and despair, in Wordsworth. Passionately fond of nature, to the extent that he has been accused of Pantheistic teachings, he never obtrudes revealed hopes and consolations on his readers. For the most part he is content to seek some exposition of the riddle of the world in the workings and revealings of nature ; yet, the very fact that we know he was a believer in all those sublime dogmas that alone make the sunshine of the earth, colours and brightens all his poetry, and raises a purely natural religion into something holier and more determinate, and gives its lessons a meaning and a force they would not otherwise possess. Unfortunately for themselves his two most distinguished followers have forgotten the keynote of faith ; and if Mr. Tennyson’s blunt paradox—

“ There lives more faith in honest doubt
Believe me than in half the creeds,”

destroys the sublimity of the prologue to *In Memoriam*, so does Mr. Arnold’s agnosticism lessen the force and beauty of teachings that practically have no meaning without religion.

And this naturally brings about the question, how far Mr. Arnold can be regarded as a teacher of his generation, for it is now generally accepted that all poets are teachers and no longer write to please but to instruct. We are far, indeed, from thinking that this is primarily the object of the poets themselves, who probably write because they must, or throw their poetical goods into the literary market to be appraised at their real value. Yet it is not difficult to understand how a writer, conscious of possessing the great gift of harmony, might desire to pour into the hearts of men through the music of language those summaries of human life and passion which it is so easy to make and formulate. And this age has become so morbidly introspective, that we are assured

that every great work of every great author is simply a manifestation of his own feelings and experiences, sometimes put as broadly as by Rousseau and Goethe, sometimes to be read only by those who understand how far the symbolism of language can reach. If, therefore, it appears to be a cramped and narrow proceeding to criticise the arts by subjecting them to religious and dogmatic tests instead of judging them by the ordinary canons of taste, it must be remembered that in this age of freethought and scientific unbelief, there is not a single author of distinction that does not court criticism of the kind, by making religion, natural or revealed, the subject matter of his teachings. In the ages of faith, Chaucer and Shakspeare, could sing lightly of legendary and historical subjects, and leave the deeper chaunts to cloister and choir; but in our age the literature of every country is weighted with ponderous conjectures on issues that we are assured are not of the slightest moment to humanity, inasmuch as they must ever remain outside the domain of certitude. And M. Arnold himself assures us that as "all roads lead to Rome, so one finds in like manner that all questions raise the question of religion."¹

Now, it may be fairly asserted, that there is no author of modern times who so plainly assumes to be didactic as M. Arnold; and none whose teachings are less liable to be misunderstood. Putting aside his poems, such as *Tristram and Iseult*, *Sohrab and Rustum*, we find in all his shorter lyrics and sonnets some estimate of human life, and in many cases some ethical instructions wherewith to meet its many evils. As we have already said, his estimate of this world is as poor as that of Plotinus, but for different reasons; and his poetry may be described as one long threnody for lost faiths and desires. Progress has overleaped itself; science has proved too much; educational methods, in which he was an acknowledged expert, have strained human knowledge too nicely; analysis has been carried too far; with the result of "that strange disease of modern times," whose symptoms are impatience of life, and the mournful belief that we have

¹ *Mixed Essays*, page 98.

ideals in mind and conscience which mock us with the impossibility of ever attaining them. Something of the sadness of this unbelief was foreseen by Wordsworth, who in preference to its sordid dulness would accept as his faith the childish mythologies of the past:—

“ Great God ! I’d rather be
A pagan suckled in a creed outworn ;
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn ;
Have sight of Proteus coming from the sea :
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn.”

But a denial of dogma under any form, and a shrouding of the Divine Personality under the veil of moral abstractions—these two negative principles break on us from every page of M. Arnold:—

“ Creeds pass, rites change, no altar standeth whole,
Yet we, her memory, as she prayed, will keep.”
(*Monica’s Last Prayer.*)

“ *God’s wisdom and God’s goodness!* Ah, but fools
Misdefine these till God knows them no more.
Wisdom and goodness, they are God!—what schools
Have yet so much as heard this simpler lore ?”
(*The Divinity.*)

And following these slippery doctrines, as we have said, he has glided into that cheerless despondency whose low melancholy finds voice through all his verses, and becomes articulate in that curious blending of Pagan philosophy and Christian ethics which he hopes will meet that despair which every day becomes more pronounced and acute. “ Find thyself, and lose thy misery,” is his lesson in that brief gospel of his called *Self-dependence*, forgetting Carlyle’s contemptuous remark on that same Pagan precept: “ Too long has that poor self of thine tormented thee.” Then listen to the great ones who have gone—the “ voices and sages” who are ever with us,

“ Radiant with ardour divine,
Beacons of hope ye appear,
Languor is not in your heart,
Weakness is not in your word,
Weariness not on your brow !”

In other words, put aside the theology of the churches, and accept a theology of literature. Consult the hierophants of the past, live in spirit with Homer and Æschylus, with Shakspeare and Milton! They too suffered, but became strong, strengthened by the immortal thoughts within them, and the ambition to hand down to weak-kneed, languishing posterity, words potent as fire to strengthen and inspire. Then reduce your Bible to a mere literature of Hebrews, and the central figure of the world's history to a teacher and a sufferer, and lose thyself like him in labouring for a common good, and thou shalt find rest—the rest

“Of toil, unsevered from tranquillity,
Of labour, that in lasting fruit outgrows
Far noisier schemes, accomplished in repose,
Too great for haste, too high for rivalry.”

And this is Mr. Arnold's last word. This is his embodiment of the religion of culture. As a true understanding of the mystery of human life, and a final solution of its perplexities, it bears its refutation on the surface. But having said so much, we can now come down from the higher levels and admit that M. Arnold has advanced one of the highest concepts yet formed of a purely natural religion. This intellectual cultus, whose secret shrine is the mind of man, whose divinities are ideas, whose worship is poetry and the arts, whose saints are the “kings of men” in the world's history—is unspeakably attractive to minds which have reached a certain level and will not admit a higher range of possibilities of perfection. And even to those whose faith would lift them to more exalted regions, this minor worship of intellect may be not only attractive but useful. For there is some gain, unquestionably, in finding amidst the ever-increasing grossness into which the materialism of our century is descending, a renaissance of that idealism, which has made in every generation poets and philosophers, and which, if vague and indeterminate, contains at least no doctrine incompatible with human dignity, and admits of no pursuits whose utility would suppose degradation. But it is for this very reason that M. Arnold can never be a popular

poet. His verses are too laden with thought ever to reach the superficial culture of the vast masses of men. He is the singer of a chosen few. He had more varied powers had he chosen to exercise them. His lines to Marguerite, and the four poems marked *Meeting, Parting, A Farewell, Isolation*, prove that he could touch light subjects daintily, as well as high subjects with skilful reverence. But he has chosen for his themes thoughts and subjects that do not stir the feelings of the multitude; and so he must be content with the bookshelves of the student, and to be banished from the hands of the frivolous. But he has told the agony of his age more clearly than any other poet of the century; and the melancholy which pervades his verses will be accepted as a reverential regret for faiths that refused to blossom in his own soul. And we owe him the high praise that not a word has he written that could in the smallest degree be censured for irreverence towards faith or purity. Tender but subtle, keen but gentle, trenchant against all irregularities, yet always with a gloved, never with a mailed hand, he has taken a higher and truer view of the interests of humanity and the interests of letters than any man of his generation.

For with reference to the latter, that is, the dignity of literature, not the least conspicuous of his merits was, that he held his own art in such reverence. If his poetry can be regarded as an index of his mind, we should say that he set out with the determination of saying nothing that would not benefit his race,—of writing not one word that could be regarded as a blemish on his art. To his mind the vocation of a poet was one that was placed on “a hidden ground of thought and austerity,” and the Muse of Poetry was a Pythian priestess who never departed from the solitude of her temple to mix amongst the pleasures and passions of men. Hence, if “light and sweetness” are his ideas of what is most valuable in life, “thought and austerity” are the characteristics of his poetry. He makes no attempt at using any of the vulgar artifices which are so common amongst poets on lower levels: nor does he ever seek to rivet the attention of purposeless minds by involutions of ideas that make half our modern poetry as difficult to read as the Greek of Æschylus.

His verses are clear and limpid, and if thought-laden, the thoughts are neither mysterious nor occult. They do not hint and suggest and leave the reader to conjecture and doubt as to their meaning. If passionless, they are tender, no lurid lights of heat and sin, but the calm, lambent play of gentle motions that never break into violence and rage. If not exactly dramatic, there yet is a deep charm in the scenes of his longer poems. There are few dialogues so skilfully constructed as that between Tristram and Iseult of Ireland,—so much tenderness, so little passion. The slumbering mind of the dying king wakes up :—

“ I forgot, thou comest from thy voyage,
Yes, the spray is on thy cloak and hair ;
But thy dark eyes are not dimmed, proud Iseult !
And thy beauty never was more fair.”

And the stately queen grown humble by the bed of death is content to say of herself :

“ I, a faded watcher by thy pillow,
I, a statue on thy chapel floor,
Poured a prayer before the Virgin Mother,
Rouse no anger, make no rivals more.”

And in the story told by the abandoned Queen, Iseult of Brittany, she puts the legend of Merlin and Vivien in a far more attractive and less suggestive manner than Lord Tennyson.

This high conception of his art is most clearly manifested in his *Memorial Verses*. Three poets he laments—Byron, Goethe, and Wordsworth. Of the first he says :—

“ With shivering hearts the strife we saw,
Of passion with Eternal Law.”

Of the cynical Goethe, to whom the human heart was but a subject of analysis :—

“ He took the suffering human race,
He read each wound, each weakness clear,
And struck his finger on the place,
And said, *Thou ailest here, and here.*”

But of Wordsworth—

“He laid us as we lay at birth,
On the cool, flowery lap of earth,
Smiles broke from us, and we had ease,
The hills were round us, and the breeze
Went o’er the sunlit fields again.
* * * * *

Time may restore us in his course,
Goethe’s sage mind, and Byron’s force,
But when will Europe’s latter hour
Again find Wordsworth’s healing power?”

This is a correct estimate of these poets, two of whom have been more widely talked of and praised than the third. The fierce rhetoric of Byron, and the easy cynicism of the old German sensualist, have pleased the world more than the calm, prayerful, reverential attitude of Wordsworth. For the same reason the glitter of some of his own contemporaries, and the artificial perfection of others, have more or less hidden the “fugitive and gracious light, shy to illumine,” of M. Arnold; but the highest praise we can give him is to say, that wanting his master’s faith, he had inherited his master’s spirit: and that if Wordsworth could live again he would probably preach his own divine doctrines, but in the music of his disciple. Hence, hostile criticism is almost hushed in the universal sorrow that has been felt at his death, and it is thought that the future, which will certainly shatter many of our idols, will spare him, as well because he had a high ideal before him of his race and of his art, as that he died in despair of its attainment. For now is it asked for the hundredth time, when will the poet arise who will not only interpret, but lull into effectual silence “the still sad music of humanity;” who will not only lay his finger on its wounds, but pour balm into its bruises and bind them, and set it forward once more with hope upon its eternal journey? Certainly no modern poet has this high calling. For the most part “mere idle singers of an empty day,” from one and all we have to listen to the eternal plaint about lost loves and beliefs. Nor does the immediate future give much promise that it keeps enfolded a Shakspeare or a Milton. The civilisation of the day is perfecting itself in unbelief, and the

shadow of dissolution is already upon it. Humanity is shifting uneasily to shape itself under new conditions. Men tangle themselves into huge ganglions of life in the cities, and then when society begins to fester and decompose, its elements stream forth questing new conditions of existence under fresher skies and closer to the Eternal Mother.

The world moves restlessly, feverishly onward, carrying with it its curse, and the voices of its poets, to borrow the metaphor of our author, are as the voices of mariners in a storm, or of guides in an avalanche of the Alps. Yet we must listen and be patient, and thank those poets for that most melancholy music in which one and all have framed their own beliefs, and sought, in sad sincerity, to make light the burden of life for many.

P. A. SHEEHAN, C.C.

THE ALLEGED FALL OF POPE LIBERIUS.—III.

§ II.—ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE ALLEGED FALL.

THE positive arguments advanced by the Abbé Corgne,¹ Stilling,² Dumont,³ and Jungmann⁴ against the alleged fall are to our mind conclusive, though not a few appear to think otherwise. The chief reason assigned by the latter for their opinion is the absence of any direct evidence in favour of Liberius. That reason, whatever force it may have had in the past, can be no longer urged, as fortunately for the cause of truth two important documents have been recently discovered which supply the direct evidence so long sought for in vain. These documents throw a new light on the controversy, and place the innocence of a much maligned pope beyond the region of doubt. We

¹ *Dissertation crit et hist. Sur le Pape Libère.*

² *Boll. Acta Sanctorum*, 23 Sept.

³ *St. Libère, son exil.*

⁴ *Dissertationes*, vol. II.

shall reserve their consideration till we have set forth the other arguments that have satisfied so many eminent writers of the innocence of Liberius.

Firstly : Liberius on his return from exile was received by the Romans with the utmost enthusiasm. Such a reception appears irreconcilable with the supposition of his fall. The Romans were almost to a man on the side of St. Athanasius, and the cause with which he was identified. They were very much attached to Liberius because, as Sozomen says, in opposing the Emperor he proved himself the champion of orthodoxy and defender of the oppressed; they sent deputations to Constantinus to obtain his release from exile; on his account they raised civil commotions in Rome which on some occasions ended in bloodshed; they even refused to enter the churches while Felix was Pope, because he condemned Athanasius and was the nominee of an Arian Emperor.¹ Are we to suppose that the same Roman people so soon forgot the past, and changed their opinions, as to accord a triumphal reception to one who deserted their cause, condemned Athanasius, and sent abject letters of apology and communion to the Arians of the East? Nor can it be urged that the Arians kept the fall of Liberius a secret. Such a course would not attain the object they had in view; neither would it be in accordance with their usual practice. They succeeded a few days previously in making Hosius accept an Arian Creed, and they immediately proclaimed their victory to the world. They would have done the same in the case of Liberius, had he joined their ranks, and would have been sure to let the Romans know the side their Bishop took in the controversy regarding the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. This difficulty of reconciling the acceptance of an Arian Creed by Liberius with his triumphal entry into Rome was so keenly felt by Baronius that he considered himself bound to reject the one or the other. Not having sufficient time, on account of his other formidable labours, to examine the authority of the extracts adduced against Liberius, he looked on them as conclusive, and held

¹ Theodoret. Book ii., cap 17.

against the authority of Theodoret, Socrates, Sulpitius Severus, and, I may say, the universally received opinion of ancient and modern writers, that on his return from exile he found the Romans alienated from him in feeling. For this singular opinion there cannot be quoted as much as one early authority. We feel, as keenly as Baronius did, the difficulty of reconciling the reception of Liberius with his fall. But we adopt a different way of getting out of it. Accepting the authority of ancient writers, we admit the reception and deny the fall.

Secondly: There was a Council held at Rimini in the year 359, at which 400 bishops attended. They were induced by promises, threats, and even by violence to subscribe to a Homæan Creed¹ which was substantially the same as the third Sirmian. This Creed was condemned by Liberius, not for what it contained, but for what it did not contain; it gave expression to no false doctrine, but was not sufficiently explicit against the Arians because of the omission of the term *con-substantial*. The Bishops who accepted this Creed were severely censured by him for their conduct; some of them as we learn from a letter of St. Athanasius to Rufinians after having expressed regret for their conduct, and having performed certain penances enjoined, were allowed to continue in their sees, while the more prominent were deposed and compelled to live as laymen for the remainder of their lives. This is not the conduct of one who had himself a year previously subscribed to a Creed that was at least as faulty as that accepted by the Fathers of Rimini. It is perfectly certain that had Liberius signed an Arian Creed a short time before, many charges would have been preferred against him on the ground of his severe treatment of others who were less guilty than himself. And still we do not find on record a single instance of his having been thus charged. It appears to us incredible that no trace of such a charge should have come down to us considering the number by whom it would have been made. Moreover, Liberius lived in Rome and governed

¹ A Homæan Creed was one that declared the Son like the Father in all things.

the Church for eight years after his return, revered by many, admired by all, and we do not find it recorded that he ever expressed publicly or privately his regret for his past conduct, or went through any form of reconciliation with the Church consequent on a betrayal of the faith, which he would have done had he yielded, as his enemies assert, to the solicitations of the Arians.

Thirdly: All the Greek and Latin historians of the fifth century with the exception of Sozomen agree in assigning as the cause of the return of Liberius to Rome, not his acceptance of an Arian formula of faith, nor the condemnation of Athanasius, but the urgent entreaties of the Romans for his release, and the civil commotions stirred up in Rome because of the absence of their Bishop. The absence of any reference to the alleged fall of Liberius by these historians is the clearest indication that they did not believe it. The following¹ is the account given of the cause that led to Liberius's release by Theodoret, (394-458), the most reliable writer of the fifth century in the narration of facts, though not equally reliable in his chronology. "These noble ladies adopted this suggestion [viz., that of their husbands who asked them to petition the Emperor for the release of Liberius], and presented themselves before the Emperor, after having adorned themselves in the most splendid attire, that their rank might be evident from their appearance, in order to insure greater respect and lenity. Having thus presented themselves before him, they besought him to take pity on the condition of so large a city, deprived of its pastor and ravaged by wolves. The Emperor replied that the flock possessed a pastor capable of tending it, and that no other was needed in the city. After the banishment of the great Liberius, one of his deacons named Felix had been appointed bishop. He preserved inviolate the doctrines set forth in the Nicene confession of faith, yet he held communion with those that had corrupted that faith. For this reason none of the citizens of Rome would enter the Church while he was in it. The ladies mentioned these facts to the Emperor. Their

¹ *Ecclesiastical History*, Book ii., cap 17.

persuasions were successful; and he commanded that the great Liberius should be recalled from exile, and that the two bishops should conjointly rule the Church. The edict of the Emperor was read in the Circus, and the multitude shouted that the imperial regulation was just; that the spectators were divided into two factions, each deriving its name from its own colors, and that each faction would now have its own bishop. After having thus ridiculed the edict of the Emperor, they all exclaimed with one voice:—"There is but one God, one Christ, one bishop." These were the precise words. Some time after these Christian people had uttered their pious and just acclamation, the holy Liberius returned, and Felix retired to another city." Socrates, another Greek historian, and a contemporary of the preceding, in his *History of the Church*, which displays much critical research, thus speaks of the return of Liberius:¹ "Not long after, indeed, Liberius was recalled and re-instated in his see, for the people of Rome having raised a sedition and expelled Felix from the Church, Constantius deemed it inexpedient to further provoke the popular fury." Sulpitius Severus, styled the "Christian Sallust" after describing the exile of Liberius and other bishops, says:² "But Liberius was shortly afterwards restored to Rome on account of the disturbances that occurred in Rome." In the Basilian Menology, which claims special attention because of its venerable antiquity, we find the following account of the exile of Liberius and of his restoration to Rome:—"The blessed Liberius, defender of the faith, was bishop of Rome under the empire of Constantius. Burning with zeal for the orthodox faith, he protected the great Athanasius, persecuted by the heretics for his bold defence of the truth, and driven from Alexandria. While Constantine and Constans lived, the Catholic faith was supported; but when Constantius was left sole master, as he was an Arian, the heretics prevailed. Liberius, for his vigor in censuring their impiety, was banished to Beraea, in Thrace. But the Romans who always remained true to him went to the Emperor and besought his recall. He was therefore, or

¹ L. ii., cap. 37, *ad finem*.² Lib. ii. Ad an. 358.

this account, sent back to Rome, and there ended his life after a holy administration of his pastoral charge." From these extracts we have quoted it is clear that the writers did not believe that Liberius accepted an Arian creed or consented to condemn Athanasius, for had they believed these charges they could not have avoided referring to them in describing the circumstances that led to his return to Rome. They attribute his release to the "persuasions of the Roman matrons," to the "pious and just acclamation" of a Christian people, and to the "popular fury" caused by the exile of their beloved bishop, but not to a betrayal of the faith. Constantius had every reason to fear the consequences of popular discontent and excitement. For within the short interval of three years he saw three rivals make their appearance who took advantage of civil disturbances to mount to power and dispute his right to the imperial crown. The last of these usurpers was Magnentius, who had himself proclaimed Roman Emperor, and whom it took Constantius three years to reduce to subjection, after having sustained immense losses in men and money. With reason then did he fear lest history should repeat itself, and some other rival take advantage of the discontent of the Roman people to have himself proclaimed Emperor.

Fourthly: There are extant the works of many contemporaries of Liberius in which we should expect to find some mention of his fall had such occurred. While some speak of him in the most flattering terms, and extol him for his constancy and sufferings in the interests of faith and justice; others, though not expressly referring to Liberius, wrote in circumstances in which they could not have failed to refer to his betrayal of the cause of orthodoxy if there had been any truth in the reports circulated about him by the Arians. And still there cannot be cited from these works a single passage about whose authenticity no reasonable doubt is entertained stating that Liberius betrayed the faith or deserted the cause of Athanasius. We shall best bring home to our readers the force of our argument by referring to some of the contemporaries of Liberius, and the circumstances in which they wrote.

St. Hilary of Poitiers frequently complains of the fall of Hosius in his two works, *De Synodis*, and *Contra Constantium*. The first of these was written in the year 358; the other in the year 360, for he says that he wrote it five years after the Council of Milan, and therefore two years at least after Liberius's release from exile. In neither of these books do we find the slightest allusion to any charge against his orthodoxy. On the contrary, he is frequently spoken of in the most flattering terms. Had Liberius yielded to the solicitations of the Emperor, St. Hilary must have been aware of it, at least before he wrote his work *Contra Constantium*, as he was travelling in the East at the time, and was present at the largely attended Council of Seleucia in 359, where he would have been sure to hear of it from the assembled fathers. But had St. Hilary been aware of Liberius's betrayal of the faith, how could he refer to him in such glowing terms as "martyr for the faith," "steadfast Pontiff," &c.; how could he have avoided referring to it side by side with the fall of Hosius, and especially how could he have avoided referring to it in a work written against Constantius—the reputed cause of it—the avowed opponent of the Nicene faith?

St. Phaebedius, Bishop of Agen, in France, wrote his *Book against the Arians* in the year 359, in which he refutes the objections raised against the orthodox faith on account of the unhappy fall of Hosius. "I am aware," he says,¹ "that our adversaries hold up to us as an incontestable authority the name of Hosius of Cordova, the most ancient of all the bishops, and one whose faith was always so firm. But we must choose one of two alternatives: either that great man is now, or always was in error; in either case what can be the weight of his authority? His sentiments until his present advanced age are known to the entire world; no one is ignorant of the firmness with which he defended the Catholic faith at Sardica and at Nice. If he now maintains what he before condemned, or if he condemns what he always maintained, once more his authority

¹ *Bibl. Patrum*, vol. iv., 420.

on matters of faith is worthless. For, if he has lived in error for a period of ninety years, how can I be persuaded that what he believes when he has passed the period of ninety years is the truth? The precedent found in his authority has therefore no force since that authority destroys itself." A much stronger objection might have been taken from the defection of Liberius, did it occur, and it would have been more incumbent on Phaebedius to have replied to it. And still he does not allude to any such objection either in the *Book against the Arians*, or in a treatise written some years later against the decrees of Rimini (359), of which he has been proved by Rivet to have been the author.

St. Athanasius wrote many works after the return of Liberius from exile, in which we should expect to find some mention of the alleged fall. For instance, he wrote his work *De Synodis* (359), giving an account of the rise and spread of Arianism, and especially of the Councils of Rimini and Seleucia; his *Letters to the Church of Antioch* (360), exhorting all to union, and his *Two Books against Appollinaris* (362), proving the orthodoxy of the Catholic faith. In these works of Athanasius we look in vain for the slightest allusion injurious to the character of Liberius; but we do find frequent allusions to him as the "holy Liberius," the "defender of the persecuted," &c. St. Ambrose,¹ who was actually studying in Rome when Liberius returned from exile, shortly after his death spoke of him as a man of "holy memory," and "blessed memory." About the same time we find St. Basil writing in the name of the bishops of the East to those of the West, and styling² Liberius a "most holy bishop." And shortly afterwards Siricius, his second successor in the chair of Peter, speaks³ of him as "his holy and venerable predecessor."

The name of Liberius is not found in the present Roman Martyrology compiled by Baronius. It occurred however in the Valesian Martyrology used in Rome before his time, as it

¹ *De Virginibus*, L. iii.

² *Epis. no. 263.*

³ *Epis. ad Himerium, Epis. Terroc.*

did in every martyrology both of the East and West with the single exception of that of Usuard. The mere fact of Liberius being recognised as a saint in the different martyrologies would not of itself supply an argument of his innocence of the charges brought against him; it does however add to the force of the other arguments, as the almost universal agreement between the old martyrologies supplies a strong presumption that for centuries after his death no doubt was entertained regarding his piety or orthodoxy.

We have no hesitation in saying that the many eulogistic references to Liberius contained in the writings of contemporaries and the old martyrologies, the absence of any allusion to the alleged fall by those who would have referred to it if it occurred, the statements of Theodoret, Socrates, &c., regarding the cause of his return to Rome, his treatment of the bishops who subscribed to the decrees of Rimini, and lastly his enthusiastic reception by the Romans, supply stronger proofs of his innocence than can be adduced to the contrary from the few extracts of doubtful authenticity quoted against him.

If any doubt still remains in the mind of the reader about the innocence of Liberius, that doubt will be removed by the recently discovered documents to which we now invite attention.

The first of these is a poem, the history of which is not devoid of interest. The last librarian of St. Germain des Prés, Dom Poirier, seeing the literary treasures of St. Maur abandoned in an open court-yard, filled his cell with a number of the folios, with which he surrounded himself, and used them as a protection against the cold of a specially severe winter. To this device we owe the preservation of whatever remains of the library of St. Maur. Many of the MSS. preserved by Dom Poirier were stolen by a vigilant Russian named Dobronski, and carried away to St. Petersburg. About a century afterwards special attention was called by some Protestants to one of the MSS. which bore the name of Venantius Fortunatus. It was brought to Rome in the year 1883, where it fell into the hands of Commendatore Rossi. In reading over the codex he came on a poem bearing no title, and without the

name of the writer. He had no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that Liberius was the subject treated of, and that it was written by a contemporary. The following is the full text of the poem,¹ the brackets indicating omissions in the MS. :—

Quam Domino fuerant devota mente parentes,
 Qui confessorem talem genuere potentem,
 Atque sacerdotem sanctum, sine felle collumbam,
 Divinae legis sincero corde magistrum !
 Haec te nacentem suscepit ecclesia mater,
 Uberibus fidei nutriens de[vot]a beatum,
 Qui pro se passurus era[s] mala cuncta libenter.
 Parvulus utque loqui coepisti dulcia verba,
 Mox Scripturarum lector pius indole factus :
 Ut tua lingua magis legem quam verba sonaret,
 Dilecta a Domino tua dicta, infantia simplex :
 Nullis arte dolis sceda fucata malignis,
 Officio tali justo puroque legendi.
 Atque item simplex adolescens mente fuisti,
 Maturusque animus, ferventi aetate modestus,
 Remotus, prudens, uitis, gravis, integer, aequus.
 Haec tibi lectori innocuo fuit aurea vita.
 Diaconus hinc factus juvenis meritoque fideli,
 Qui sic sincere, caste, integreque, pudice
 Servieris sine fraude Deo, [qui] pectore puro
 Atque annis aliquot fueris levita severus.
 Ac tali justa conversatione beata
 Dignus qui merito inlibatus jure perennis,
 Huic tantae sedi Christi splendore serenae,
 Electus fidei plenus summusque sacerdos,
 Qui *nivea mente immaculatus papa sederes* :
 Qui *bene apostolicam doctrinam sancte doceres*
 Innocuam plebem *coelesti lege magister*
 In synodo cunctis superatis victor iniquis
 Sacrilegis, Nicaena fides electa triumphat.
 Contra quam plures certamen sumpseris unus,
Catholica praecincte fide possederis omnes
 Vox tua certantis fuit haec sincera, salubris :
 "Atque nec hoc metuo, neque illud committere opto."
Haec fuit, haec semper mentis constantia firma.
 Discerptus, tractus, profugatusque sacerdos
 Insuper ut faciem quodam nigrore velaret (f. *velarent*)
 Nobili falsa manu portante [symbola] coeli,
 Ut speciem Domini faedare[s] luce corus[cam]

¹ We are deeply indebted to the Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Bishop of Canea, for a copy of this valuable poem, and for its history.

En tibi discrimen vehemens non sufficit annum (f. unum)
 Insuper exilio decedis martyr ad astra,
 Atque inter patriarchas praesagosque prophetas,
 Inter apostolicam turbam martyrumque potentum
 Cum hac turba dignus mediasque locatus [honeste]
 Mitte [ris in] Domini conspectu[m] iuste sacerdos.
 Sic inde tibi merito tanta est concessa potestas,
 Ut manum imponas patientibus, incola Christi,
 Daemonia expellas, purges mundesque repletos (f. leprosos?)
 Ac salvos homines reddas animoque vigentes
 Per Patris ac Filii nomen, cui credimus omnes.
 Cumque tu[um] hoc obitum praececellens tale videmus
 Spem gerimus cuncti proprie nos esse beatos,
 Qui sumus hocque tuum meritum fidemque secuti.

Though the name of Liberius does not occur from the beginning to the end of this poem, there can be no doubt that he is the person referred to. In reading it over we find that the subject was (a) a deacon for some years; (b) a pope; (c) a pope during the Arian controversy; (d) he fought almost single-handed against many enemies of the faith; (e) he was sent into exile. In Liberius, and in him alone are all these marks found; so that the person in whose honor the poem was written is as distinctly pointed out as if his name occurred in every line.

It is equally certain that the poem was written before the end of the fourth century. De Rossi, the greatest archaeologist of modern times, says,¹ that its date is written in its metre and rhythm, and that it could not have been written after the age of Pope Siricius. The whole tenor of the poem points to a contemporary author—probably Siricius—who had been his companion during life, and a witness of his death, e.g. "*Mitteris in Domine conspectum*," "*praececellens tale videmus*," &c. The use of the expression "*Per Patris et Filii nomen*," shows that it was written during the Arian controversy, and before the discussion on the Divinity of the Holy Ghost attracted that public attention which it did shortly before the Œcumenical Council of Constantinople (381). Finally, the fact of Liberius being called a *martyr*, though he did not suffer death for the faith is a proof of its having been written

¹ *Bulletino* iv. ser. i. ii., 1883.

at a very early period when it was not unusual to designate extreme suffering such as Liberius endured both on his way into, and during his exile, by the name of martyrdom. The subject of the poem being Liberius, and the writer a contemporary, we hold that the eulogistic terms in which he is spoken of are a direct, and we may say, an authoritative denial of the charges brought against him. Had he subscribed to an Arian Creed or to the condemnation of Athanasius, how could he have been thus addressed with any semblance of truth?—*“Qui nivea mente immaculatus papa sederes:”* *“Haec fuit, haec semper mentis constantia firma;”* *“Qui bene Apostolicam doctrinam doceres,”* &c.

The other direct testimony to the innocence of Liberius is supplied by a letter written by Anastasius II. (496-8) to Venerius, Bishop of Milan, which has been recently discovered in the Codex Bruxellensis, written in the ninth or, at latest, tenth century. The following is the part of it that bears on our subject, given as amended by Cardinal Pitra:—¹

“Dat mihi plurimum illud in Christi amore gaudium, quod Divinitatis studio, alacritate succensa, integram fidem, Apostolis traditam locatamque a majoribus, toto orbe victrix retinebat Italia. Ipso quippe sub tempore quo divae memoriae Constantius orbem victor obtinuit, nec potuit sordes suas committere aliqua subreptione factio Ariana, Deo nostro, ut credimus, providente, ne illa sancta fides et impolluta in aliquo vitio blasphemiae maledicorum hominum contaminaretur: haec scilicet ipsa, quae a sanctis viris et in requie Sanctorum jam collocatis episcopis tractata fuerat vel definita in synodi conventu Nicaenae; pro qua exilium libenter tulerunt, qui sancti tunc episcopi sunt probati: hoc est Dionysius inde Dei servus, divina instructione compositus; vel ejus sancto exemplo sanctae recordationis Ecclesiae Romanae Liberius episcopus, Eusebius quoque a Vercellis, Hilarius de Galiis; ut de plerisque taceam, quorum potuerit in arbitrio residere, cruci potius affigi quam Deum Christum (quod Ariana cogebat haeresis) blasphemarent, aut Filium Dei Deum Christum dicerent creaturam Domini.”

This letter supplies the clearest proof that there was no doubt entertained in Rome towards the end of the fifth century about the innocence of Liberius. It was written partly against Origen, and partly to encourage the Bishop of

Milan in his struggle with the Emperor Anastasius¹ by placing before him the example of others who suffered for the faith. In such a letter it would be obviously out of place to mention the name of one who consented to accept an Arian Creed. Not only is Liberius referred to as one who suffered freely for the truth, and among those whose steadfastness has never been questioned; but he even gets a special prominence by being called a man "*sanctae recordationis*." And the mention of his name is made more significant by the omission of that of Hosius who would certainly have been among the very first mentioned but for his fall.

We have not the slightest doubt that had Baronius been aware of the nature of the evidence on which the charges against Liberius were based, and the two documents that have recently come to light, his conclusion regarding the alleged fall would have been different from what we find recorded, and he would have sought, as Cardinal Pitra says, to make reparation to the character of a much maligned pope by demanding the restoration of his name to the Roman Martyrology.

We shall conclude by briefly summarizing the conclusions which it was our purpose to establish in the preceding pages. (a) The alleged fall of Liberius has no connection whatever with the Catholic doctrine of the Papal Infallibility; because if he did accept an Arian creed he acted in the capacity of believer rather than of teacher, neither did he enjoy that freedom which is essential in order that Catholics should be bound to consider his decisions infallible. (b) He could have accepted the first and third Sirmian creeds, one or other of which he did accept according to nearly all Protestant historians, without falling into the Arian heresy. (c) He neither accepted an Arian creed nor condemned Athanasius; the cause of his release from exile was due entirely to the petition of the Roman matrons and to the civil commotions stirred up in Rome on account of his absence.

T. GILMARTIN.

¹ Anastasius required every candidate for the episcopal office to subscribe to the *Henoticon*, an ambiguous formulary, in which the real point at issue between the Catholics and Eutychians was entirely omitted.

THE APOSTOLIC UNION OF SECULAR PRIESTS— ITS WORK AND PROGRESS IN IRELAND.

IT may be presumed that comparatively few Irish priests know of the existence, and still fewer of the aim and methods of the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests, a condensed Report of whose latest general meeting in Ireland is now presented for public inspection. Yet surely it is an interesting fact, and one belonging to the highest and most sacred of interests, that within the space of four years such a Union, having for its purpose the greater sanctification of the secular priesthood of Ireland, has grown to the proportions and has done the work evidenced in this first public Report. The Apostolic Union has done the work quietly—almost stealthily. It was clear that such caution was necessary. No startling disorder, not even any grave and general shortcoming called for the introduction of this association among the Irish clergy. Those who have had most to say to it can scarcely tell exactly why the idea took such hold of them just when it did, or how, in spite of its being an “innovation,” it found such a welcome from priests of every rank, of every age, and in every part of Ireland. But such has quietly and naturally taken place: God be blessed for it, for it has assuredly not been man’s work.

Although we do not purpose giving here anything like a detailed account of the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests in Ireland, it will be, we are sure, a satisfaction to some inquirers, and it may also whet the curiosity of some critics, to have, by way of preface to this Report and to the others that may from time to time be published in these pages, some short sketch of the Union, some idea of its spirit, some outline of its organization and working. For fuller information we refer the reader to the *Rules and Constitutions of the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests*, published by Gill & Son. This little book, written by one of the earliest members of the Union in Ireland, and bearing on its first page a letter from the Archbishop of Cashel, warmly recommending the Union to his clergy, was carefully revised and formally

sanctioned at the general meeting of the Union in 1886. The price is sixpence, and it is hoped that all who are desirous of knowing more about the Union than this article can tell them, will provide themselves with that little official tract, or with the much larger and fuller *Règle Générale*, which may be had from the Dublin publishers of the *Rules and Constitutions*.

The Apostolic Union offers to the secular priest : 1st, a rule of life suited to his work as missionary ; 2nd, a director to watch over his observance of that rule ; 3rd, an association with his fellow members, community of prayers with them where community life is not possible, and periodical meetings to foster in him the charity and renew in him the spirit of an Apostolic priest.

Isolation is undoubtedly the great spiritual danger of the secular priest. A rule that was like a second nature to him in college seems almost an impossibility to him when parted from his fellows and alone upon the mission. The Union offers him a rule, a superior to watch him, companions to encourage him. Every month he sends to his superior in the Union the bulletin of his daily observance of the rule. Every night he has marked his fidelity or his failure on each point of the rule, and all day long there has been this gentle pressure on him not to omit any duty since he will have to record the omission. He is thus encouraged to rise in time for his meditation, to be exact in his devotions to the Blessed Sacrament, to make his spiritual reading, his particular and general examination of conscience, to say his beads, and to preserve the habit of study in reference to ecclesiastical learning. True, these are the daily practices of thousands of priests who never heard of the Apostolic Union ; but then how many would be more faithful in the discharge of them, how many would gladly cease to neglect them if their observance were made easier by some pressure and some encouragement from without. Such pressure, such encouragement the members of the Apostolic Union receive. Some eight thousand priests to-day acknowledge with gratitude to God the timely aids of the association ; in more than one hundred and fifty dioceses the priestly

spirit has been revived by its establishment within the last five and twenty years; and Pope Leo has vied with Pope Pius in commending it to the secular clergy throughout the Church, in praying for its speedy spread, and in dowering its every fresh advance with increased indulgences.

Every Irish priest, then, will be gladdened by the following short Report, which records now for the first time, publicly, the establishment, the spread, the vigorous life, and sure promise of the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests in Ireland. Having at last emerged from the catacombs it is hoped that the Union will flourish all the more because of the light that is now on it, the clearer evidences of its usefulness, and the fuller knowledge of its aims and of its methods. It is enough to say that it is watched with anxious eyes in its quiet progress through the land by those who know best and love best the faithful priesthood of Ireland; and that there are many now in high places who join in the blessing and God-speed it so readily received in the first Irish diocese where it was established, from the Metropolitan of Munster. Pope, Leo's words, indeed, would be themselves sufficient preface for this Report:—"We exhort all secular priests, in order the more effectually to provide for their own welfare as well as for the interests of religion, to enrol their names in this most salutary association."

ARTHUR RYAN.

ABRIDGED REPORT OF THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE APOSTOLIC UNION OF SECULAR PRIESTS IN IRELAND FOR THE YEAR 1887.

The meeting was held in the House of Retreat of the Jesuit Fathers, Milltown Park, Dublin. The entire day, which was spent in the spirit of a day of retreat, was devoted to the purposes of the meeting. The proceedings included—A conference of the Presidents of Diocesan Unions; a general conference of all the members present, at which the diocesan reports were read, and subjects arising out of these, and bearing on the growth and efficacy of the Union, were discussed; two lectures on the Spirit of the Apostolic Union, by a Jesuit Father; finally, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament closed the exercises of the day.

Thirty-four members took part in the meeting. These represented the following Irish dioceses, which were the only ones at that time possessing branches of the Union;—Dublin, Cashel, Limerick,

Killaloe, Down and Connor, Ossory, Elphin, and Ferns. The meeting was, however, informed that the association was just then extending itself into five other dioceses, viz., Cork, Waterford, Meath, Dromore, and Kildare, as well as into the two English dioceses of Birmingham and Clifton. The number of members of the Union in Ireland was computed to be one hundred and fifty-two.

At the General Conference the chair was taken by the President of the Diocesan Union of Cashel, who is also the President-General of the Apostolic Union in Ireland.

The chairman, in the course of an address to the meeting, laid before it much interesting information regarding the condition of the Union through the country, including its approaching introduction into the five dioceses mentioned above. He also stated that the President-General of the Union throughout the world, who was about to set out for Rome to assist at the Jubilee celebrations, intended to petition the Holy See for the appointment of a Cardinal Protector for the Apostolic Union; also for the extension to ten years of the privileges accorded to the association, and for faculties to enable Ordinaries to establish branches of the Union in their dioceses without the obligation of affiliating such branches to the Parisian or other Union.

At the conclusion of the chairman's address the Diocesan Reports were read. The Dublin Report was an encouraging record of the growth of the Union, but it was even more gratifying as exhibiting in the earnestness and zeal of the members a proof of their sense of the utility they derived from the association. The members counted forty, and included representatives from the Parish Priests, the collegiate staffs, and from each of the city parishes. The quarterly meetings had been regularly held, and had been well attended. These meetings began with an exhortation from some master of the spiritual life; then followed a brief conference on any features in the condition of the Union which called for attention; next came a paper on some question of pastoral theology and a discussion thereon; lastly, Rosary and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

It may here be remarked that the quarterly meetings of the Apostolic Union suggested the idea of the establishment of a Theological Conference (which should be independent of the Union) to promote the study of questions of theology, and especially of questions which are prominently before the world at the present day. This idea has taken shape, and the young institution enters life with the fairest promise of permanence and success.

Among the students of Maynooth, All Hallows, and Clonliffe, the Union, in a modified form, has obtained, with the approbation of the Superiors, a firm footing. This is a most hopeful circumstance, as one of the chief aims of the association is to render the transition from life in college to life on the mission as gentle as possible, thus making it easy for the priest to maintain about him intact the agencies which have formed him to virtue and to the ecclesiastical spirit in his years of preparation for the ministry.

The details of the Dublin Report have been drawn out at some length, because it practically reflects the leading features of the reports of the other dioceses. In each there was a record of more or less satisfactory progress, and there was a description of meetings conducted as described in the Dublin Report, and held as regularly as the circumstances of each case permitted. Some of the reports, including that from Dublin, made mention of the preparation of an illuminated Address, to be presented to the Pope on the occasion of his Jubilee.

The reports having been read, a general conference followed, which concerned itself mainly with the various points of observance, as given in the *Rules and Constitutions*. Several suggestions, offered with the view of more perfectly adjusting the working of the association to the existing conditions in this country were discussed, but it was decided to make no change.

The Report closes with an expression of the indebtedness of the members of the Union to the Father of the Society of Jesus, who had done so much for the furtherance of the Association, and whose striking lectures so powerfully impressed all who attended the general meeting. The Secretaries are asked to make the Apostolic Union known to the priests of Ireland, and to the Reverend Conductors of Retreats for the Clergy, through the medium of the I. E. RECORD.

THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN IN 1697—(CONTINUED).

(Marsh's Library, Class v. 3, Tab. I., No. 18.)

| | |
|----------------|--|
| Co. of Dublin. | Donnybrooke and Rathfarnham Parishes. |
| Secular. | Doctor Cruise, Titular Archdeacon of Dublin, liveing in the County of Kildare. |
| Secular. | Thady Kelly, Parish Priest of Rathfarnham, Tallaght, &c., he lives for the most part within the Union of Tallaght. |
| Secular. | Mr. Patrick Gilmore, parish priest of Donnybrooke and Kilgobbin, liveing for the most part within y ^e Union of Mounkstowne. |

No regular Clergy in these Parishes.

| | |
|----------------|---|
| Co. of Dublin. | Swords Parish. |
| Secular. | Christopher Walsh, ¹ priest of Kinsally Cloghran and Swords. John Jones, his assistant, liveing with him. |
| Secular. | Thomas Smyth, parish priest of Mallahide, liveing there at Mr. Talbott's. |

¹ Prebendary of Swords

Secular. Edmund Murphy, Priest of Killossery, liveing at Rowlingstowne in that Parish.

There are no Regulars in these Parishes.

Co. of Dublin. Parishes of Luske and Holmpatrick.

Secular. Father Joseph Walsh,¹ parish priest of both Parishes, liveing at Knock Drumon, in the Parishes of Luske.

Father William Shanly, assistant to the said Walsh, residing at Belcunny, in the Parishes of Luske.

Regular. Father Patrick McAneranny, at Rogerstown, in the said Parish.

Regular. Father — Whitehead, at Grace Dieu, in the same Parish.

Parishes of Donabate and Portraan.

Secular. Father Charles Ternan,² parish priest of both parishes, liveing at Turvey, in y^e Parish of Donabate.

No regulars can be found.

Co. of Dublin.

Parishes of Howth, Baldoyle, Portmarnock, and Balgriffin.

Secular. Charles Smyth, parish priest of Howth, Baldoyle, Portmarnock, and Balgriffin, liveing in Baldoyle.

No regulars can be found in these Parishes.

Co. of Dublin. Parishes of Santry and Coolock.

Secular. Richard Cahill, Parish Priest of Santry and Coolock; liveing at Artain in y^e Parish of Finglass.

Parish of Kilsallaghan.

Secular. — Scallery [B. Scally], Priest of one part of y^e Parish of Kilsallaghan, liveing at Dunsallaghan, in y^e parish of Finglasse.

Secular. — Murphy, priest³ of y^e other part of the Parish of Kilsallaghan, liveing in Fieldstownn.

No regulars can be found in these Parishes.

¹ Chancellor of the Chapter of St. Patrick's.

² In Archbishop Russell's List of the Chapter in 1688 he is given as Prebendary of Donaghmore. See *Spic. Ossor.*, vol. iii., p. 116.

³ The same [Edmund] Murphy mentioned above as living at Rowlingstowne.

- Co. of Dublin. Parish of Garristowne.
- Secular. Robert Taylor,¹ parish priest of Garristowne, liveing at Tobergragan, in the said Parish. Parishes of Hollywood and Naul.
- Secular. Owen Smyth, parish priest of Hollywood and Naul, liveing att Mallahow, in the said parish. Parishes of Ballrothery and Ballscadden.
- Secular. Andrew Finglass,² Parish Priest of Ballrothery and Ballscadden, liveing att Tobertstowne, being 80 years old, lame, and blind.
- Secular. John Coghnan, his assistant, liveing in the same house with him.

No regulars can bee found in these Parishes.

- Co. of Dublin. The Union of Clonmethan.
- Edmund Murphy,³ priest, liveing in Rowlandstowne in the Barony of Castleknock, hath the Parish of Clonmethan in the Barony of Nethercrosse, the Parish of Palmerstown in the Barony of Ballrothery, the Parish of Kilsallaghan in the Barony of Castleknock, the Parish of Killestry in the Barony of Coolock.
- Secular. Robert Taylor, parish priest, liveing in Tobergragan in the Barony of Ballrothery, hath the Parishes of Garristowne and Ballymadun, in the Barony of Balrothery.
- Secular. Owen Smith, priest, liveing at Mallahow in the Barony of Ballrothery, hath the Parishes of Naall, Mespellstowne, Hollywood, Ballyhoggill, all in the Barony of Ballrothery.

No regulars in these Parishes.

- Co. of Dublin. Parish of Finglasse.
- Regular. Bartholomew Scally⁴ serves the Parishes of

¹ Prebendary of Castleknock in Dr. Russell's List. See vol. iii., *Spic. Ossor*.

² Probably the same as Thomas Finglass in Archbishop Russell's List, and Treasurer to the Chapter.

³ Prebendary of Clonmethan.

⁴ Evidently the same person called "Scallery," under the denomination Kilsallaghan.

- Finglasse, St. Margaret's, and the Ward.
 Regular. Father Kale [Cahill]¹ serves the Parish of Artaine, liveing at Mr. Hollywood's.
- Co. of Dublin. Parish of Clontarfe.
 Regular. Father Cale [*vide supra*], liveing at Mr. Hollywood's at Artaine, serves the Parish of Clontarfe.
- Co. of Dublin. Parish of Castleknock.
 Patrick Cruise,² Dr. Devinity, liveing for the most part at William Andrews of Hollywood Rath, in the Parish of Mallaghiddart.
 Secular. Walter Cruse, his assistant, lately kept at one Dempsies of Blancetstowne, in the Parish of Castleknock.
 No regulars can bee found in this Parish.
- Co. of Dublin. Parish of Chapel-Izod, Palmerstowne and Ballyfermott.
 Secular. Father Doile, liveing in the Parish of Escher, officiates in the whole Union.
 No regular can be found in these Parishes.
 Parishes of Newcastle and Kill.
 Secular. Father William Brett, parish priest of Newcastle. Father Dominick Dempsey, parish priest of Kill.⁴ Father Patrick Duffy, his assistant.
 No regulars can bee found in these Parishes.
- Parishes of Rathcoole, Killteele, Rathmore, etc.
 Secular. William Brett,⁵ parish priest of Rathcoole and Saggard, liveing at Newcastle.
 Dominick Dempsey, liveing at Lyons in the County Kildare, officiates at Rathmore⁶ by a substitute.

¹ Undoubtedly the same as under "Santry and Coolock."

² The archdeacon mentioned under Rathfarnham, as living in County Kildare.

³ Prebendary of Kilmactalway.

⁴ This Parish is in Diocese of Kildare.

⁵ Prebendary of Tassaggard.

⁶ Rathmore, in Diocese of Dublin.

- Secular. Patrick Duffy, his substitute, liveing at no settled place.
- Secular. Father James¹ Eustace, Parish Priest of Cradockstowne, liveing with Coll. Richard Eustace, in the Parish of Ballymore Eustace.
- Secular. Father Owen Tye,² Parish Priest of Kilbride, liveing on the mountains in the Parish of Blessington.

No regulars can be found in these Parishes.

- Co. of Dublin. Parishes of Talloght and Clondalkin.
- Secular. Thady Kelly, Parish Priest of Talloght, liveing in the ffarr-house. [Firhouse?]
- Secular, Oliver Doyle, Parish Priest of Clondalkin, liveing at Esker,

No regulars can be found in these Parishes.

- Co. of Dublin. Parishes of Lucan and Leixlip.
- Secular. Oliver Doyle, Priest of Lucan and Esker, liveing at Esker.
- Secular. John Duffey, Priest of Leixlip and Maynooth, usually lives at Cartowne, in the Parish of Maynooth.
- Regular. Dominick McKan Fryer, liveing generally with Mrs. Nottingham³ at Lucan, sometimes at Major Allen's, of St. Woolstan's.

- Co. of Kildare. Parishes of Castledermott, Dunmonog, Killkea, Grange, Nolvon, &c.
- Secular. Henry Dalton, parish priest of Castledermot, Dunmonoge, Killkea, Grange, Nolvon, Killelan, Kineigh, and Grany, officiates in y^m all, liveing at Castledermott.
- Regular. Edmund Shiel, a Dominican, his assistant lives and officiates in the Parish of Killelan.
- Regular. James Eustace, a Franciscan, lives and officiates in the Parish of Dunmonoge.

¹ In Archbishop Russell's List there is a *Nicholas* Eustace, Prebendary of *Iago*, probably the same.

² In the List of 1704, he is registered as P.P. of Ballymore Eustace.

³ In the Parish Church of Skerries there is still in use a Chalice of this or earlier date, presented by a Mrs. Nottingham.

Co. of Kildare. Union of Kildrought [Celbridge].

- Secular.** William Tipper,¹ very aged, liveing on his own inheritance in Tipperstowne and Parish of Castledermott.
- Secular.** James Warren,² priest in the Parishes of Kildrought and Straffan, no certain habitation.
- Regular.** James Fitzgerald, inhabiting commonly at Ardras, at one Cap^t. Maurice Garrett's, in the Parish of Killadown.
- Regular.** Daniel Markee Moran, inhabiting commonly at St. Woolstan's and Newbridge.

Co. of Kildare. Parishes of Taghtow and Laraghhrine [Maynooth].

- Secular.** John Duff,³ parish priest of Taghtow and Laraghhrine, liveing at old Cartown, in y^e Parish of Laraghhrine.
- No regulars can be found in these Parishes.

Co. of Wicklow. Parishes of Bray, Rathmichael, Stagome [Stagouil], also Powerscourt, &c.

- Secular.** John Tallbott,⁴ liveing at Roch's Towne, neare Dalkey, in the Parish of Monkestowne, &c., officiates as parish priest of Rathmichael, Kilternan, and old Connaught.
- Secular.** Richard Fitzimons, liveing at Kilmacanoage, in the Parish of Delgenny, and officiates as parish priest of Stagome, also Powerscourt.
- No regulars can be found in these Parishes.

Co. of Wicklow. Parish of Delgenny.

- Secular.** Seneca Fitzwilliams, parish priest of Delgenny and Newcastle.
- Secular.** Richard Fitzimons, parish priest of Kilmacanoage.
- No regulars in these Parishes.

¹ Prebendary of Tipper. ² In 1704 registered as P.P., Doney-Comfort.
³ Also written Duffy. ⁴ Prebendary of Rathmichael.

Co. of Dublin. Parish of Monckstowne, &c.

Secular. Henry Talbott, parish priest of Monckstowne, liveing at Rochestowne, officiates at Cabin-teely, Dalkey, and Bullock.

Secular. Patrick Gillmore, parish priest of Stillorgan, lieving at Newtown-on-the-Strand,¹ and officiates att Butterstowne.

No regulars can be found in these Parishes.

Co. of Wicklow. Wicklow and the United Parishes.

Secular. Maurice Bryan,² Parish Priest of Wicklow liveing at Bally-nockan, in the Union of Wicklow.

Secular. Redmond Fitzimons, a priest, liveing at Incenagh, in the Union of Wicklow.

Secular. William Cavenah, Parish Priest of Bally-donnell, belonging to the Union of Wicklow, and of the Parish of Dunganstowne, belonging to the Archdeacon of Dublin.

Secular. Edmond McGin, priest of the Parishes of Castro M'Adam, annexed to the Union of Wicklow, and some other Parishes belonging to the Union of Arklow.

Regulars. Bernardine Plunkett } Fryars liveing at
Peter Cahel } Cronowe in ye. Union
of Wicklow.

Co. of Dublin. Parish of Rathdrum, etc.

Secular. Phillmon McAbe, Parish Priest of Deralas-saragh, liveing in the said Parish.

Secular. William Cavenough, parish priest of Innish-bohin, liveing in the said parish.

Secular. Charles Byrn, parish priest of Rathdrum, having no settled habitation.

No regulars can bee found in these parishes.

¹ Now Blackrock.

² Prebendary of Wicklow.

Co of Kildare. Parish of Fonstowne.

Secular. Brian M'Cabe, parish priest of Fonstowne, living att Blackhall, in the parish of Davidstown, in the Co. of Kildare.

Co. of Wicklow. Parish of Arklow, with the parishes united with it.

Secular. Patrick Fitz-williams, parish priest of Arklow, living at Killmichell, in y^e said parish.

Secular. Edmond McGin, parish priest of Killmagig, living at Bellana, in the s^d parish.

Charles Cavanagh, parish priest of Innorely, living in the parish of Innisbohin, of which he is likewise priest.

Regular James Cocklan, Prior of y^e Convent of Dominicans in Arklow.

Regular. Thomas Kaho, one of the Fryers of s^d Order and Convent.

Dominick Crane of the same parish of Ballymore.

Co. of Dublin. Owen McAntee.

Co. of Wicklow. Parish of Blessington.

No regular or secular in this parish.

Parish of Hollywood.

Secular. Patrick Kernan, parish priest of Hollywood. No regular in this parish.

Co. of Kildare. Parish of Kilcullen, Davidstown.

Secular. Bryan McCabe, parish priest of Davidstown, living at Blackhall.

Secular. John Kelly, parish priest of Kilcullen, living att Nicholstowne.

No regular, etc.

Co. of Wicklow. Parish of Dunlavan.

Father Patricke Haggan, parish priest of Dunlavan, living commonly at one Eustace of Calverstown.

Father Brien, parish priest of Narraghmore, having no particular place of abode.

No information whether they bee seculars or regulars.

- Co. of Kildare. Parish of Athy.
Secular. John Fitzimons, parish priest of Athy, and the parishes contiguous to it, living in the town of Athy.
Secular. Manus Quigley, living at Grangemellon, with one Mr. Fitzpatricke.
Secular. Henry Dalton, priest of part of Moon, officiates also at Castledermott.
Regular. Richard Cuddy, a Dominican Fryer, living for the most part in Athy.

✠ N. D.

THE ANCIENT IRISH SCHOLIAST.

THE general reader of Irish history need scarcely be told that Fiacc was a disciple of St. Patrick, and appointed by him Bishop of Sletty. He is credited with having written a metrical Life of the saint, consisting of thirty-four distichs; but from its allusion to the desertion of Tara as well as other reasons the Life is judged to have been written after the year 565, and consequently not to be the composition of Fiacc. It dates as far back probably as the seventh century, and counts as the first Life in Colgan's enumeration. The metrical Life attributed to Fiacc scarcely deserves the name, for it touches only on a few points of our saint's career, and in a very vague manner. It is quite otherwise with the old scholiast. He is so old as to be older than some of the old Lives edited by Colgan. He is supposed to have flourished in the tenth century. His scholia and glosses on the supposed Life by Fiacc were partly in Latin, and partly in Irish: both, with a translation of the Irish, have been published by the learned Colgan; and if they had been as trustworthy as they are full and precise they would more deservedly claim the title of Life than the composition on which they comment.

But the writings of the scholiast cannot be implicitly trusted. They are characterized in most important particu-

lars by confusion, inaccuracy, and, I may add, self-contradiction. There is no trace of intentional error; but unquestionably from misconception or misstatement a large superstructure of error has been raised on a truthful basis. I shall confine my remarks to three points in the Life of our National Saint—the place of his capture and birth, of his consecration, and of his death.

1. "When Patrick died he went to the other Patrick, and both ascended together to Jesus the son of Mary."

On this couplet, the thirty-third and last but one, the scholiast puts a very unreasonable gloss: he thus writes:

"Patrick, son of Calpurnius, promised Patrick Senior, or Old Patrick, that they would ascend together to heaven. Hence some relate that the soul of St. Patrick awaited the death of Old Patrick from the 17th of the Kalends of April till the end of the first month in Autumn."

If Palladius who also was called Patrick by Irish writers was the Patrick Senior referred to, as there are the strongest reasons for judging, surely he did not survive our National Apostle, the son of Calpurnius. The latter rather survived him according to the *Book of Armagh*, some sixty years.

The learned Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* p. 7), thinks it probable that the Patrick referred to by the supposed Fiacc, was the Patrick Senior mentioned in the Irish Annals, and maintained by him and modern writers to be distinct from Palladius; even so, the *Annals* generally state that this old Patrick did not survive much longer, some state he did not live so long, than the year 460, while they generally state that our Apostle lived to the year 493. There is evident absurdity then in stating that one who died after another awaited the death of that other. Again, Colgan suggests that reference may have been made to Patrick of Auvergne, or Patrick of Nola, or even to Patrick Junior. Surely, Patrick Junior, who is represented in some of the *Lives* as nephew to our Apostle, could not with any propriety be called Patrick Senior by the scholiast: as regards Saints Patrick of Nola and Auvergne, I judge, without waiting here to give my reasons, that as distinct from our National Saint they are mythical.

But wildly improbable as is the gloss of the scholiast on the thirty-third distich of Fiacc, no less fanciful, I conceive, is the commentary of Dr. Todd and Father Shearman. They state that the *going of one Patrick to another* was used in a metaphorical sense, and meant that they went together, or rather successively, into the Calendar—one on the 16th, the other on the 17th of March. But the scholiast with his editor and the *Leabhar Breac* inform us that the 24th August was the festal day set apart for the commemoration of Patrick Senior. I admit that Dr. Todd suggests that reference was made to Palladius rather than Old Patrick, as distinct from him; but no person has assigned the 16th March for the Feast of Palladius. The 6th July is marked for him in some Scotch Calendars; his death has been assigned by some to December, and by Colgan, among others, to the 27th of January; but to my knowledge no person has assigned the 16th or 17th March for the death of Palladius. The meaning of the phrase then in the metrical Life attributed to Fiacc is that Palladius as first bishop to the Irish felt joy in coming to meet his more successful successor, our Saint Patrick as he left this world: they met, not in the Calendar, as alleged, but in their real *Country*. The idea of the glorified saints going to meet the souls departed¹ from this world is commonly met with in the Offices² and Liturgy of the Church.

The statement of the scholiast in reference to the burial-place of Old Patrick is very questionable: it is that "he was buried in Glastonbury." Palladius died according to the *Book of Armagh* on the boundary of England and Scotland. The Irish chroniclers represent Old Patrick as the tutor of our Apostle; and if he were Archbishop of Armagh, as stated by our annalists, he was not, we may presume, buried in Glastonbury. Unless, then, the Old Patrick of the scholiast be different from any of the possible Patricks

¹ "Proficiscere anima Christiana et veniant illi obviam sancti angeli et perducant eam in civitatem, etc."—*Rituale Rom.*

² "Animam reddidit, quam angelorum chorus excepit."—*Office of St. Martin*, 2da. Lectio.

"Omnium coelestium virtutum occurrit psallentium exercitus . . . quem Michael assumpsit cum angelis."—*Stia. Lectio*.

referred to by Colgan, the scholiast must have originated or perpetuated an error in regard to the burial-place.

2. The scholiast states, in reference to St. Patrick's training and consecration, that (a) he came with St. Germanus to Britain in order to crush there the spreading heresy of Pelagianism; that having learnt the Canon Law and discipline under Germanus, and having informed him of his call to the Irish Mission, he was directed by Germanus to go to St. Celestine whose province and privilege it was to consecrate him; (b) that he went to St. Celestine who, as having previously sent Palladius, refused to consecrate him; (c) that after this repulse our Saint went to the island near Mount Armon, where he received the "staff of Jesus;" (d) that he came a second time to Germanus; and having spoken of his visions and interior call to the Irish Mission was directed by Germanus to go again to St. Celestine, who having learnt the death of Palladius previously sent had him ordained in his own presence and that of Theodosius, emperor of the world; and that Amatorex, Bishop of Auxerre, ordained him.¹

(a) The scholiast is not quite consistent in saying that it was incumbent on Pope Celestine to ordain St. Patrick, as he subsequently stated that the consecration was performed by Amato Rex, unless we suppose that the scholiast spoke of a virtual rather than an actual consecration; and on such a supposition Germanus could have got faculties for the consecration, as he did, as the Pope's representative, for going to the British Churches and preserving them from Pelagianism: at all events the statement under the third distich—that our National Apostle got the name of Patrick at his consecration from St. Celestine—is not true. For St. Celestine was not present at his consecration.

(b) Now it is unquestionable that Palladius was sent to Ireland by the Pope in the year 431; and as it is most likely that Palladius, who was the cause of having St. Germanus appointed legate in Britain (*ad actionem Palladii*) called on him on his way to Ireland, as Palladius' disciples also

¹ Colgan : *Tr. Thaumaturga*, p. 5.

announcing his death nearly touched at Auxerre on their return, so, too, it is very unlikely that Germanus would send St. Patrick for ordination under the circumstances to Pope Celestine.

(c) As Saints Germanus and Patrick with other assistants are represented as having come to Britain for stamping out Pelagianism, the scholiast must have referred this part of his story to the year 429 (for in this year Germanus' first visit was paid to Britain), and as it was subsequently to this, in the year 431, after Palladius was sent to Ireland, that St. Patrick, according to the scholiast, went to the island (Alanensis), near Mount Armon, we are thus met with an apparent anachronism. For some of the Lives tell us that when St. Patrick received the staff of Jesus on the island, and subsequently on Mount Armon (Sarnum) he was ordained priest by Bishop Senior (Paulinus).¹ Now St. Paulinus is represented as having died in the year 429; and even though some would put the year of his death to the year 431, yet our Saint is represented as having received the "staff of Jesus" on the occasion of his ordination, and he must have been ordained when joined with Germanus in Britain.

The scholiast confounds an early visit of our Apostle to Lerins (Alanensis) with a subsequent visit to Capri, which (and not Lerins) is near Mount Armon over the "rock of the sea"—Castel-del-Mare. Furthermore, the scholiast would have St. Patrick come back from Campania again to St. Germanus and tell of his repeated visions and call to Ireland and have him return to Rome in obedience to Germanus, and have him consecrated before April, 432, the year in which St. Celestine, according to Irish annalists and all others, had died.

(d) The venerable and consistent *Book of Armagh*² assures us that St. Patrick was consecrated on his way to Ireland, at the casual meeting of the messengers who announced

¹ "Ordinavit eum Episcopus ille in sacerdotem, et lectitavit cum eo multis temporibus."—*Probus*, pars. 1, chap. xviii.

² *Documenta de S. Patritio*, &c., learnedly edited by Rev. E. Hogan, S.J., p. 26.

Palladius' death, at Ebmo-ria (Eburobriga); and consequently the scholiast is not correct in saying that Pope Celestine gave him the name of Patrick at his consecration. On the false supposition of St. Patrick's consecration at Rome are based the other additions of the scholiast—that St. Celestine heard the cry of invitation to St. Patrick by the infants in Amalgaid, while he was being consecrated, and that Pope Sixtus, who succeeded Pope Celestine, gave presents to our National Apostle before leaving Rome. Finally, the scholiast states that St. Patrick was sixty years when consecrated; but the Saint himself gives us to understand in his confession that he was only forty-five. For some opposed his consecration on the grounds that he committed some fault at the age of fifteen, which he mentioned to some friend, and, as he said, brought this against him after thirty years.

3. The metrical Life undertakes to give the birth-place of our Saint, and alludes to his captivity in Ireland. The first and third distichs run thus:—

“Patrick was born in Nemthur—was six years in slavery.”

The scholia of the scholiast on these are as follows:—

“Nemthor is a city in the northern Britains, that is, Alclyde: the cause of his slavery was this: his father, Calpurnius, his mother Conchessa, daughter of Ocmus, and his five sisters, Lupita, Tigris, Liemania, Darerca, and Cinnena, together with his brother Sannan, a deacon, all together passed from Alclydan Britain across the Iccian Sea, on business, southwards to Armoric Letha or Lethan Britain (Brittany); because they had some relatives there, and the mother of these children, Conchessa, was from France and a very near relative of St. Martin. At that time the seven sons of Factmudius, King of the Britains, were banished from Britain; they made a raid on the district of Letha of Armoric Britain where Patrick was with the family. Here they [raiders] killed Calpurnius, and carried away as captives into Ireland Patrick and Lupita.”—(*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 4.)

The geography of the scholiast here is as much at fault as it was touching Lerins and Mount Sarnum. The scholiast is contradicted by the writer of the Fourth Life, whom Colgan well proves to have flourished about the end of the seventh century.—(*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 48, n. 2.) The author of this Life

states that St. Patrick was taken captive in Britain by Irish pirates, who usually made a descent on the British coast; whereas the scholiast says that he was made captive by British princes in Armorica or Brittany. The *Vita Secunda* (cap. ii.), and the *Vita Tertia* repeat that St. Patrick was carried off to Ireland by Irish pirates who habitually infested the British coast; and the *Vita Quinta*, by Probus, who copies in form and substance the *Book of Armagh*, states that our saint born in Britain (in Britannii) was carried away captive while in his own country. (cap. i., 12.) Thus they all corroborate the statement of the *Vita Quarta* in contradiction to the assertion of the scholiast.

The *Vita Prima* states that St. Patrick was born in Nemthor; the Second Life states that he was born in the plain of Taburne, which it explains by the plain of tents (*Tr. I'haum.*, p. 11); and the writer after a few words proceeds to say that "the youth was, therefore, brought up in Nemthor" (natus est igitur in illo oppido Nemthor . . . Patritius natus est in campo Taburne), the *Vita Tertia* has the same statement in so many words (*Ibid.* p. 21); the *Vita Quarta* states that St. Patrick was born in a city called Nemthor, which city is in the plain of Taburnia, which signifies the plain of tents (*Ibid.*, p. 35); the *Vita Sexta* states that St. Patrick's father lived in a town called Taburnia, near the city of Nemthor (*Ibid.*, p. 65.)

Now with this evidence before us we can thus argue: The scholiast states that St. Patrick was made a captive in Brittany. St. Patrick himself, in the first lines of his Confession, states he was made captive near Bonaventa Berniæ¹ (Burrii), which, according to the scholiast, must have been near Brittany; but the Lives assure us that he was born in Nemthor in or near Bonaventaberniæ, and, therefore, unless the Lives are wrong, St. Patrick, according to the scholiast, was born in Nemthor near Brittany. But the scholiast glossed the first line of the metrical Life by stating that Nemthor was the city of Alclyde, and thus helps to the conclusion that Alclyde separated from it by five hundred miles,

¹ "Qui fuit vico Bonaventa Berniæ [Burrii, the Lives give buerni, bernia], villulam enim prope habuit ubi capturam dedi."

including the Straits of Dover, was in or near Brittany, and that here was St. Patrick born! The testimony of the scholiast then, unless we throw over board the evidence of the Lives and the Confession of St. Patrick, leads to self contradiction, and, therefore, is worthless as to the birth-place of St. Patrick; yet the scholiast is the first and sole independent authority that can be appealed to in favour of a Scottish birth-place for our national saint.

Even though we were to overlook the contradictions involved in the testimony of the scholiast it would be insufficient for the theory of a Scottish birth-place.

The advocates of such a theory cannot follow the scholiast. He positively states that St. Patrick was born in Nemthor or Alclyde, and that he was carried captive to Ireland from Brittany; yet the latest and ablest defenders of the Scottish theory postulate that the saint should be born not in the city of Dumbarton or Alclyde, but at Kilpatrick, and that he should be carried captive, not from Brittany, but Bannawe some miles away south of the Clyde.

In this connection there is another point of divergence in the scholiast from the Lives and indeed from truth. We have seen that the scholiast makes the saint's birth-place and the scene of his capture remotely apart from each other. But the *Vita Secunda* states (cap. 1) "that St. Patrick was born in Nemthor . . . he was born in the plain of Taburne;" so that one place was identical with or comprised in the other. The Lives appear to explain by "the plain of tents" (*campus tabernaculorum*) the *Bonavem Taberniae*, where the saint states in his Confession that he was carried away captive (*Book of Arnagh*, fol. 22, a. a.) The Third Life repeats in so many words the statement of the Second Life as to identity of the places of birth and capture. The Fourth Life (cap. 1) states that St. Patrick was born in the city of Nemthor . . . which city is in the plain of taburniae, which is called "the plain of tents." The *Vita Quinta* by Probus states that "he was the son of Calpurnius . . . and of Concessa, of the village *Bannave of the Tiburnian region* (part 1, ch. 1); and having stated that St. Patrick was a Briton, he further on (ch. 12) informs us that he was captured

in his own country and city. The *Vita Sexta* (ch. 1, 2) represents Calpurnius as married to Conquessa, a Gaulish lady, and as settled down "in the village of Taburnia, that is the plain of tents . . . beside the town Nemthor," and goes on to describe the birth of St. Patrick as the fruit of their virtuous union.

From all this we may plainly see that the writers of the several Lives learnt that our saint was captured in a villa adjoining his native place. And indeed this is what may be expected in the case of one so young when captured. In his profound humility our national saint does not represent himself as having any place of his own at his birth or capture, but only as the son of Calpurnius, who was of the villa *Bonaventa of Usk* (Burrii), near which he himself was made a captive. Our national apostle in alluding to his descent naturally touched on his birth-place for the gratification of his disciples; but in his abhorrence of egotism he mentions only his father's residence, and thus impliedly his own; for, to his disciples a reference to his birth-place was far more precious than that to the scene of his capture, if one had not really included the other.

In conclusion, I may observe that there is abundant evidence for suspecting Nemthor in the metrical Life, like the Bonavem Taberniae of the Confession, to be a corrupt reading. And as regards the scholiast, if he were deemed faith-worthy his positive and precise identification of Nemthor with Alclyde ought to have been fairly decisive of all the controversy. But no; there was a lurking belief that the testimony of the scholiast was not above suspicion. Very justly; for we have seen by this paper, apart from the overwhelming difficulties which confront the theory of a Scottish birth-place, that self-contradiction is incidental to the only proof in its favour. And though my purpose now has been to deal with the mistake of the scholiast as I find it, I shall, perhaps, on some other occasion, point out the source of the mistake and show it to be a case of mistaken identity.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

A FORGOTTEN SEQUENCE.

SEQUENCES were invented by St. Noghter Balbulus, an Irish monk of St. Gall's, who flourished about the year 860. The reader may ask what is a *Sequence*? Its original meaning was a prolongation of the last syllable of *Alleluia* by a series of *neumes*, or wordless chant. In other words, a sequence meant the *following out* the vowel *a* by a modulated melody varying from seventeen to fifty notes. It may be remarked that these neumes were "no unmeaning tone figures, but the echo of the text that has gone before." Sequences were also called *Tropes*, just as Tropes, properly so-called, were denominated *Proses*.

Sequences or Sequential Hymns were also applied to those melodies sung before the Gospel. We read in the *Liber Pontificalis* that Pope Adrian II. made many reforms in the Gregorian chant, and that he decreed the use of "melodies to be sung after the Epistle, which were termed *sequences*, because the Gospel follows them." In the *Book of Lismore* it is stated that "it was the Abbot Sancti Galli who made the *Secesis* [sequence] and *Alleluia* after them in the form in which they are."

After the death of St. Noghter, sequences became very popular, and an immense variety was introduced. In an Anglo-Saxon MS. which dates from the year 990, there is given the following rubric for the sequence of one of the feasts:—"Hic tibi cantori sunt cuncta sequentia presto quae circulo annorum modulantur ordine pulchro." It is to be observed that the *Prose* followed immediately after the sequence, and so in process of time became incorporated with it. Hence, since the year 1100, the word *Prose* has been a convertible term with the word *Sequence*, although in the strict sense a prose meant a sequence with an *Alleluia* added. To such an alarming extent did the introduction of sequences or proses develop, that in the twelfth century the various continental Missals contained several hundred of them.¹ It

¹ A great number of *Prefaces*, too, had crept into the various Missals and hence, in the year 1110, Pope Paschal II. reduced their number to ten, which number remains in the Roman Missal to this day.

is worthy of note that among the grievances enumerated by the schismatical Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, (who was excommunicated in 1053), was, "that *Alleluia* was not sung in the Latin Church during Lent." The repetition of *Alleluia* during the week of Septuagesima is thus charmingly explained by St. Hildebert (d. 1097): "We, therefore, repeat its name again and again, and address *Alleluia* itself, desirous of retaining it as a guest, and saying to it, 'Abide with us, for the day is far spent,' and we then give it our last farewell, saying, 'The good Angel of the Lord accompany thee that thou mayest again return to us, so we may know that we shall not have perfect joy until, renewed by the Body and Blood of the Redeemer, we receive with gladness that song.'" The Alleluiatic Sequence, "*Cantemus cuncti*," and the hymn "*Alleluia, dulce carmen*," date from this epoch.

Abelard (1142), Bernard de Morlaix (1115), and St. Bernard (1153), were composers of sequences, but Adam of St. Victor, who flourished in 1160, is regarded as "the greatest master of Latin rhyme that ever existed." Who does not know his beautiful Dedication Sequence:—

"Quam dilecta tabernacula Domini virtutum, et atria !
Quam electi architecti,
Tuta edificia
Quae non movent, immo foveant
Ventus, flumen, pluvia."

St. Francis of Assisium, who found the Franciscans in 1210, was a composer of hymns and sequences, and it was he who instituted the Christmas Crib, which was always attended with carols. I subjoin a pretty Christmas carol of this epoch :

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| "Gratulentur parvuli | Quorum morte doluit |
| Nato Rege parvulo ; | Rachel, jam non doleat, |
| Factor enim saeculi | Causam luctus habuit ; |
| Factus est in saeculo. | Causam risus habeat : |
| Ipsi sonent moduli | Et quos vix mors tenuit, |
| Quos pro nostro modula | Vita jugis teneat ; |
| Modulemur seduli | Et quam flere decuit |
| Voce, corde sedulo | Nunc ridere deceat." |

However, it is to the friend and biographer of St. Francis, that we are indebted for one of the most exquisite of all sequences. Fr. Thomas of Celano (1250) deserves immortality for his sweetly pathetic sequence, "*Dies irae, dies illa*," a

composition that has elicited praise from all peoples and all ages even to our own day. It is in reference to another sequence—now forgotten—of this great servant of God that I have written this essay, viz., *Fregit victor virtualis*.

Fr. Luke Wadding, the great Annalist of the Franciscan Order, and first Rector of the Irish College in Rome, writes thus of Fr. di Celano: "Sequentias tres scripsit, quarum prima incipit *Fregit victor virtualis*; secunda *Sanctitatis nova signa*; tertia *Dies irae, dies illa*." However, our Irish Franciscan was under the impression that the two first mentioned sequences were lost, and this opinion prevailed for a long time. Even the Bollandists were unaware of the existence of these sequences, and hence, the reprinting of *fregit victor virtualis* will be a veritable curiosity, as well as a specimen of the marvellous powers of Fr. Thomas of Celano. It is as well to state that one of the earliest records we have of its existence is in a small 8vo. MS. of Hours, written about the year 1398, which is at present in the Bibliotheca Nacional at Lisbon.

FREGIT VICTOR VIRTUALIS.

(Prosa de Beato Francisco.)

"Fregit victor virtualis
Hic Franciscus triumphalis
Crucis adversarium:

2

"Crucis lator cordialis
Princeps pugnae spiritalis
Insignis amantium

3

"Quem premisit Rex futurus
Pugnaturus, previsorus
Celebri consilio

4

"Premunivit ut securus
Suis armis congressurus
Salubri praesidio.

6

"Quia crucis contemplator,
Atque carnis supplantator
Semper fui sedulus.

8

"Quia mundi abdicator,
Atque crucis imitator

"Vitae Christi bajulus.

Chorus—13, 15, 17, and 19.

Dic, Francisce, quid fecisti
Postquam Jesum aspexisti?

(A chorus of the two lines almost similar is given for the 5th, 7th, 9th, and 11th Verses.)

30

"Christum clavis conclavatum,
Caput ejus spinis coronatum.

31

"Credendum est magis soli
Francisco veraci,
Quam mundanorum!
turbæ fallaci.

32

"Scimus Christum pertulisse
mortem crucis vere.
Tu nobis, victor Rex, miserere
Alleluia."

During the 14th century sequences increased in popularity and almost every province had its peculiar sequential hymns. The 15th century was equally prolific in them, and we know that the hymnody was one of the features which characterised the Brethren of the Common Life—an Order to which Thomas à Kempis belonged. The following extract from the description given by the immortal author of the *Imitation of Christ* of the death-bed of Lubert ten Bossche will prove interesting, as it has not been hitherto published in this country :

“Cupiebat enim dissolvi, et esse cum Christo. Igitur in die B. M. Magdalenae fecit coram se cantari *sequentiam* ‘Laus tibi Christo.’ Qua cantata ait : ‘Quam devota et fervida verba sunt ista !’ Et repetivit intra se hunc versum ruminando : ‘*Quid nam haberet aegra si non accepisset, si non medicus adesset.*’”

From a very rare Utrecht Missal of the year 1446 we will quote the following beautiful sequence “De Aeterna Sapientia” :—

“Laus Deo Patri Filioque compari in unitati Spiritus Paracliti,
Laus Deo omnipotenti qui in Sapientia per Spiritum
Sanctum creavit et gubernat omnia,
Laus tibi, Antiquae Dierum, qui cum dulcissimo Jesu,
Filio tuo et Spiritu regnas, Paraclite,
Cujus imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum.”

I will only quote one more example of sequences, from the Nantes Missal,¹ printed at Venice in 1482, viz., the concluding stanza of the sequence for the feast of SS. Donatianus and Progotianus.

“Omnes ergo jubilemus,
Jubilantes celebremus,
Fratrum natalitia.

“Hoc precantes corde puro
Ut sint nobis hi pro muro
Contra mundi vitia.”

In conclusion I will merely state that out of the thousands of sequences, the Church has only retained five in the Roman Missal, viz. :—1st. “Victimae Paschali ;” 2nd. “Veni Sancte Spiritus ;” 3rd. “Lauda Sion Salvatorem ;” 4th. “Dies Irae ;” and the 5th, “Stabat Mater dolorosa”—which was not inserted until after the time of Pope Benedict XIV. The beautiful hymn “Exultet jam angelicus” as sung on Holy

¹ There are only three copies of this valuable Missal known to exist.

Saturday, was composed by the great St. Augustine, whilst the "Gloria, laus, et honor" which is sung on Palm Sunday was written by St. Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans (787-821).

The book which contained the sequences was called a *Troparium*¹ or *Sequentiary*. It was also termed a *Troparius* or *Troperius*. One of the most valuable of those books now existing is in the Public Library at Amiens, and it contains both music and words. At the end of the Quarto is written "Gulielmus Lovel: orate pro eo, 1572," and we learn that this distinguished Oratorian was the composer of many sequences and hymns.

In the Medicean edition of the *Graduale*, produced by Ruggiero Giovanelli under the direction of Pope Paul V. in 1614, the chant formulae were much abbreviated—and the greater number of the Prefaces, sequences,² and hymns omitted. The only *neumes* retained were the beautiful melodies of the *Ite Missa est*, *Benedicamus Domino*, *Alleluia*, the versicles after the nocturns in Matins, and after the hymns at Lauds, Vespers, &c.

WILLIAM H. G. FLOOD.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

"HONORARIA" REGULATED BY DIOCESAN LAW OR CUSTOM.

"DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly inform me what is the meaning and the binding force of Diocesan legislation concerning *honoraria* for Masses?

"In the Synodal Decrees of a certain diocese I find the following regulation:—The ordinary 'Retribution' for each Mass offered is

¹ The *Troparium* had always to be used at High Masses, as it contained the sequences, proses, Introits, &c. We may remark that *Tropes* are first mentioned by St. Cesarius of Arles (d. 542.) Properly speaking, *tropes* are the intercalated verses in farced Kyries, Glorias, Gospels, Sanctus, &c.

² It is strange, but no less true, that many of the sequences in the Aberdeen Missal were Scotch melodies, e.g. "John Anderson my Jo, John;" "Cauld Kail in Aberdeen," &c., and it is well known that John Knox and his followers adopted the infamous device of adopting indecent words to those charming melodies in order to ridicule the ecclesiastical sequences. In the earliest printed Sarum Gradual (1528) the sequence melody given for the *Jesu dulcis memoria* is a Scotch air!

five shillings, but as a manual 'Retribution' for one Mass half-a crown may be received.

"In my own diocese, although I see no reference to the subject in its statutes, the *honorarium* is understood to be half-a-crown. Now, what I want to come at is, how am I affected by this? May I take more, may I take less? In a word, how would my position be altered if there were no such legislation?

"To come to a practical case: If offered, suppose, £1, how many Masses *must* I celebrate? Some think it depends on the *phraseology*, others on the financial position of the donor; but both of these tests are, I fear, untrustworthy. Admitting that the donor knows what the diocesan *honorarium* is, but does not specify, how am I to interpret his intention if he puts it thus: 'say *some* Masses for me,' or, 'say a *few* Masses,' or 'this is for Masses?' He is, perhaps, too polite to make a contract, but does he not wish to secure as many as possible? The phraseology principle would thus put delicately minded persons at a disadvantage. Again, it is not a question of position, for the very richest people are sometimes far more exacting than their poorer neighbours.

"To my mind then it is not a dispute as to the phrasing or the position, but the *intention* of the donor; and as the question at issue is, moreover, one of *justice*, it can hardly be left to the capricious or arbitrary decision of each individual priest.

"Yours in Christ,

"C.C."

Our correspondent's letter raises four questions:—

1. What is the nature and force of diocesan legislation concerning *honoraria*?
2. What is the meaning of the extract given from certain Synodal decrees?
3. In the absence of legislation what change takes place; and what is the standard for determining *honoraria*?
4. What is the solution of the practical case stated?

A.—WHAT IS THE NATURE AND FORCE OF DIOCESAN LEGISLATION CONCERNING "HONORARIA?"

We may consider *honoraria* given during life; or left by will.

I.—"HONORARIA" GIVEN DURING LIFE:

1. When diocesan legislation regulates the *honoraria* for Masses, a greater sum cannot be *exacted*. "Si stipendia"

writes Suarez (D. 86, sect. 2) "*taxata sint a superiore habente potestatem, illa censenda sunt justa, ita ut majora non possint juste exigi.*" This is a grave obligation, and, according to our author, an obligation of justice: "*ita ut majora non possint juste exigi.*"

2. A greater offering may be accepted if spontaneously given by the donor.—"*Per hoc tamen non prohibetur, nec per se loquendo, prohiberi potest, quominus fideles dent majora, . . . dummodo omnino spontanee, et voluntarie id faciant*" (*Ibid.*)

3. Can the priest take less than is prescribed by law?

(a.) As a priest cannot *exact* more than the legal *honorarium*, so the faithful have no *right* to demand Mass for a smaller *honorarium*. "*Lex obligat fideles ne minori stipendio velint sacrificium exigere, et sacerdotes ne abundantius taxato exigant.*" Salmant. (T. 5, cap. 5, p. 2.)

(b.) Diocesan legislation, defining a certain *honorarium*, does not *per se*, and necessarily, forbid a priest to take less. "*Lex autem taxans stipendium nunquam prohibet quin . . . sacerdotes possint recipere minus, si velint.*" (*Ibid.*) It depends on the intention of the Bishop.

(c.) The Bishop can certainly forbid priests to take those small *honoraria*, which would prejudice the dignity of the Mass, and weaken the people's respect for the Holy Sacrifice. The following question was once proposed to the S. Congregation—"Episcopus narrat sacrosanctum Missae sacrificium quodammodo vilescere, dum sacerdotes quotidie se offerunt celebrare ad rationem tenuis eleemosynae . . . Unde supplicat declarari an ipse statuere possit eleemosynam manualement . . . imponendo poenam celebrantibus pro minore quantitate. Sacra etc., respondit affirmative quoad eleemosynam manualement." Ben. XIV. (*Institutiones* 56.)

In order, therefore, to preserve the dignity of the Mass, and, we may add, in order to avert the danger of discord, which would arise, if less honourable priests were allowed to attract clients by habitually accepting smaller *honoraria* than their clerical brethren; in order to maintain desirable uniformity, a bishop can ordain that less than the diocesan stipend cannot be lawfully accepted by priests, secular or

regular. And we believe that when bishops determine the *honorarium*, they mean that priests cannot exact more, nor accept less.¹

(a.) Even in this case a priest may say Mass without a *honorarium*, or for a less *honorarium*, in those rare cases where the applicants cannot give the usual small *honorarium*, and where charity or piety would require it.

“Nunquam tamen intelligendum est per haec statuta prohiberi quominus—si misericordiae vel pietatis ratio postulerit, ut sine tali stipendio fiat—id licite fieri possit . . .”

“Minime consentanea esset Christianae pietati.”—Suarez (*loc. cit.*)

II.—HOW DOES LEGISLATION AFFECT TESTAMENTARY “HONORARIA?”

1. If the testator allows the diocesan *honoraria*; or if he expressly gives richer stipends, the Masses are to be said as ordered in the will.

2. If he leaves a sum of money without determining the number of Masses, the priest must reckon the Masses according to the diocesan laws or custom. If the sum be large the bishop should be consulted. He may decide in some cases that so many Masses are not obligatory. “Censuit [S. Cong.] ubi nullam certam eleemosynam Testator reliquit, esse ab Episcopo praescribendam congruam quae respondeat oneribus Missarum celebrandarum secundum morem civitatis vel provinciae.” (*Bull. Rom.*)

3. If a less stipend than the diocesan *honorarium* is determined by the will?

(a) The bishop cannot diminish the number of Masses without consulting the Holy See, unless the will empowers him to do so. (b) The executors must endeavour to procure the celebration of Masses as prescribed by the will. (c) Priests are not bound to accept those small *honoraria*; but if they accept the *honoraria* they must say the number of Masses prescribed in the will.

¹ Among the decrees of the Second Council of Baltimore we find:—“statuimus ne quis plus, neve regulariter minus exigit, quam Episcopo suo opportunum ac justum visum fuerit.” (343, 8.)

**B.—INTERPRETATION OF THE EXTRACT FROM CERTAIN
SYNODAL DECREES.**

We have not seen these Decrees; nor do we know to what diocese there is reference. The sentence quoted by our correspondent is rather ambiguous, when thus removed from its context. Masses, we must remark, are divided into two classes; there are *perpetual*, and there are *manual* Masses. "*Nemo ignorat perpetuas alias: alias vero adventitias [manuales] Missas nuncupari. Primae quidem quotidie, vel certis quibusdam diebus, ratione Beneficii aut Fundatoris instituto, vel Testatoris voluntate celebrantur; adventitiae vocantur pro quibus stipendium a Fidelibus traditur ita tamen ut nullus fundus, nullumque onus in futurum tempus constituatur.*"—Ben. XIV. (*loc. cit.*)

Our reading, therefore, of the statute is: For perpetual Masses—at the establishing of Foundation Masses, or Anniversary Masses, a priest may not exact more nor take less than a sum which will represent five shillings for each Mass. For *manual* Masses—in whatever number given—a priest may not accept less than half-a-crown for each Mass: "half-a-crown *may* be taken." Can he require more? The statute does not too clearly forbid it.

**C.—IN THE ABSENCE OF LEGISLATION WHAT IS THE STANDARD
FOR DETERMINING HONORARIA? WHAT CHANGES TAKE
PLACE?**

"*Stipendium justum est quod vel lege . . . vel consuetudine hominum taxatum est.*"—De Lugo, *Disp.* 21, Sect. 2.

In the absence of diocesan law the stipendium is determined by custom; and there is very little difference between legislation and custom. 1. A priest cannot *exact* more than is allowed by custom. 2. He may accept a larger *honorarium* if voluntarily and spontaneously offered. 3. The faithful have no *right* that Mass should be said for a less *honorarium*. 4. But in the absence of legislation a priest may take less; though it is desirable that priests should observe uniformity, and generally insist on the customary offering.

The rules already laid down for Testamentary Masses apply also in the absence of legislation.

D.—SOLUTION OF PRACTICAL CASE STATED.

In our correspondent's diocese there is no reference to this subject in the statutes. The *honorarium* is understood to be half-a-crown. He cannot exact more. If the customary *honorarium* is tendered he cannot refuse on the ground of the insufficiency of the stipend. He may take less—though it ought not to be done.

"To come to a practical case: if offered suppose £1, how many Masses must I celebrate?"

According to the principles laid down he must say eight Masses, unless he knows that the donor intended to give exceptional *honoraria*. The number therefore—as our correspondent says—depends on the donor's intention, and not on his phraseology or financial position. The formulas, "say some Masses for me," or "say a few Masses," are undecisive and ambiguous. If a person in good financial position has been habitually giving ordinary stipends—half-a-crown for each Mass; and on some occasion gives one pound, saying, "say a few Masses for me," they should—unless the contrary is indicated—be regarded as half-a-crown *honoraria*. Again, a person usually gives ten shillings as a stipend, but on the present occasion gives one pound, saying, "say a few Masses," the priest may be satisfied that two Masses only are required.

Between these extremes there are many doubtful cases. Now it is a principle in Theology that in cases of doubt moral diligence must be employed to dispel the doubt, before a person can follow a more benignant and favourable opinion. We believe, therefore, that the priest should ask how many Masses are required; or else say eight Masses. Sometimes eight are required, sometimes it is left to the priest's discretion. By suggesting a moderate number—"will five or six be sufficient"—the priest will at once perceive whether more were expected, in which case they should be said, his doubts will be dispelled, and he will not be incurring obligations which perhaps were not intended by the donor.

II.

A CASE OF "MALEFICIUM."

"REV. DEAR SIR,—There exists, at least in this part of the country, a very general belief that there are certain persons who, of course through the agency of the devil, can take the butter from their neighbours. Hence the people when they find a less quantity of butter than usual, or, as sometimes happens, no butter at all on the milk after churning, go to the priest and say they are losing the butter. They ask him to bless salt, or some of the milk in order to counteract what they believe to be diabolical agency. There seems to be a difference of opinion amongst the priests upon the cause of the absence or loss of butter in such cases. Some attribute it to disease in the blood of the cows, while others hold that the people are right in attributing it to the agency of the evil one.

"Might I ask you to give in the RECORD your esteemed opinion upon the matter ?

"Very respectfully yours,

"D. G."

The scriptural references to magicians and sorcerers, and the penal enactments of canon law, leave no doubt of the possibility, and the practice too, of inflicting injury through the agency of the devil. But it is extremely difficult—often-times impossible—to determine in particular cases whether a certain phenomenon is the effect of natural causes, or the lamentable result of devil-craft.

The phenomena described by our correspondent are sometimes ascribed to diabolical intervention. The case has various phases. Sometimes there is a notable and unaccountable diminution in the quantity of milk ; sometimes in the quantity of the cream—and these effects are attributed to natural causes. Again, whilst cows appear in perfect health and whilst they yield the usual quantity of milk, the cream undiminished in quantity, perfect in colour, taste, and body, produces no butter, or only very inferior butter.

The people become alarmed. They are unacquainted with the science of cattle diseases. They cannot account for the extraordinary absence of butter in the circumstances described; and as witchcraft traditions are handed down from one generation to another, they at once discern preternatural hostile

intervention in their business, and visit their clergy to seek relief through their spiritual ministrations.

Cases, moreover, are known where these phenomena appeared in the dairies of the most intelligent, careful, and successful butter-makers; and where the celebration of a Mass was immediately followed by the ordinary facility in churning, and the usual supply of excellent butter.

Now, we have very little faith in this theory of demoniac agency. We cannot of course undertake to say that it never occurs; nor is it possible to lay down any special rules for distinguishing in all those cases between natural effects, and the results of diabolical interference—if such there be.

It need not present much practical difficulty to a priest. A few simple rules will guide him unerringly through those unusual cases: 1°. In connection with the offerings given on those occasions, a priest should be especially and extremely mindful of safe-guarding the honour of his sacred office. 2°. In those extraordinary cases, we see no reason why Mass should not be said. Either the effects are demon-work, or natural. If demon-work, the priest can say Mass to deliver his people from this nefarious interference; if a natural effect, he can say Mass as he would for the recovery of a patient, for a safe voyage, or for any temporal blessing. In this case the satisfactory and propitiatory effects of the Holy Sacrifice will be applied to the donor of the *honorarium*. 3°. Though the practices mentioned by our correspondent are not necessarily bad—people do not attach particular and infallible efficacy to blessed *salt* or blessed *milk*—yet we would discountenance them. He could recommend the use of holy water, and explain its efficacy. In blessing holy water the priest prays: “ut creatura tua mysteriis tuis serviens, ad abigendos daemones, morbosque pellendos, divinae gratiae summat effectum: et quidquid in domibus, vel in locis fidelium haec unda resperserit, careat omni immunditia, liberetur a noxa.—(*Missale, Benedictio Aquae.*)

D. COGHLAN.

LITURGY.

BENEDICTION OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT.

The Altar at which Benediction is to be given should be adorned with neatness and taste, and as richly as the resources of the Church will permit. Neglect or carelessness in the ornamentation of the altar, besides being a grave irreverence to the Most Holy Sacrament, tends to weaken, instead of to strengthen, the faith of the people, and is apt to beget in them a disregard for this most excellent devotion. On the altar candles are to be lighted, some, at least, of which must be wax. Some Rubricists¹ would permit Benediction with as few as *six wax* candles: others² say that twelve, or at the very least ten wax candles should be burning whenever the Holy Sacrament is publicly exposed, as It is when Benediction is given with the Monstrance.³ A corporal should be spread on the altar, and another on the throne. The cross and charts should be removed. The antependium and the veil of the tabernacle should be white,⁴ unless in the case to be mentioned immediately.

The Vestments, when Benediction is given as a separate function, should be always of a white colour.⁵ When Benediction is given in connection with Mass or Vespers, the vestments of the ministers, as well as the antependium and the veil of the tabernacle, should be the colour of the Office of the day.⁶ In *all* cases, however, the humeral veil must be white.⁷

The Officiant may be assisted merely by clerks, or by a priest or deacon in addition to the clerks, or by a

¹ Schild. *Manuale Liturgicum*, p. 278.

² Gardellini, *Instructio Clementina*, sect. 6, nn. 8-10. See also S.R.C. 15th March, 1698, n. 3315-3364. Baldeschi, *Ceremonial*, part 6, ch. 3, n. 1.

³ Rubricists distinguish between *public* and *private* exposition of the Most Holy Sacrament. The exposition is public when the Monstrance holding the Host is placed unveiled on the altar, or on the throne prepared for it; private, when the door of the tabernacle is opened, and the ciborium containing the consecrated Species exposed to the view of the worshippers.

⁴ S.R.C., July 9, 1678, n. 2715-2864, ad. 7.

⁵ S.R.C., Sept. 20, 1806, n. 4353-4503. *Instructio Clementina*, sect. 11.

⁶ *Instr. Clemen.*, *ibidem*.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

deacon and sub-deacon, with torch-bearers, &c. In the first two cases the Officiant may vest either in surplice, stole, and cope,¹ or, better still, in amice, alb, girdle, stole, and cope. The assistant priest or deacon vests in surplice, and, while engaged in the exposition or deposition of the Holy Sacrament, in stole as well. He should, however, assume the stole only when he is about to ascend the altar, and lay it aside immediately after he descends.² In the third case the Officiant must wear the amice, alb, and cincture, instead of the surplice. The deacon and sub-deacon are vested as at Mass, with the exception of the maniples. The Officiant wears the humeral veil while in the act of giving Benediction.

The Ceremonies to be observed in giving Benediction vary slightly with the variety of ministers. We shall take first the case in which the Officiant is assisted by clerks only, and having laid down what is to be observed in this case we shall point out the changes or additions to be made in each of the other cases.³

The Officiant vests in the Sacristy, and with the clerks—at least three in number, dressed in soutane and surplice—makes a profound inclination of the head⁴ to the cross, and proceeds to the altar. If there are only three clerks one carries the incense-boat, unless it has been previously brought to the altar, and the thurible: in the procession to and from the altar he goes before the other two, who carry lighted candles or torches. The Officiant follows.

Having arrived before the altar the Officiant takes off his berretta, genuflects *in plano*, kneels on the lowest step of the

¹ Baldeschi (*loc. cit.* n. 3) would have the Officiant to put on an amice with the surplice. This, however, seems to be entirely contrary to custom, and is not recommended by any other writer whose work we have at hand.

² "Stolam in actuali tantum ministerio adhibet: statim postquam exposuit sanctissimum vel porrexit celebranti, illam iterum deponit, et super brachium sinistrum portare potest." Wapellhorst, *Compendium sacrae Liturgiae*, cap 21, art. 1, n. 218, 8°.

³ It is hardly necessary to say that we do not regard the method of giving Benediction here recommended as the only correct method. We claim, however, that it is a correct method, and in our judgment, formed after maturely considering the different methods mentioned by Rubricists, and the decrees of the Sacred Congregation bearing on the matter, the most correct method.

⁴ De Herdt, *Sacrae Liturgiae Praxis*, vol 1, n. 199.

altar, and, having said a short prayer¹ rises, and without any further genuflection ascends the altar. If the corporal has not been already extended on the altar, the Officiant now extends it, opens the tabernacle, genuflects,² takes from the tabernacle the pyxis or box containing the lunette, places it on the corporal, closes the tabernacle, having first genuflected³ if the Blessed Sacrament is in the tabernacle, otherwise without genuflecting.

The Officiant next places the Monstrance, which should have been previously brought to the altar, on the corporal, opens the box in which the lunette is preserved, genuflects on one knee, and having secured the lunette in the Monstrance, places the latter on the centre of the corporal so that the front part is next the people, again genuflects *on one knee only*,⁴ and rising, places the Monstrance, with the aid

¹ Baldeschi, loc. cit. n. 8. ² On one knee only. ³ On one knee only.

⁴ In the Appendix to the decrees of the Synod of Thurles *De ritu servando in expositione et benedictione Sanctissimi Sacramenti* the following directions, differing as will be seen from those given above, are put down, "Clausus tabernaculi ostiolo, collocat [Celebrans] ostensorium in medio corporali, genuflectit utroque genu, deinde reponit illud in throno, et faciens profundam reverentiam descendit ante infimum altaris gradum." Baldeschi (loc. cit.) gives precisely the same directions. Indeed it would seem that this "Appendix" was copied from Baldeschi. We do not, however, feel any hesitation in departing from the observances here recommended. Our reasons are: 1st. The genuflection on both knees as well as the profound inclination in the circumstances seems to be entirely without analogy. The rule regarding genuflections to be observed by the sacred ministers engaged in any function at an altar, on which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, is, that the genuflections are to be *on one knee only*, with the sole exceptions of the genuflection made on arriving, and the one made when departing from the altar. Each of these genuflections—provided, of course, that the Blessed Sacrament is already exposed when they arrive, and remains exposed when they depart—should be on both knees. This rule Baldeschi himself lays down as a rule to be observed in the Mass of Deposition. "During Mass" he says (Part 6, chapter 1, n. 37), "the genuflection is always made *on one knee*, except that on approaching the altar, when it should be made on both knees." Nor is there any better support from analogy for the profound inclination which the priest is directed to make before descending to the foot of the altar. Such salute, unaccompanied by a genuflection is never, we venture to say, offered to the Blessed Sacrament.

2nd. The best authorities ignore these directions, and by giving directions which differ from these, tacitly, at least, reject them. Thus Wapelhorst (loc. cit. n. 217, 1^o.) says "Tum (i.e. Hostia in ostensorio collocata) ostensorium in medio altari collocat, et *unicum genu* flectat. Deinde . . . ostensorium in throno super corporali ponit. Postquam descendit in suppedaneum [the predella] *genuflexionem* iterat." Martinucci. *Manuale*

of a ladder if necessary, on the throne, descends the ladder, genuflects, again *only on one knee*, on the predella, and returns to the foot of the altar, taking care not to turn his back to the Blessed Sacrament. Having descended the officiant immediately kneels on the lowest step of the altar, inclines *his head* profoundly,¹ rises, steps back a little towards the Gospel side, and standing thus facing the Epistle side, puts incense without any blessing² into the thurible, again kneels on the lowest step and incenses the Blessed Sacrament with three swings, making before and after the incensation—that is, immediately after he receives the thurible, and immediately before he returns it to the thurifer—a profound inclination of the head.³

While the choir sings the Psalms, Hymns, Litanies, etc., which are usually sung in the presence of the Most Holy Sacrament exposed for Benediction,⁴ the officiant remains kneeling, unless when he has to sing a prayer, or when the *Te Deum* is sung by the choir. In the former case the

Sacrarum Caeremoniarum, l. 3, c. 8, nn. 21-22. “Deinde . . . convertet ostensorium ex parte anteriori, collocabit illud in medio altari et *genuflexionem faciet*”—on one knee only : otherwise the author would have added *utroque genu*, or some equivalent phrase. Postea surget recedet aliquantulum ad latus Epistolae, et posito a secundo clerico scabello, accipiet ostensorium dextera et consensu scabello, ponet illud in throno. Postquam descenderit in suppedaneum iterabit genuflexionem et de altari descendet. See also Vavas seur, *Cérémonial*, part 9, nn. 51-52. Gardellini, loc. cit. sect. 24, n. 1. etc., etc.

¹ “Simul ac sacerdos descendit genuflectit, utroque genu super infimum altaris gradum, *cum capitis, non autem corporis* inclinatione.” De Herdt. *Sac. Lit. Praxis*, vol. 2, n. 26. “Sacerdos antequam surgat ad imponendum incensum *caput profunde inclinat, non autem corpus*.”—Bouvry, *Expositio Rubricarum*, pars. 3, sect. 3, appen. 2, sect. 2.

² “ . . . imponit ter *sine benedictione* incensum.” Gardellini *Instr. Clem.* 24, 17.

³ “Celebrans ter incensabit sacramentum *cum profunda capitis inclinatione* ante et post.” Idem. ibi. 19, 13. S.R.C., March 26, 1859, n. 5284, 3.

⁴ The hymns, etc., sung in presence of the Blessed Sacrament should have episcopal approbation. The Bishop may approve of hymns and prayers composed in the vernacular, but not of translations into the vernacular of the *Te Deum* or similar liturgical prayers, which, if recited at all, must be recited in their Latin form. “*Queritur*, an liceat adhibere publicam, quarundam precum recitationem vulgari sermone conscriptarum coram SSmo. Sacramento exposito. *Resp.* Affirmative, dummodo agatur de precibus approbatis. (S.R.C. August 14, 1867, n. 5381, 9.) *Queritur*: utrum liceat generaliter ut chorus musicorum (id est cantores) coram

celebrant alone rises, and without genuflecting,¹ or saying *Dominus vobiscum*,² sings the prayer preceded by *Oremus*. In the latter case both priest and people stand up,³ and continue standing during the entire hymn, with the exception of the verse, *Te ergo quaesumus*, during the singing of which all kneel.⁴

During the singing of the verse, *Veneremur cernui*, all present including the Officiant, make a profound inclination of the head.⁵ At the *Genitori, Genitoque*,⁶ the Officiant again

SSmo. Sacramento solemniter exposito decantet hymnos in lingua vernacula? *Resp.* Posse; dummodo non agatur de hymnis *Te Deum* et aliis quibuscumque liturgicis precibus quae non nisi latina lingua decantari debent." (S.R.C., Feb. 27, 1882, apud Wapelhorst, loc. cit. n. 218, 11°.)

The *Tantum ergo* with the versicle, response, and prayer of the Blessed Sacrament should be sung *after* all the other prayers. When the *Te Deum* is sung it should come immediately before the *Tantum ergo*, and the prayer, "Pro gratiarum actione," should be sung, sub una conclusionem, with the prayer of the Blessed Sacrament. The only versicle and response, however, are the "Panem de coelo," and "Omne delectamentum." (Vavasseur, loc. cit. n. 71, "Cérémonial des Evêques." expliqué, livre deuxième. ch. 33, art. 1, n. 5).

In Ireland the Litany of the Blessed Virgin—"Litaniae Lauretanae"—is usually sung at Benediction. The versicle and response, and prayer of the Blessed Virgin should be sung immediately after the Litany. The proper versicle and response would seem to be the "Ora pro nobis," and "Ut digni efficiamur." It is not usual to add the *alleluias* during paschal time. For a full statement of the reasons for this practice, see the I. E. RECORD, Vol. ii. (1881) pages 551-2. The prayer *Concede* is to be said during all seasons.

On the Feast of Corpus Christi, and during the Octave, only prayers in honour of the Most Holy Sacrament, should be sung at Benediction. (S.R.C., Sept. 22, 1837, n. 4666-4815, 6.)

The prayers at Benediction have the short conclusion. The short conclusion of the prayer "Deus qui nobis," is not, as some seem to think, "Qui vivis et regnas per omnia saecula saeculorum," but "Qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum." (S.R.C., March 29, 1851, n. 5152, 6. Martinucci, loc. cit. n. 33, Wapelhorst, loc. cit. 217, 5°.)

¹ *Instructio Clementina*, sect. 31. ² *Ibidem*, S.R.C., June 16, 1663.

³ S.R.C., March 27, 1779, n. 4244-4393, 17. ⁴ Vavasseur, loc. cit.

⁵ "Ad veneremur cernui fit ab omnibus inclinatio capitis profunda." (Wapelhorst, loc. cit. 217, 4°. Martinucci, loc. cit. 30). According to Vavasseur (loc. cit. 58) the inclination of the head should continue during the first two verses. His words are—"A ces mots; Tantum ergo sacramentum veneremur cernui, on incline la tête." Gardellini would seem to be of the same opinion. He says (*Instr. Clem.*, sect. 24, 15): "Celebrans genuflexus manet ad primos duos versiculos, et interim cum populo circumstante profunde inclinatus, specialem cultum sacramento exhibet."

⁶ S.R.C., July 11, 1857, n. 5250. The profound inclination of the head is thus described by Rubricists:—"Profunda capitis inclinatio fit magna capitis depressione, quae secum trahit aliquam humerorum inclinationem." (De Herdt, vol. i. n. 121).

inclines his head profoundly, rises, puts incense into the thurible, and kneeling incenses the Blessed Sacrament, making, as already mentioned, a profound inclination of the head before and after the incensation.

At the proper time he rises to chant the prayer: when saying *Oremus* he bows his head towards the Most Holy Sacrament. Having concluded the prayer he again kneels on the lowest step of the altar,¹ the humeral veil is put on his shoulders by one of the clerks, he himself fastens it in front, and rising goes up to the altar, and placing his hands in the usual manner on the altar, genuflects on the predella *on one knee only*, without any inclination of the head,² and having taken down the Monstrance, and placed it on the corporal, again genuflects on one knee.³ Having turned the back part of the Monstrance towards himself, the officiant "takes it with both hands veiled, holding its *nodus* with his right and its foot with his left hand. Turning towards the people by his right shoulder with the Monstrance before his breast, he then gives Benediction, making over them the sign of the cross in the following manner, and without saying anything—he will regulate himself, however, according to the height of the Monstrance:—Turning towards the people as above, he will slowly raise the Monstrance on a level with his eyes, and then in the same manner lower it below his breast, then he will raise it again to his breast, and in this attitude turn a little towards the Epistle side; after which he will complete the circle by immediately turning to the altar by the Gospel side."⁴

¹ So Wapelhorst, who adds that according to custom and to the ceremonial of the United States, the officiant makes an inclination of the head before rising to go up to the altar. Martinucci and Vavasour, however, recommend the officiant not to assume the humeral veil until he has taken down the Monstrance from the throne. Following these authors the officiant having concluded the prayer, should genuflect on one knee on the first step of the altar, go up to the altar, again genuflect on the predella, take down the Monstrance, and kneel on the edge of the predella to receive the veil on his shoulders. This is a very convenient method, especially when the throne is lofty, and the candles many.

² Wapelhorst, 217, 7°. "Flectit unicum genu sine capitis inclinatione." De Carpo *Caeremoniale*, pars. 3ia. n. 190., etc.

³ Martinucci, loc. cit. 36. Wapelhorst et De Carpo, loc. mox cit.

⁴ Baldeschi, part 6, ch. 1, 58. There are other approved ways of imparting the Benediction.

Having placed the Monstrance on the corporal, the officiant genuflects on one knee¹ on the predella, while one of the clerks removes the veil from his shoulders. He then removes the lunette from the Monstrance, puts it into its case, genuflects, covers the case, opens the tabernacle and genuflects, if the Blessed Sacrament be in the tabernacle, otherwise without any previous genuflexion. He then places the lunette in the tabernacle, and, having genuflected, closes and fastens the door of the tabernacle. Before going down from the altar he folds the corporal and puts it into the burse. When he descends to the foot of the altar, if the choir is about to sing the *Gloria Patri*, he kneels, and bows his head profoundly until they have finished. At the end of the *Gloria Patri* he rises, receives his cap, genuflects, and returns with his clerks to the sacristy in the same order in which they came to the altar.

D. O'LOAN.

OUR ROMAN LETTER.

THE ROMAN CATACOMBS.

Who has not heard of that wonderful city of the dead, excavated beneath the walls of Immortal Rome, commonly known as "the Catacombs?" Yet there are few who possess any exact information about it. With a view of giving as accurate a description of it as I can within the narrow limits at my disposal, I have selected for the chief topic of this letter *Roma Sotterranea*—where the bodies of the earliest children of the Church, and of thousands of those glorious martyrs whose blood was the seed of Christianity, have lain side by side undisturbed throughout the long ages that have intervened since the Apostolic ages. I shall confine myself for the present to general information, for, indeed, the subject is so vast it would take a volume to give any details.

The most probable derivation of the word *catacomb* is that pro-

¹ "Ostensorio deposito Celebrans unicum genu flectit et a primo clerico velum humerale ei detrahitur."—Wapelhorst, 2:7, 8.

posed by De Rossi¹ that it is a combination of the Greek word *κατα* and the Latin *cubo*, thus giving the words *catacumbas*, *catacumbatoria*—and *coemeteria* (*christianorum*)—"at the cemeteries" of the Christians; a derivation that is confirmed by the fact that this word, first used in the third and fourth centuries, and then applied exclusively to the catacombs of St. Sebastian, has the etymological form just named in nearly all the antique inscriptions found under that basilica; whereas the circus of Maxentius and his son, Romulus, close to St. Sebastian, was called the *Circus in Catacumbas*, and the catacombs under the basilica of St. Sebastian were known as the *coemeterium catacumbas ad S. Sebastianum via Appia*.² I said that the word was formerly used exclusively for those of St. Sebastian. In fact until the ninth century all the other necropolises round Rome were called *cemeteries*, from the Greek word *κοιμητήριον*, a dormitory, denoting that for the Christians death is but a sleep, and their graves last resting places where their bodies shall remain till the day of the final resurrection, a truth expressed by St. Jerome in the fifth century—*Inter Christianos mors non est mors, sed dormitio et somnus appellatur*. After the ninth century, however, all the underground cemeteries round Rome were known indiscriminately as "the catacombs," and it is in this sense that I shall describe them.

They consist of a close network of subterraneous passages, excavated in a species of soft rock called *tufa*—the colour of a piece of brown paper dipped in water—with which all the *Campagna Romana* is stratified. Several flats of these passages underlie one another, in some parts as many as five. Originally the different stories were quite separate, and the passages in each were excavated with some show of regularity; but as time went on the partitions between different passages got broken through (sometimes accidentally, at other times because of connections made by new excavations running into each other), so that before long the catacombs became an inextricable labyrinth of passages moving up and down, in and out, backwards and forwards through each other, in the most extraordinary manner. Sometimes when you think yourself far away from where you were half an hour before, you are in reality passing over the same ground, but on a different level, whilst, on the contrary, when you seem to have returned to the same point, you are far away.

These passages are of different sizes. Occasionally they are high

¹ *Roma sott.* iii. 428.

² *Vide* Prof. Cav. Armellini, *le Catacombi Rom.*, c. i.

and sufficiently wide to let two persons stand side by side, but they are generally very low, and less than three feet broad.

An immense number of niches, cut out in rows like shelves in the *tufa*, line the sides of the passages, and each one of those recesses marks the last resting place of one or more of the early Christians. The cavities are made the length of a human body, and of various depths, so as to contain one or more corpses. The bodies were laid in them, with the arms, not crossed on the breast, but laid by the side. After the body had been deposited, wrapped in the winding-sheet, the recess was closed with a marble slab, which was cemented into the *tufa*. Many of these slabs are to be seen still just as they were placed by the early Christians. Others of them have been broken or taken out, so that one can see the bones of the bodies that had been laid in the recesses, sometimes reduced almost to a state of dust, but often well preserved.

Every now and then, as you proceed along those passages, you meet with doorways framed with marble, in some of which the brass hinges and the marks of the bolts are still preserved. These open into little rooms or oratories (*cubicula*), which are of the most varied sizes and shapes. Some are square, others rectangular, and sometimes they are circular. Some are like miniature rotundas with cupolas. Often times they have little pillars cut out of the *tufa* at the angles, and are ornamented with painted frescoes, whereas, others of them are roughly excavated, the marks of the picks and instruments being clearly discernible on the *tufa*.

These *cubicula* are of two sorts. They are either very small, and destined only as a vault for some Christian nobleman and his family—*sibi et suis*—or they were much larger, and built in the form of chapels or oratories, where the Christians met for religious ceremonies and prayer. In these latter, stone benches are generally cut out in the *tufa* all round, and sometimes square blocks of stone are found in them, evidently used as seats also. Occasionally to accommodate greater numbers there are several of these rooms around, and in connection with the central one, from which the faithful could join in the prayers and hear the homilies. Light is sometimes admitted into them through deep apertures in the roof. In the sides of these rooms we frequently find a species of sepulchre called *arcisolum* from their peculiar shape. They consist of a large urn excavated in the *tufa* called *solum*, surmounted by a semi-circular niche called the *arcus*, hence these sepulchres are known in most of the old manuscripts as *arcisolia*. They are found sometimes in the passages, and being

more important and costly than the simple *locus* generally show where either some celebrated martyr, or some distinguished Christian was buried.¹

The total extent of the passages in the catacombs is immense. A great portion of them has not yet been explored, but calculating as nearly as possible, Professor Armellini has concluded that the passages of all the Roman catacombs taken together, would extend over a distance of 580 kilometres, or about 405 miles. This immense extent is due more to the fact that they run under each other—sometimes five passages existing one under the other—than because they occupy any very considerable extent of ground. In fact all the Roman Catacombs lie within a radius of about three miles from the wall of Servius, whereas none of them pass under the walls of the city, it being strictly prohibited by the old Roman laws to bury the dead inside the walls.² Hence the popular belief that the catacombs are connected with the underground vaults of the Roman churches, or that they stretch off in all directions to the neighbouring villages, and even to the sea is quite false.

The catacombs on the different Roman roads are quite distinct. There is no underground connection whatever between one and the other, as it was equally prohibited by the Roman laws to excavate under the public roads. This law was so strictly observed that sometimes we find passages to terminate abruptly so as not to violate it, and if occasionally they pass under the public roads, it is because the excavations or roads were made at a much later period, or the course of the old road changed. In all probability every Roman Parish Church or *titulus* had its special cemetery or catacomb under the direct care of the parish priest. This seems all the more probable when we consider that the number of public churches existing in those days corresponded almost exactly with the number of catacombs, i.e. twenty-five.

Until recently it was believed even by distinguished archaeologists that the catacombs were originally old cave-quarries and sandpits used by the Christians after they had been abandoned by the pagans. This hypothesis has long since been shown to be without foundation. The *tufa* or stone in which the catacombs are excavated is for the most part the least adapted for building purposes, and is in fact in

¹ *Vide Armellini, loc. cit.*

² This was expressly commanded by one of the laws of the twelve Tables compiled by the decemvirs during the strifes between the Plebeians and Patricians, and which remained in vigour to the time of the Emperor Justinian. *Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepolito neve urito.*

many parts quite useless as such, being too soft and brittle. Wherever they came across stratas of hard rock that would have been useful for building, it seems to have been immediately abandoned for the useless quality, which was easier to excavate. Then, again, the passages are so narrow and long, that only one man with a pick could have worked in them at a time, labouring under great difficulties to carry out the materials. This would have been eliminated by opening a broad cave with several men working together, as was done in fact in all the real sandpits and quarries of that time, the traces of which still remain. Moreover, why should they excavate several passages one beneath the other, if the object had been only to extract building materials? There is not the slightest resemblance between the old quarries and sandpits and the catacombs, neither as to the way in which they are worked, nor the materials extracted.

The real origin of the catacombs is to be traced to the fact, that some Christians amongst the wealthy Roman nobles, excavated vaults in their private properties or suburban villas for the burial of their families and friends, and extended the privilege of burial in them to many of their fellow-Christians. As religion increased the extent of these results naturally increased also, and many of them were left by the owners at different times to the various churches, to be used as a burial-place for all Christians. Now there were no points on which the Roman law was so strict as the right of property and respect for the dead. They had a sort of religious reverence for sepulchres. Hence they employed men to guard them day and night, and the most severe penalties were inflicted on all who would in any way violate them. Thus, although the Christians were hated and persecuted by the Gentiles, for a long time they were not excluded from the common law by which the private properties and sepulchres of families were defended. This is the reason why we find that the entrances to the Christian cemeteries or catacombs, each of which had the name of some rich nobleman attached to it, to whom it originally belonged, were often ostentatiously built along the most frequented roads without any misgiving that they would be interfered with.

As time went on the extent of the catacombs increased immensely, until finally the rulers of the empire began to wage war against them. But even then they did not attack them as sepulchres, but only as places of illicit meetings. The Christians were prohibited to enter them, and in the middle of the third century they were actually confiscated. Nevertheless they managed to enter them and to bury their dead there. They opened new secret entrances from

the dark angles of the old quarries and sandpits, traces of some of which remain to this day. Through these they were able to enter unmolested. They oftentimes assembled during the night to avoid suspicion. When they were persecuted in the city, they fled to the catacombs to meet for prayer, to receive and administer the sacraments, and thus to fortify themselves against the persecutions that awaited them outside. Though there is no truth in the old fables that the Christians lived like moles in the catacombs, they certainly made use of them as places of refuge from persecution, and no doubt, some of them whose lives were in peril, passed weeks and even months in them.

Whilst treating of the origin of the catacombs, it is well to mention that evidently they were not dug out at haphazard, but according to regular plans, which kept them from violating the law by encroaching on forbidden ground, and under the directions of experienced persons, who fearing inundations limited the excavations to the higher grounds, keeping clear of places near the level of the Tiber.

One thing strikes one immediately on entering the catacombs—the unexceptional equality of the graves of all classes. It illustrates the lively faith of the Christians in those early ages, when the Church was in its infancy. There the servant and his noble master are buried, often side by side, without any distinction. The rich man with the poor, the learned with the ignorant—all are buried promiscuously, because all were members of the same religion, all had the one faith, hoping for the same resurrection with Christ. There are no long inscriptions on their slabs: memory has raised no trophies o'er their tombs, for they were all equally followers of Christ, all united in the one faith, and hence buried also as equals in the catacombs.

Of the millions of sepulchres only a comparatively small number have any inscription on them, and even those are of the simplest kind. They are generally the bare name of the dead person, or else some symbol of faith, hope, or other Christian virtue.

Amongst the symbols those of the name of CHRIST are most frequently met with. They are twofold. The commonest is a monogram composed of the Greek letters X and P. The other also very frequently met with is a large fish. Sometimes a number of smaller fishes are represented round it to signify the Christians. In some of the painted frescoes, we find a number of people represented as seated round a table, with a large dish of fish in the centre, of which they are all partaking.

This is symbolic of the Eucharistic Supper. The sense of this symbol was explained by many of the Fathers. It will suffice to quote the beautiful words of Tertullian¹—*Nos pisciculi secundum χθν nostrum J. C. in aqua nascimur, nec aliter quam in aqua manendo salvi sumus*. We little fishes (Christians) are born in the waters (of baptism), nor can we live (spiritually) except by remaining in the water (of grace that comes from Christ the fountain of all graces).

In fact the Greek word for fish χθν contains the five Greek letters, that are initials of the five words indicating the name of Jesus Christ—

| | | | | |
|--------|----------|------|--------|------------|
| Ἰησοῦς | Χριστός | Θεοῦ | Υἱός | Σωτήρ |
| Jesus | Christus | Dei | Filius | Salvator.* |

Another favourite symbol is the anchor representing hope, firm and strong. Since the Christian's hope is founded on the cross of Christ, they placed the crossbar so as to give it the perfect appearance of a cross, the meaning of which was well understood by the Christians. Several other symbols are found also, such as the dove showing the soul liberated from the body, the palm, the olive, etc.: but we must return to our subject.

We have said that in the catacombs no distinctions, nor account of the dead person is to be found on the tombs. There is one exception made to this rule, and that is in the case of the martyrs. Many ancient documents give testimony of the great devotion of the early Christians to the martyrs. They collected their blood oftentimes at the risk of their lives, and preserved it as a most precious relic.¹ Sometimes they placed small bottles of the blood hermetically sealed in the tomb with the body. These have been found intact in some of the tombs in recent years, and on examination are generally found to contain the elements of human blood. It is sometimes preserved perfect in a liquid state. If they are proved to contain or have contained blood, that is taken by the Church as a sufficient proof that the body with which it was found is that of a martyr. It often happens that little vases or bottles are found *outside* the tombs, but those were used only for holding oil or balms, with which they used to sprinkle the bodies when being interred especially during the periods subsequent to the peace of Constantine. Hence those bottles only, that are proved on analysis to have contained blood are accepted by the Church as a proof of martyrdom. As we pass through these subterranean passages, the thought cannot but strike us with awe,

¹ *De Bapt. c.i.*

² *Vide Bergier, Diz. Teol. "pesce."*

³ *Vide Prudentius, Hymn. de S. Vinc.*

that amongst the numberless bodies—the bones of which in many cases are visible—that line the passages, many are probably the remains of glorious martyrs. Certainly all are the bodies of Christians who died in the odour of sanctity, for burial in the catacombs was denied to all others.

Great was the desire of the Christians to be buried near the bodies of the martyrs. In life and death they flocked round the tombs. Altars were erected, and the holy sacrifice celebrated, over their bodies. This was probably what gave rise to the usage now universal in the Church, of having relics of the saints inserted in the altar-stone; and the gospel was preached to the faithful and the sacraments administered there. The desire to be buried near the martyrs, at times reached such a degree, that special rules and laws had to be made to prevent it, as they had begun to destroy some of the frescoes and paintings to open graves near them. In the Papal crypt of the catacombs of St. Callisto there is an inscription made by Pope Damasus, illustrative of this great desire to be buried near the martyrs, of which it will suffice to quote these two lines:—

“HIC FATEOR DAMASUS VOLUI MEA CONDERE MEMBRA,
SED CINERES TENUI SANCTOS VEXARE PIORUM.”

The Archdeacon Labianus wrote over his sepulchre the following lines in the fourth century, evidently with a view to diminish this desire to be buried near the martyrs:—

“NIL JUVAT, IMMO GRAVAT TUMULIS HAERERE PIORUM
SANCTORUM MERITIS OPTIMA VITA PROPE EST
CORPORE NON OPUS EST, ANIMA TENDAMUS AD ILLOS
QUAE BENE SALVA, POTEST CORPORIS ESSE SALUS.”

Another inscription that has been traced to the year 381, clearly states that the dead person had succeeded in getting what many desire but few obtain, a tomb near the martyrs:

“ACCEPIT SEPULCHRUM INTRA LIMINA SANCTORUM,
QUOD MULTI CUPIUNT RARI ACCIPIUNT.”

Some Protestant writers, amongst whom Burnet, Spanheim, and Basnagius, have asserted that the catacombs were formerly used by the pagan Romans as a burial-place for slaves and malefactors, to save the expense of cremation. That the Romans after their conversion to Christianity put Christian inscriptions and symbols on the pagan sepulchres, and that the catacombs having been lost sight of for several centuries, these inscriptions were afterwards taken to denote the places where the martyrs and Christians were buried!

This is a mere assertion, without even a shadow of proof to sustain it. It was evidently made, more with a view to throw discredit on Catholics and their veneration of the saints and relics, than with any respect for the truth. In fact the pagan Romans far from taking the trouble of burying their slaves, used to pitch them into common pits called *puticuli*, dug out expressly for that purpose, or else to burn great numbers of bodies together. On the other hand as we have already stated, the Christians abhorred common burial with the pagans, as Lucianus asserts in his account of the discovery of the relics of St. Stephen. St. Cyprian accuses a Spanish bishop, Martialis, of "the crime" of allowing children to be buried in profane or pagan tombs. Whilst some of the oldest Christian writers such as Prudentius, Paulinus, and others, attest that the Roman catacombs contain the bodies of thousands of martyrs—a truth which is corroborated by some of the oldest inscriptions—these few modern knownothings, without a shadow of argument, would make believe that they are all the bodies of pagan slaves! The catacombs were in fact exclusively used for the burial of Christians, so that neither pagans nor those who were not in communion with the Church when they died were ever buried in them. It was to procure such a burial place that the first Christians undertook such prodigious labours, instead of using the common pagan cemeteries. Of all the thousands of symbols and inscriptions found in the catacombs, there is not a single pagan one, though it was customary amongst them to inscribe the name and condition of the defunct on the slab, as can be seen in the pagan cemeteries. Not only were pagans never buried in the catacombs, but they did not even assist in digging them out. In fact it has been shown that the *fossores* or diggers were numbered amongst the clergy by the Christians—probably a sort of minor order—showing the great care they took to prevent the tombs that contained, or were to contain the bodies of the martyrs from being touched by the pagans.

It was during the first and second centuries of the Christian era that the catacombs began to assume the immense proportions they now present. Although the Christians themselves were sometimes persecuted during those periods, they were left in quiet possession of their cemeteries until Valerian confiscated them in 257, and prohibited the Christians to enter them under pain of death. They were restored to the Christians about ten years afterwards by his son Gallienus. They then enjoyed peaceful possession of them for about forty years, till the Dioclesian persecution, during which time they

became greatly enlarged. The pagans ceased to interfere with them after the peace of Constantine in 311, and the public entrances to them were again thrown open. Immense numbers of pilgrims began to flock from all quarters of the globe to visit the tombs of the martyrs, and to facilitate their access flights of stairs were made close to the tombs of the Saints. The sepulchres of the martyrs were richly adorned, and sometimes basilicas were built over them. Pope Damasus took a lively part in this work of beautifying the tombs of the martyrs, often composing the inscriptions for them himself.

Thus, the catacombs went on increasing in size and importance, until, in the beginning of the fifth century, the fall of the Roman Empire marked the beginning of new disasters for them. Rome was taken by Alaric in A.D. 410. At the head of his savage troops, who poured into the city "like a swarm of devouring locusts," he sacked the city, destroying everything he could lay hands on. The catacombs did not escape them. They carried off all the valuables to be found, and smashed everything they could not take away. The tombs were opened, marble slabs and decorations broken, and the relics of the saints desecrated. He left Rome after six days of savage devastation, and died shortly after in Calabria, whilst continuing his work of vandalism. When his brother-in-law, who succeeded him, concluded a treaty of peace with Pope Honorius the Eternal City was in a deplorable condition. The Christians had almost ceased to frequent the desecrated catacombs, and had made burial places in the open air over them, Pope Vigilius and his successors tried to remedy the damage, but the funds were wanting. In 756 Luitprand, King of the Lombards, marched with his horde on Rome and besieged it. Past experience had shown that the catacombs would be entered and desecrated. Hence, Pope Paul I ordered the bodies of the martyrs to be removed and placed in safety within the city. Pascal I followed his example. The broken and injured tombs were opened and the bodies of 2,300 martyrs were collected and deposited in the Church of St. Praxedis, near S. Mary Major, on the 20th July, 827, as the slab erected by him commemorates.

This caused the complete oblivion of the catacombs. The bodies of the martyrs—the principal object of the great devotion of the faithful—being removed, they had no longer any reason for assembling in them. They had churches and burial grounds innumerable outside, and full liberty to use them. Hence the ninth century marks the period when all the Roman catacombs fell into complete oblivion, except the crypts under St. Sebastian. It was not till the year

1578 that they began to be thought of again. In that year some workmen accidentally struck upon one of the most interesting districts of the catacombs. Numbers flocked to the spot, and the curiosity of all was stirred up. Many persons set to work to study and explore the catacombs. The celebrated Antony Bosius, after a life of study of them, published his celebrated *Roma Sotteranea*. When at the age of eighteen he descended into the catacombs for the first time he was lost in them, so he took good care to mark the passages on subsequent occasions. These marks, often with his name attached, remain to the present day. The work begun by Bosius was carried on by others, and especially by the celebrated Cav. De Rossi, still living, whose gigantic studies and researches have done so much to throw light on the catacombs. His celebrated colossal work, not yet completed, entitled *Roma Sotterranea* is known all the world over, and has gained for him the reputation of being the greatest living student of archaeology.

I have now completed this general description of the Roman catacombs. I may add, in conclusion, that the Italian government, always anxious to destroy everything in Rome that has an appearance of Christianity, and to promote anything to the contrary, are allowing all the ground round Rome over the catacombs to be sold for building purposes. Many huge six story houses have already risen over them, and others are being built. This of course means that the underlying catacombs are destroyed or buried for ever. One or two of the most beautiful *cubicula* or oratories, discovered in digging the foundations of houses, were almost miraculously saved from destruction. They are evidently anxious to destroy, as far as possible, these interesting necropolises where Christianity was cradled, where the early Christians assembled to fortify themselves by prayer and the sacraments against persecution, to bury their dead, and to adorn the tombs of their dear ones with fragrant balms and flowers; according to the words of Prudentius, the Christian Latin poet:—

“ Nos tecta fovebimus ossa
Violis et fronde frequenti
Titulumque et frigida saxa
Liquido spargemus odore.”

THE *Popolo Romano*, as all the world knows, is one of the most bitter anti-clerical Roman papers. On the 16th of May it published a document purporting to be a letter from a *distinto personaggio*

Irlandese. This distinguished Irishman (?) dates his letter from Dublin. His object is to give Italians information about the Irish, and their present position, and to correct errors on that point that have recently appeared in some Italian papers. He thinks it prudent not to put his name to it, but, evidently with a view to giving his letter a force, which it has not in itself, he assumes the *nom de plume*, VERITAS! This individual begins his letter by representing the average Irish farmer as a very opulent individual, holding his land at less than half its real value, enjoying the benefits of land laws that do all but make him a present of his farm, in a far better condition than his English neighbours, and not having the shadow of a reason to complain! When he reached this point, he evidently recollected that a great deal of misery exists amongst the Irish farmers, and that must needs be explained. Here begins the most amusing part of his letter. "Veritas" tells us that all the misery existing in Ireland is due to the giddiness of the Celtic race, to their whimsical marriages, "and to the climate which tends to promote a too rapid propagation of the population" (*sic.*) But above all he attributes it to their habits of intemperance; and here he informs us that £10,000,000 worth of whiskey is consumed annually. Fearing this would not be understood he considerably gives the equivalent in Italian money, 250,000,000 of lire! "Veritas" continues his letter in the same style, but it would be waste of time to follow him any further. Birds of a feather flock together—a "Distinguished" anti-Irish Irishman writes to a well known anti-clerical journal in Rome. Nothing could equal the sympathy of the *Popolo Romano* for the Irish people as long as it entertained hopes that they would rebel against the authority of the Pope. Now that that hope is gone they have turned right about, and are publishing letters from "Veritas" showing that all they have said up to this was false! There is something exquisitely forcible that speaks more eloquently than words in the uncharitable, venomous tone of such letters. They are their own condemnation, and any unimpassioned reader sees at once that they are written without the slightest regard for truth. It is to be hoped "Veritas" will continue a series of such letters, as they do far more good, especially when published in that journal, than if he wrote in the most flattering terms of his countrymen. Years ago letters of that sort might have imposed on some Italians, but now-a-days there is not an apothecary in Rome who does not know enough about Ireland to show "Veritas" that his *nom de plume* is not appropriate.

Giordano Bruno was a heretic. He had been an Italian Dominican monk, but left his order, and joined the followers of Calvin at Geneva. His doctrines were so absurd, it would seem incredible that a sane man taught them. He said the world was an animal—*est animal sanctum, sacrum, venerabile, mundus*. He said God is everything, and tried to unify the Deity, the universe and individual intellects. He returned to Italy and spent two years at Padua, teaching his heretical doctrines. He was arrested and consigned, according the custom of the period, to the Roman Inquisition. Every effort was made to induce him to retract—but all in vain. He was then handed over to the secular tribunal in Rome with directions *ut quam clementissime et citra sanguinis effusionem puniretur*. His judges condemned him to be burned in the Campo dei Fiori, and on hearing his sentence he exclaimed “you are more afraid to pronounce sentence than I am to receive it.”

This man's death has always been used as an argument against the Papacy by its enemies, as if he had been condemned by an ecclesiastical tribunal. Hence the cry raised in Rome to-day for a monument to Giordano Bruno. He is the hero of the anticlerics and Freemasons. Crispi lately attended a meeting where it was resolved to erect a monument to him in the Campo dei Fiori. The municipality were asked to grant the site for it. A meeting of the council was held in the Capitol on the 13th, in which a battle took place. Twenty-nine were for, and thirty-five against it. The liberals failed in their attempt to insult the Pope, and Giordano Bruno must do without his monument. In this matter the municipality acted in concert with the popular feeling, not only in Rome but throughout Italy. Crispi disgraced both the king and the government that he represents, by showing himself to be the handle of the Freemasons. This shows how the Crispi Government represents the people of Italy!

The Vatican Exhibition is drawing to a close. It will end with this month. Everyone, even the most bitter enemies of the Papacy say that it is marvellous. Such a sight was never seen anywhere, nor would it be possible even according to the *Popolo Romano* to raise such an exhibition except in the Vatican! It would be almost impossible to exaggerate its extent. Every part of the world, all classes of people, are represented. The architect of the exhibition told me a few days ago that even with the large halls added lately, they can't find room to stow away all the gifts that have arrived.

Twenty cases lie in the magazine at present unopened. Others are coming ; and still we are within a few days of the date fixed for the end of the exhibition. During all the time it was open there was no charge for entrance. The regulations were excellent. All the expenses were paid by the Pope. This exhibition differs from all others in two important respects. It is the most extensive, both for the number, variety, and intrinsic value of the objects ; and after its close—unlike other exhibitions where people come to take away their things—all remains the property of one man.

M. HOWLETT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DRAFT SCHEME OF EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS COMMISSION, FOR THE FUTURE MANAGEMENT OF THE ROYAL SCHOOL ENDOWMENTS.

I.

OBJECTIONS.

1. Section 2 provides for the establishment of a Central Board of Commissioners, consisting of twenty-eight members. The proposed mode of constituting this Board, excludes all hope that Catholic interests would be fairly represented thereon. No definite and reliable guarantee is offered that more than *seven out of the twenty-eight* members will be men possessing the confidence, and able and willing faithfully to protect the educational interests, of those Catholics to whom the scheme purports to extend substantial advantages. Of course, it is to be presumed that the five members to be elected by the five local Catholic Boards, and the two to be chosen by the Governing Body of the Catholic University, will be efficient and reliable representatives. Beyond this, there is no certainty. No doubt, Section 4 contains a proviso to the effect, that in the appointments to be made by the Lord Lieutenant "regard shall be had to the due representation of the several religious denominations." This is, at best, a vague and unsatisfactory assurance ; Lord Lieutenants have usually regarded the representation "due" to Catholics, as little more than nominal ; and the history of the various phases and developments of the Higher Education question in Ireland, gloomy though it is, conveys one clear lesson—that Catholics should not

accept specious offers without insisting on definite and explicit provisions for having their interests adequately represented. But, perhaps, the Lord Lieutenant will appoint five unexceptionable Catholics, men thoroughly conversant with educational matters, likely to attend all meetings of the Board, untrammelled by any office or position, present or prospective? In the first place, a mere "perhaps" is cold comfort. Again, any intelligent student of Irish history, past or contemporary, would have little scruple in making his solemn affidavit that the Lord Lieutenant will do no such thing. And, thirdly, Section 3 makes it impossible for the Lord Lieutenant, even though he were so inclined, to give a fair representation to the Catholics on the Board of Commissioners. The existing (Clare-street) Commissioners are fourteen in number, all Protestants, with the single, accidental exception of the Lord Chief Justice. The section referred to provides, that "such and so many of the existing Commissioners as at the date of this scheme shall be able and willing to act, and shall have attended not less than one-fourth of the meetings of the Commissioners held during their tenure of office within three years next before the date of this scheme, shall continue to be members of the Body Corporate, and shall be deemed to be Commissioners appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, and shall hold office as if they were so appointed." Such a proposal, if carried into effect, would not merely render void the concessions, which the scheme professes to offer those hitherto debarred, by conscientious objections, from participating in the Royal School Endowments, but it would be an outrage on public justice. The evidence given before the Endowments Commission, showed utter inefficiency on the part of the Clare-street Board; yet, that Board is to be virtually continued and entrusted with additional powers.

To the University of Dublin Catholics cannot look for much sympathy.

The Senate of the Royal University and the Intermediate Education Board, have both a majority of Protestants; and, absolutely speaking, can send all Protestants as their representatives. But, even if we suppose that these bodies will nominate a Catholic or two, and that the Lord Lieutenant will appoint one or even a pair additional—and he cannot, as we have shown, appoint more—the Catholics will still have but a beggarly minority.

2. If further proof were required of covert securities in the Draft Scheme for perpetuating the monopoly of the Royal School grants in the hands of the privileged classes and denominations, it is

to be found in Section 7. "The Secretary and other officers in the employment of the existing Commissioners shall continue to hold office upon the same terms," &c. These may be all most excellent and competent officers, but they are part of an institution which has been declared unsound, and ought not to be retained, without evidence of merit at all events. The machinery of the Central Board will remain practically unchanged; the old Commission will form a large factor in the new; their tried and trusty officers will still serve them faithfully; they will be masters of the situation, and will be in a position to manipulate things to their own liking.

3. While freely recognising the justice of respecting vested interests, and admitting that the Rev. William Moore Morgan is an eminently successful Head Master, Catholics cannot regard the "Special provisions for Armagh Royal School" otherwise than as unduly partial and favourable to the Protestant interests. Any person who is under the delusion that absolute fairness and equality are guaranteed in regard even to the minimum grants, can easily discover his error by glancing at Sections 55 to 61 inclusively. During the period of tenure of office by the present Head Master, he is entitled to receive

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|-----|------|---|---|
| Annual salary | ... | ... | £400 | 0 | 0 |
| Free use and occupation of school. | | | | | |
| For repairs and other outgoings | ... | ... | £175 | 0 | 0 |
| As salary for Assistant | ... | ... | £150 | 0 | 0 |
| School fees. | | | | | |

All these payments have priority over any other claims whatsoever and are to be discharged "in the same manner as if this scheme had not passed." Now while this institution is thus pampered and safeguarded, the Catholic Local Board is not secured even the minimum grant of 20 per cent. out of the Armagh Estate, but may be obliged to beg a few crumbs from the other Local Boards. Besides, even after the present Head Master shall vacate his office, "regard shall be had to the advantages which would accrue to education in the district from an arrangement by which the Armagh Protestant Local Board should retain the management of the said school." In plain English, the school and its immediate appurtenances are reserved in perpetuity to the Protestants of the district.

Nor ought the fact be lost sight of that the abnormal advantages thus accorded to this favoured school, permanently ensure for it the lion's share of results distributable under section 43.

The following is a simple question in the Rule of Three :

If a Protestant school, which has succeeded under exceptionally favourable circumstances and with superabundant endowments, be entitled to the aforesaid reward in perpetuity ; what reward is due to Catholic schools which have succeeded under the most adverse circumstances and without a farthing of endowment ?

4. There is a general provision in Section 54 for the payment of all exhibitions and scholarships, which are actually assigned at the date of the publication of the present Scheme. Moreover, in Section 56, the Armagh Royal School receives special and more permanent security. " So long as there shall be in the Armagh Royal School any pupil or pupils who having been a pupil at the date of the passing of the Act, would, if this scheme had not passed, have been entitled to compete for any exhibition or scholarship payable out of the Armagh Royal School Endowment under the same or the like regulations as were in force in and for the year 1887, the Commissioners shall provide such exhibition or scholarship for any qualified pupil to whom the same may upon competition, be awarded. The amount of such scholarship or exhibition shall be paid by the Commissioners out of the same funds and in the same priority as if this scheme had not passed." Now, seeing that at the dissolution of the Queen's University, degrees were conferred on men who were long dead, it is hardly to be expected that those interested in the endowments to be distributed, will not endeavour to exact more stringent conditions than those specified in the scheme for the obtaining or retaining of exhibitions and scholarships in the Royal Schools.

5. In Section 69, it is provided that " this scheme may be altered from time to time by the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland in any matter whatsoever upon the application of the Commissioners, provided that such application shall be founded upon a resolution of the Commissioners specifying the alteration required, which resolution shall be passed by a majority, consisting of not less than two-thirds of the Commissioners, &c., &c." The meaning of this section, when looked at from a Catholic standpoint, is that, objectionable as the scheme is as it stands, it may be made more so at the request of two-thirds of the Commissioners attending a special meeting summoned for that purpose. Now the lamentably small number, that *must* be Catholics, affords no guarantee against the total reversal even of the tolerably fair provisions of the Draft Scheme.

II.

EFFECTS LIKELY TO FOLLOW THE ADOPTION OF THE SCHEME AS IT STANDS.

1. The Catholic minority on the Central Board finding themselves outvoted and incapable of defending the interests they are elected to represent, will at first make an ineffectual protest, and afterwards many of them will resign, and the remainder cease to attend the meetings.

2. The "continuing" Commissioners and their "continuing" officers will contrive to diverge as little as possible from their traditional usages.

3. The Educational Endowments Commission, like many former Commissions of a similar character, will give their sanction to a plausible, but illusory scheme, and impart no material stimulus to the progress of Intermediate Education in this country.

III.

AMENDMENTS PROPOSED.

1. That there shall be a distinct and specific provision, that one half of the members of the Board of Commissioners shall be Roman Catholics, ten to be selected by the Local Boards, two by the Catholic University Governing Body, and two by the Intermediate Board of Education.

2. That there be no Continuing Commissioners, but that it be competent for the Protestant Local Boards or such corporate bodies as are entitled to representation, to elect such of the existing Commissioners as they may think fit, provided the total number of Protestant members do not exceed fourteen.

3. That it be left to the discretion of the new Commissioners thus constituted, to retain or discontinue the services of the officers of the Clare-street Commission, due regard being had to individual claims either to retention or compensation.

4. That the Armagh Royal School be made over to the Protestant Local Board for a fair consideration, and that the Armagh grant be in other respects dealt with precisely on the same terms as the other grants.

5. That in case of claims for exhibitions and scholarships in virtue of vested rights, all particulars be furnished to the Commissioners of Education.

The Educational Endowments Commission will receive any objections or amendments in writing, up to the end of June; and Catholics interested in the endowments referred to ought not to allow themselves to be deceived by the feigned cries of alarm and indignation raised by their hitherto privileged neighbours, who now pretend to feel terribly aggrieved.

SACERDOS.

CRANIOTOMY.

Franciscan Convent, Wexford.

VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR—I intend to reject, and condemn anything in the following document, not approved of by the Church, but at the same time venture to answer an article in the I. E. RECORD of last February on Craniotomy. I also subjoin a letter from a Theologian on the matter.

It would appear that the writer in the RECORD of February, '88 is too sanguine about his conclusion regarding craniotomy. After displaying a great deal of labour in the study and discussion of the matter, he seems to think that it is put to rest for ever, by the answer recently given to the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons, viz., that the theory of craniotomy "*Tuto doceri non posse.*"

Every one must see the difference between the answer "*tuto doceri non posse,*" and the answer, "*Praxim in quaesito non licere.*" How many things there are that would be most imprudent, if not unlawful to preach or teach publicly, that in special cases we must act on, or do so *tuta conscientia*. Take, for example, some things in Ballerini "*de occasione proxima necessaria,*" etc.

Until, therefore, we have the *non licere*, I think the question not as yet finally settled.

If a medical doctor consulted me, what he was to do in the case I have data for telling him the practice is not lawful. But if he did not ask me, and moreover, if I had good reason to believe that he would not follow my advice, when given, I would be silent, and leave him in *bona fide*, and not interrogate him about his practice.

A Protestant doctor once told me that if he did not use the perforator, when hopes of succeeding with the forceps failed, that an action could be taken against him by the friends of the deceased. I

found, however, that by keeping him on, for some time, he succeeded with the forceps, which in other circumstances might not have been used by him.

Br. JOHN J. ROCHE, O.S.F.

THE THEOLOGIAN'S ANSWER (ENCLOSURE).

Quae suprema Sancti Officii congregatio resolvit circa craniotomiam, referuntur ad doctrinam, quae publice in universitatibus a professoribus, discipulis tradebatur. Responsio data fuit ad compescendam doctrinam, publice traditam, de liceitate usus craniotomiae, ita ut post decisionem amplius in scholis liceitas craniotomiae doceri tuto non potest. Quod vero spectat liceitatem in seipsa spectatam quamvis definita proprie loquendo non sit, tamen in ea sum sententia craniotomiae usum non esse licitum; quamvis illius non condemnarem qui se accusaret ea usum esse. Responsio Poenitentiariae post decisionem Sancti Officii amplius non habet locum.

Ad 1^{am}. ergo quaesitum, ego responderem confessorem, si inter rogaretur, respondere debere, ut medicus se ab huiusmodi operatione, abtineat. Si non interrogetur, sileat, nec inquirat an exerceat, vel non craniotomiam, sed ipsum in bona fide relinquat.

Ad 2^{am}. Nullum existit decretum Pontificium circa liceitatem in se spectatam, vel illiceitatem, implicite solummodo illicitus declaratus est usus craniotomiae, in decreto, tuto doceri non potest. Si dubium proponeretur Sancto Officio, puto quod resolutio esset ista: usus craniotomiae est illicitus.

DOCUMENTS.

"THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN" AND "BOYCOTTING."

The following is the text of the Circular addressed by the Congregation of the Holy Office to the Irish Bishops in reference to the Plan of Campaign and to Boycotting:—

ILLME. AC RMK. DOMINE,

Ex Suprema S. Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis Congregatione editae sunt literae, sub die 20 vertentis mensis Aprilis, ad singulos Hiberniae Archiepiscopos et Episcopos transmittendae.

Earumdem literarum exemplar ad Amplitudinem Tuam heic inclusum transmittō; meoque officio functus precor Deum ut te quam diutissime servet ac sospitet.

Romae. ex Aed S. C. de Propaganda Fide
die 23 Aprilis, 1888.

A. T.

Addictissimus uti Frater,

JOANNES Card. SIMEONI, Praefectus.

✠ D. ARCHIEP. TYREN, Sec.

ILLME. AC RME. DOMINE,

Saepe numero Apostolica Sedes populo hibernensi, quem praecipua benevolentia semper prosequuta est, cum eius res postulare videbantur, opportuna monita et consilia praebuit, quibus iura sua defendere aut vindicare salva iustitia et incolumi publica quiete, posset. Nunc vero SSmus. D. N. Leo XIII. veritus, ne in eo belli genere, quod apud populum illum in controversiis inter locatores et conductores fundorum sive praediorum inductum est, quodque audit *The Plan of Campaign* et in ea interdictionis forma quae ob easdem controversias *Boycotting* nuncupatur, genuinus iustitiae et caritatis sensus in eo pervertatur, mandavit Supremae Congregationi S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ut rem serio ac diligenti examini subiiceret. Itaque Eminentissimis Patribus Cardinalibus contra haereticam pravitatem una mecum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositum fuit dubium: Utrum liceat in controversiis inter locatores et conductores fundorum seu praediorum in Hibernia uti mediis vulgo appellatis *the Plan of Campaign* et *the Boycotting*—et ab Emis Patribus re diu ac mature perpensa unanimi suffragio responsum fuit: Negative.

Quam profecto responsionem SSmus. Pater feria IV. die 19 huius mensis probavit et confirmavit.

Huius iudicii quanta sit aequitas facile quisque perspiciet, si animadvertat locationis pensionem quae mutua consensione statuta sit, privato unius conductoris arbitrio imminui, salva conventionis fide, non posse; praesertim cum certa tribunalia huiusmodi controversiis dirimendis statuta sint quae pensiones justo majores intra aequitatis limites cohibeant et moderentur, habita etiam ratione sterilitatis vel calamitatum quae incidere potuerint. Neque fas putandum, ut a conductoribus extorqueatur pensio et apud ignotos deponatur, locatore posthabito. Denique a naturali iustitia et christiana caritate est omnino alienum, ut nova quadam persecutione et interdictione saeviatur sive in eos qui contenti earum pensionum,

de quibus cum dominis praediorum convenerant, eas potius solvere parati sunt: sive in eos qui vacuos fundos, utentes iure suo, conducunt.

Quare erit Ampl. Tuae prudenter quidem sed efficaciter de hac re tum ecclesiasticos viros, tum fideles monere eosque exhortari, ut dum levamen afflictæ suae fortunæ quaerunt, christianam caritatem servant et iustitiae fines non transilient. Mihi interim gratum est fausta omnia Ampl. Tuae a Domino adprecari.

A. T.

Romae die 20 Aprilis 1888.

Addictissimus in Domino,

R. Card. MONACO.

IMPORTANT DECISION REGARDING CROSSES BLESSED FOR THE INDULGENCE "IN ARTICULO MORTIS, TOTIES QUOTIES."¹

SUMMARY.

A cross blessed by the Holy Father for the purpose of giving the Plenary Indulgence *in articulo mortis toties quoties*, is intended to be used only by the person for whom it was blessed. In the hands of another, the cross does not retain this special blessing.

EMO. ET REVMO. DOMINO JOANNI CARDINALI SIMEONI, S. CONG. DE PROPAG. FIDE PRAEFECTO.

Episcopus Kingstoniensis sequens dubium in quorundam mentibus recens exortum reverenter exponit, ut, si visum fuerit, S. Congregationis declaratione solvatur: utrum nempe cruces quibus annexa est Indulgentia Plenaria in articulo mortis *toties quoties* lucranda eandem retineant vel amittant cum in plurium, sive clericorum sive laicorum, possessionem successive devenierint?

RESPONSUM.

Roma, li 26 Marzo, 1888.

ILLMO. E REVMO. SIGNORE,

In riscontro alla sua lettera del 24 decorso febbrajo mi affretto risponderle chè le croci alle quali é stata annessa l'indulgenza plenaria in articulo mortis, la perdono quando da chi l'ottenne passano in possesso di altri.

¹ We are indebted to the kindness of the Right Rev. Dr. Cleary, Bishop of Kingston, Canada, for an early copy of this interesting and important document.

Intanto prego il Signore ch  lungament  La conservi e La prosperi.

Di V. S.,

Affmo. come fratello,

GIOVANNI CARD. SIMONI, Prefetto.

Mgr. GIACOMO VINCENZO CLEARY,

Vescovo di Kingston.

✠ D. ARCIVO. DI TYRO, Segretario.

INSTRUCTION AS TO THE POWER OF THE ORDINARY TO DISPENSE
IN *ARTICULO MORTIS*, QUANDO *TEMPUS NON SUPPETIT*
RECURRENDI AD S. SEDEM, IN CERTAIN PUBLIC DIRIMENT
IMPEDIMENTS OF ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTION.

INSTRUCTION AS TO THE EXECUTION OF DISPENSATIONS
GRANTED BY THE HOLY SEE.

ILLME. AC REVME. DOMINE,

De mandato Sanctissimi D. N. Leonis XIII. Supremae Congregationi S. Rom. et Univ. Inquisitionis nuperrimis temporibus duplex quaestionum genus expendendum propositum fuit. Primum respicit facultates, quibus urgente mortis periculo, quando tempus non suppetit recurrendi ad S. Sedem, augere conveniat locorum Ordinarios dispensandi super impedimentis publicis matrimonium dirimentibus cum iis, qui iuxta civiles leges sunt coniuncti aut alias in concubinato vivunt, ut morituri in tanta temporis angustia in faciem Ecclesiae rite copulari, et propriae conscientiae consulere valeant: alterum spectat ad executionem dispensationum, quae ab Apostolica Sede impertiri solent.

Ad primum quod attinet, re serio diligenterque perpensa, approbatoque et confirmato Eminentissimorum Patrum una mecum Generalium Inquisitorum suffragio, Sanctitas Sua benigne annuit pro gratia, qua locorum Ordinarii dispensare valeant sive per se, sive per ecclesiasticam personam sibi benevisam aegrotos in gravissimo mortis periculo constitutos, quando non suppetit tempus recurrendi ad S. Sedem super impedimentis quantumvis publicis matrimonium iure ecclesiastico dirimentibus, excepto sacro presbyteratus Ordine, et affinitate lineae rectae ex copula licita proveniente.

Mens autem est eiusdem Sanctitatis Suae, ut si quando, quod absit, necessitas ferat, ut dispensandum sit cum iis, qui sacro subdiaconatus aut diaconatus Ordine sunt insigniti, vel solemnem professionem religiosam emisierint, atque post dispensationem et matrimonium rite celebratum convaluerint, in extraordinariis huius-

modi casibus Ordinarii de impertita dispensatione Supremam Sancti Officii Congregationem certiores faciant et interim omni ope curent, ut scandalum, si quod adsit, eo meliori modo quo fieri possit removeatur tum inducendo eosdem ut in loca se conferant, ubi eorum conditio ecclesiastica aut religiosa ignoratur, tum si id obtineri nequeat, iniungendo saltem iisdem spiritualia exercitia aliasque salutares poenitentias, atque eam vitae rationem, quae praeteritis excessibus redimendis apta videatur, quaeque fidelibus exemplo sit ad recte et christiane vivendum.

De altero vero quaestionum genere, item adprobato et confirmato eorundem Eminentissimorum Patrum suffragio Sanctissimus sanxit:

1. Dispensationes matrimoniales omnes in posterum committendas esse vel *Oratorum Ordinario* vel *Ordinario loci*.

2. Appellatione *Ordinarii*, venire Episcopos, Administratores seu Vicarios Apostolicos, Praelatos seu Praefectos habentes iurisdictionem cum territorio separato, eorumque officiales seu Vicarios in Spiritualibus generales, et sede vacante Vicarium Capitularem vel legitimum Administratorem.

3. Vicarium Capitularem seu Administratorem eas quoque dispensationes Apostolicas exequi posse, quae remissae fuerint Episcopo aut Vicario eius generali vel Officiali nondum executioni mandatas, sive hi illas exequi coeperint, sive non. Et vicissim sede deinde provisa, posse Episcopum vel eius Vicarium in spiritualibus generalem seu Officalem exequi dispensationes quae Vicario Capitulari exequendae remissae fuerant, seu hic illas exequi coeperit seu minus.

4. Dispensationes matrimoniales *Ordinario* oratorum commissas, exequendas esse ab illo Ordinario, qui litteras testimoniales dedit, vel preces transmisit ad S. Sedem Apostolicam, sive sit Ordinarius originis sive domicilii, sive utriusque sponsi, sive alterutrius eorum; etiamsi sponsi quo tempore executioni danda erit dispensatio, relicto illius dioecesis domicilio, in aliam dioecesim discesserint non amplius reversuri, monito tamen, si id expedire iudicaverit, Ordinario loci, in quo matrimonium contrahitur.

5. Ordinario praedicto fas esse, si ita quoque expedire iudicaverit, ad dispensationis executionem delegare alium Ordinarium, eum praesertim, in cuius dioecesi sponsi actu degunt.

Haec quae ad pastorale ministerium utilius faciliusque reddendum Sanctissimus Dominus Noster concedenda et statuenda iudicavit, dum libens tecum communico, bona cuncta Amplitudini Tuae precor a Domino.

Datum Romae die 20 Februarii, 1888.

RAPH. CARD. MONACO.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

ST. PETER, BISHOP OF ROME. By the Rev. T. Livius, C.S.S.R.
London: Burns & Oates.

THE full title of this work—*St. Peter, Bishop of Rome; or, the Roman Episcopate of the Prince of the Apostles, proved from the Fathers, History and Archaeology, and illustrated by arguments from other sources*—gives a very good idea of its contents. Besides, in his introduction, Fr. Livius says:—

“The one historical point which, above all, I desire to prove and elucidate in this work is the Roman Episcopate of St. Peter.”

And setting forth the motive which induced him to undertake the work, he continues—

“Of course, it was not for its own sake principally that I set out to treat of this point of history. I did so on account of its important bearing on the succession of the Roman Pontiffs to the See of Peter and their inheritance of his Primacy. Consequently, once drawn within the sphere of theology, I determined to enter fully into the relations that exist between the See of Rome and the Primacy in the Catholic Church conferred by our Lord on St. Peter. This subject occupies an important place in my work” (page viii.)

The work is divided into three parts. The first part contains the arguments for St. Peter's Roman Episcopate, furnished by the writings of the Fathers, Historians, Apologists, etc., of the first four centuries. Fr. Livius tells us that this part “is almost entirely a translation from Professor's Jungmann's *Dissertatio Prima, De Sede Romana S. Petri Principis Apostolorum*.” Had he wished to be very accurate he would have added “and from the *Dissertatio Secunda, De Romanis Pontificibus sæculi primi et secundi*” of the same learned Professor, for we notice that Jungmann's first dissertation occupies only two of the three sections into which the first part of Fr. Livius' work is subdivided, the third being translated, as we have said, from Jungmann's second dissertation.

Professor Jungmann, as is well known, stands in the very foremost rank of living writers on History and Dogma. Everything coming from his pen displays the most careful and thorough research. Along with extensive knowledge, he possesses a mind so logical that his conclusions may always be taken to follow rigorously from the premises. In his dissertation on the Roman Episcopate of St. Peter, Professor Jungmann is at his best. Beginning with the testimonies

of writers of the fourth century, he proceeds downwards to the Apostolic age itself, citing numerous passages from writers of each century in which it is either expressly affirmed, or clearly implied that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome.

A distinction of very great importance to the issue of this controversy is made by Professor Jungmann. The *fact* of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate is admitted, and must be admitted by all Catholics. For, as we are told in this dissertation, "the truth of this fact is certain with the certainty of infallibility." But the *duration* of this Episcopate is still freely discussed by Catholics, and widely different views entertained. Thus while Papebroche and the two Pagii limit the time during which St. Peter presided over the See of Rome to fifteen and twelve years respectively, Baronius, Tillemont, and Catholic writers generally, extend this time to a little over twenty-five years. This distinction between the fact of the Roman Episcopate of the Prince of the Apostles, and the duration of that Episcopate, Professor Jungmann keeps clearly before him while drawing out his proofs, and thus avoids much confusion, and "anticipates sundry captious objections and cavils." Here are his own words as rendered by Fr. Livius (p. 11)—

"The question of the Roman Episcopate of St. Peter until his death is not to be confounded with that of its *duration*, or the length of time this Episcopate lasted. That St. Peter was Bishop of Rome twenty-five years is demonstrable by solid arguments, and this is the opinion we defend. But because some Catholic authors differ on this point, such difference cannot be objected, as rendering the fact of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate itself doubtful. As to the fact, at any rate, there is amongst Catholics an unanimous consent, which is quite unaffected by any difference of opinion about the length of its duration. There is, therefore, no sense or meaning in the attempts of Protestants to confuse the question, by making the most of some difference of opinion amongst Catholic writers as to the length of time the Episcopate lasted."

The first testimonies cited in this dissertation are taken, as has been said, from writers of the fourth century. The author starts from the fourth century, because it is admitted on all hands that at the close of that century "the lineal descent of the Pope from St. Peter," to use the words of Milman, "was an accredited tenet of Christianity." We will not attempt to follow the author through the many quotations he makes, or the convincing arguments he deduces therefrom, but will content ourselves by giving an extract from the general argument which he brings forward in support of his thesis. To those who are not conversant with the methods of historical criticism, and are therefore unable fully to appreciate the weight of

an historical argument, this general argument will perhaps be more convincing—

“If some constant and universal fact cannot otherwise be satisfactorily and adequately accounted for than by recognising and affirming the truth of another fact as its foundation, then the testimony of the truth of this original and causal fact is not less a matter for current recognition, and common acceptance than is the truth of the fact which results from it. Now to apply this principle: the whole life and development of the Roman Catholic Church, together with the pre-eminent influence of the Roman See, is a universal fact unquestionably great and manifest. Moreover, during fifteen centuries the foundation of this well-known and great fact was acknowledged and admitted by all, to be the Roman Episcopate of St. Peter, and from this Episcopate, as from a source, the Doctors of the Church were all used to derive the constitution and magisterial authority of the Church, and to vindicate these against heretics and schismatics, whilst heretics and schismatics on their side never ventured to deny, or to call in question this fact when opposed to them as being fundamental, but strove to defend their errors by other devices. Consequently, with the very same certitude that we have of the historical existence, continued life and strikingly manifest development of the Roman Catholic Church, depending as these do on the Roman Episcopate of St. Peter as their *causal fact*—with the very same certitude are we certain of this fact itself. And since the Roman Episcopate of St. Peter was believed with universal persuasion for fifteen centuries and admitted even by heretics and schismatics, it is absolutely repugnant to sound reason now, after all those centuries, to deny as to call that fact in question” (page 10).

The second part of Fr. Livius’s work “sets forth the evidences of St. Peter’s Roman Episcopate derived from Archæology.” A large portion of this part, however, does not seem to have a very direct bearing on the question. We do not, therefore, feel surprised at what the author himself says (p. 128)—

“It has occurred to us that perhaps some one on reading this chapter of details about the Catacombs and persons connected with them in the past, may ask why it is here at all, and what special relation has it with St. Peter and his Roman Episcopate?”

These details are, no doubt, interesting, but their insertion here seems to us to obscure, rather than illustrate the question at issue. Much more relevant is the chapter on the Chair of St. Peter preserved in the Vatican.

“The third part,” says Fr. Livius, “contains a series of chapters occupied with discussions and arguments of a more general character on various topics relative to St. Peter’s Roman Episcopate.” Among these “topics” the Primacy of St. Peter holds the chief place. That St. Peter received the Primacy from our Divine Lord, that the Primacy was to be of perpetual duration in the Church, and that it was to descend to the successors of St. Peter, Fr. Livius has no difficulty in clearly proving. The nature of the Primacy itself is

discussed, a comparison is instituted between the Primacy and the Apostolate, the Primacy and the Episcopate, and between the Apostolate and Episcopate, the relations between SS. Peter and Paul are reviewed, and the objections against St. Peter's Primacy taken from his reprehension by St. Paul are satisfactorily answered.

While on the one hand Fr. Livius's work contains nothing that is new, on the other it must be said that he has brought together into one handy volume a large and varied amount of information, which it must have taken much time and labour to collect and arrange. He has, every one must admit, firmly established his thesis. We can without hesitation then subscribe to the statement made on page 36—

"Now if all the testimonies we have brought forward are well considered together with the constant and universal belief and tradition of St. Peter's Episcopate and martyrdom at Rome, no one who at least is fair and impartial can, we think, fail to see that the fact we treat of is demonstrated by the most solid historical proofs such as it is simply folly to contradict."

D. O'L.

PRAELECTIONES METAPHYSICAE SPECIALIS QUAS IN COLLEGIO
Maximo Lovaniensi, S.J. habebat Gustavus Lahousse.
E.S. Vol. I. et II. Lovanii: Car. Peeters, via Namur-
censi, 22.

These two volumes are the first instalments of Père Lahousse's *Praelectiones*. Two others are to follow; one *de Theodicea*, the other *de Logica et Metaphysica Generali*. The author was for many years engaged in teaching philosophy to the scholastics of the Society of Jesus, in their famous college at Louvain. This, in itself, is sufficient commendation of the work. When it is known that such a man has published his thoughts on the great questions of the day, Catholic students will expect to find in his pages the latest and best information. And they will not be disappointed.

The author shows his colours in the third sentence of his preface:—

"Disciplinas philosophicas evolventes, scholasticorum, imprimis vero horum principis, Divi Thomae Aquinatis, nobiliorumque ejus interpretum, vestigiis pressius nos instituisse gloriamur."

Taking up such a work as this, one naturally glances here and there at the more important questions of the day. The first volume opens with a plunge into the inquiry as to the nature of inorganic matter, in which the author vigorously defends the scholastic teaching, harmonizing it with the most recent scientific discoveries. As a matter of verbal criticism a person might object to the term *mixtis* in the 8th thesis: "In corporibus *mixtis* formae elementorum

non remanent secundum entitatem." We should prefer to say, "in corporibus compositis."

Passing to thesis xvii. we come to a question that is much discussed in our times. Are sound, heat, light, and such things, mere "modes of motion?" We know what Tyndal and the scientists say. Père Lahousse ventures to agree with the Schoolmen. The facts of science are not denied—the air, ether, and other waves; but is there anything behind to set the vibrating substance in motion? Phenomenists, like Tyndal, are true to their system; but that system is now seen to be ridiculous when pushed to its necessary consequences. Behind phenomena they cannot detect *force* or *substance*; no wonder they are blind to the *qualities* of matter.

Creation is a tempting subject to linger over; but we must pass on, noting merely that our author differs from St. Thomas—"reverenter ac graviter." And, indeed, it can scarcely be denied that the Thomistic teaching on this point has made it very difficult to prove satisfactorily from reason that our world must have been created.

A chapter on *Miracles* closes the first volume. It is to be regretted that, in this connection, the author does not discuss the effect of prayer on natural laws. The possibility and convincing force of miracles are important questions, of course, but they are not so much so as that which has just been mentioned.

The second volume treats of Psychology, and includes ever so many questions of interest. Life and its origin, the genesis of species, the difference between intellect and sense, the freedom of the human will, the immortality of the soul—all these are discussed at length. Père Lahousse everywhere shows intimate acquaintance with modern thought, and never loses sight of the facts of science.

Everyone, however, will not admit that spontaneous generation is not only not actual but impossible; and many who agree with our author's condemnation of the view that all species are derived from one stock, will be disappointed with his rather imperfect treatment of the question whether brutes and plants may not all have been developed from some *few* primary species. Père Lahousse has evidently made up his mind that whatever may have happened "*aliis temporibus*," there is no longer a possibility of new species being developed.¹ Indeed, he seems to have very little sympathy with evolution in any form; this will undoubtedly, in the minds of many, weaken the force of his arguments against the special Darwinian system.

Our author touches on a very important aspect of the evolution

¹ Vol. ii., No. 274, B. 2.

controversy—its relation to Catholic faith. He has no doubt of our being at liberty to maintain that all species of *brutes* have been developed. There is no question as to the *soul* of man. With regard to the *human body* he decides, that whilst it is difficult to harmonize the text of Genesis with the hypothesis that the first human body was, by divine assistance, born of brute parents, “attamen dici non potest hanc hypothesin aperte adversari litteris sacris.”¹ He adds nothing about the Church’s teaching.

Père Lahousse follows throughout the scholastic method, believing that what he loses in vivacity of style, may be thus fully made up for in clearness of thought. His confidence is not misplaced. We welcome his work heartily, and venture to express a hope that the author will not leave it incomplete, but will add a fifth volume in which the great question of Ethics will be satisfactorily treated.

W. McDONALD.

BIBLIA SACRA, juxta Vulgatae exemplaria et Correctoria Romana, denuo edidit, divisionibus logicis sensum illustrantibus, Aloisius Claudius Fillion, presbyter Sancti Sulpitii, in majori seminario Lugdunensi Scripturae Sacrae professor. Parisiis: Letouzey et Ané, 17, Rue du Vieux Colombier.

Many students of the Bible will welcome this new edition of the Vulgate published by M. l’Abbé Fillion. The arbitrary division of chapters, and often even of verses, that from various causes came to be adopted in the editions hitherto published, are sometimes inconvenient for those who study the Bible either from a historical or a doctrinal point of view. The author of the present edition evidently does not wish, in the least, to upset the venerable traditions of antiquity, nor has he the least desire to substitute generally his own divisions for those which have been handed down to us, at the same time he thinks that the reading of the Bible may be made much easier and more useful to students and ecclesiastics generally by following a logical division of the subjects contained in each book. After enumerating some of the inconveniences of the present distribution of chapters the author proceeds—

“Quapropter existimavimus omnes generaliter Scripturarum lectores ac praesertim lectores qui ad Biblia primum accedunt, multum commodi et fructus percepturos esse, si in quotidiana sanctorum librorum lectione dirigerentur divisionibus subdivision-

¹ *Ibid.*

ibusque logicis atque brevi et perpetua textus analysi quibus continenter cum processus eventorum tum colligatio rationum illustrarentur ac quasi prae oculis ponerentur."

Whilst the learned editor divides each book into paragraphs according to the subject exclusively or principally treated in each division he preserves the present distribution of chapters and verses by prefixing the Roman numbers at the head of each chapter and small Arabian figures before each verse—

"Etsi capitulum et versiculorum veteres numeros retineremus, a quibus sane recedi non posset quin totus subverteretur usus et ordo allegandi Scripturarum loca, nunquam

... and Song, edited by Dr. Joyce, under the auspices of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language and published by Messrs. Gill & Son, in a modest, though pretty and attractive, but thoroughly Irish garb. It is, moreover, the first of its kind ever published. Already, indeed, we have had many collections of Irish Songs, and not a few of Irish Music; but *in no case* have these Songs been set to Music—each syllable under its corresponding note. This, and the metrical English translations which, in most cases, accompany the songs, are special features of the volume before us. It consists of twenty songs, and forms Part I. of a contemplated collection of the best Irish Songs of the last two or three centuries, correctly set to their original airs.

We congratulate Dr. Joyce on a patriotic, though difficult, work well done, and the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language on this latest addition to its series of useful books.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1888.

OUR desire to publish as soon as possible the Pope's great Encyclical Letter on LIBERTY has led to a delay of a few days in sending out the present number of the I. E. RECORD. We received a copy of the Encyclical when we were about to proceed to press. We are pleased to be the first in these countries to publish this most important Letter of the Holy Father.

Its great length has necessitated the holding-over of Theological and Liturgical Questions, Correspondence, Documents, Notices of Books, &c., for our next number.—

July, 1888.

ED., I. E. R.

passages in Scripture in which the same fact, it is not put forward as a translation that conveys the sense of the words; but, as the Rhemish edition of 1582 says, "Because this speech is subject to divers senses, we keep the words of our text, lest by turning it into any English phrase, we might restrict the Holy Ghost's intention to some certain sense either not intended or not solely intended."

If our Lord did say to his Mother "What have I to do with thee," if that or any sense similar to it, is the correct meaning of the words in the Scripture narrative, *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί*, then undoubtedly he did convey a rebuke to his Mother, he did speak harshly to her. "He repulsed her" as St. Augustine is quoted for saying "as one unknown."

Why in the circumstances there should have been a

rebuke given I cannot find out, and no man can tell. Those who occupy themselves in the inglorious work of trying to find out matter for a rebuke, say that the request she made was inopportune, or uncalled for, or an interference, or a meddling with him.

Now, it does not appear from the Gospel that she made any request. There is absolutely no foundation in the Gospel for saying that she made a request. In fact she made none whatever. I think the notion that she made a request has come about in this way. "Our Lord rebuked her," but he would not have rebuked her unless she made a request, therefore she must have made a request. I deny that our Lord rebuked her. I deny that there is the slightest intimation of a rebuke or a repulse in the words that he used. I admit that the ordinary translation of the words, the translation "What have I to do with thee," does contain a rebuke; but I maintain, that that translation is not only a wrong translation, but a translation outrageously wrong; the very opposite of the real meaning of the words our Lord used as given in the Gospel.

The words are in the Greek, *τί μοι καὶ σοί*; "What to me and to thee"? *τί*, what; *μοι*, to-me; *καὶ* and; *σοί*, to-thee. The corresponding phrase in the Hebrew is *mah li v'leka*; *mah*, what; *li*, to-me; *v'leka*, and-to-thee. That is an interrogative phrase, and is a figurative interrogation; that is to say; a statement of something, an assertion of something conveyed in the form of an interrogation. It is also an elliptical expression; that is to say; an expression in which some words must be supplied to make out the sense. Moreover it is a familiar and conventional elliptical expression, and therefore an expression in which the words to be supplied are not taken from the context only, but are implied in the phrase itself.

To get the meaning of the phrase we must inquire what are the words to be supplied to make out the complete sense the words which the *mind* supplies, though the pen does not write them, or the tongue pronounce them, or the ear hear them, and which are substantially the same words no matter where the phrase is found.

The phrase is, "What to me and to thee." The ordinary version supplies after the word "what" the words *is there*

common, and makes it out in full. "What is there common to me and to thee?" which comes to this in an assertive form; "There is nothing common to me and to thee," or "What have I to do with you"? That is; "I have nothing to do with you."

Now, I assert, first, that "What is there common" is a very unusual and unnatural meaning to give the word *what*. I say that the natural meaning and use of the word *what*, when used as an exclamation or figurative interrogation, is to express surprise or disappointment. "What! have you returned?" "What! have you been absent again?" "What! are we late for the train?" Such expressions mean—It is a pleasant or unpleasant, a suitable or unsuitable thing that you have returned. It is an unsuitable thing that you have again been absent. It is an unsuitable thing that we are late for the train. I say that the translation of the phrase "What to me and to thee" by the words "An unsuitable thing to me and to you" is far more natural, and makes at least quite as good sense in the passage in question, as the translation, "There is nothing in common to me and to you." Compare the two. The Blessed Virgin says to her Son, "They have not wine." He answers, "There is nothing common to me and to you." A very untrue remark, and very uncalled for and very inappropriate even if true. The Blessed Virgin says to her Son, "They have not wine." He answers, "An unsuitable thing to me and to you." That is to say, *the deficiency of the wine* is an unsuitable thing to me and to you. If he stayed it would be awkward both for himself and his mother, and he did not like to go, for the time he had arranged to go had not yet come.

If the expression "What to me and to thee" was found in this one passage alone, we could say with absolute certainty that the meaning of it is not, nor cannot be, "What (is there common) to me and to thee." We could not of course say for certain that the meaning is "What (an unsuitable thing) to me and to you;" for though that meaning fits admirably here, other meanings might fit too, and though the meaning "What (an unsuitable thing) to me and to you" might fit this passage, it might be quite out of place in other passages in which it is used. Thus the meaning "What (is

it) to me and to thee," though, to some extent it might suit here, that is, it would not make nonsense here, does not fit into any other passage in which the expression "What to me and to thee" occurs. In fact it makes absolute nonsense in all the other passages. I may add that the same thing is true of all the other interpretations of the words that are so plentifully suggested from time to time. They suit this passage to some extent; but are ludicrous in all the other passages.

On the other hand, if we give the expression "What to me and to thee" the meaning "What (an unsuitable thing) to me and to thee," that meaning not only makes sense in every passage in which the expression occurs, but makes *the* sense, the natural, the just sense, that the context and the argument in each case requires: while the meaning—"What (is there common) to me and to you," is in most instances an outrage on common sense, is in no instance *the* sense required, though in one or two instances the translation by those words would not be nonsense; just as the translation of "kingdom against kingdom shall fall" would not be nonsense if given for "domus supra domum cadet," which after all would not show that the meaning of the word *domus* ever is *kingdom*.

I. The first instance in which the expression "What to me and to thee" is found in Scripture is in *Judges* xi., 12. The Kingdom of Israel had been invaded from the south by the Philistines, and at the same time the Ammonites, having subdued the tribes beyond the Jordan, crossed the river and engaged the combined forces of Ephraim, Juda, and Benjamin. Jephthe, who had acquired fame as a skilful leader, was appointed head of the combined forces of the Israelites. Jephthe's first act was to send an embassy to the Ammonitish king remonstrating on his unprovoked aggression. "He sent messengers to the King of Ammon to say in his name; 'What to me and to thee, that thou art come against me to waste my land?'"

Now, did Jephthe say "What (is there common) to me and to thee that thou should come against my land?" Jephthe is using an argument to show the King of Ammon that he should not come against his land. Is this the argument he uses? "There is no friendship between us; no connection

between us; no association between us, therefore you should not come to spoil my land." Am I not right in saying that it is an outrage on common sense to give such a meaning to Jephthe's words? Why the very opposite is their sense, if there is an argument in them at all. To say there is no friendship between us, therefore you shouldn't spoil my land, is the same as to say if there was any friendship between us you would be justified in spoiling my land. Yet that is the argument that Jephthe uses if the words "What to me and to thee," signify "What (is there common) to me and to thee." What then *did* Jephthe say? He said, "What (an unsuitable thing) to me and to thee that thou shouldst spoil my land." The word *unsuitable* being taken in that comprehensive sense which it must have to correspond with the comprehensive word *what*, there can be no doubt of the propriety and sense of Jephthe's remonstrance.

II. David was making his escape from the pursuit of Absalom. He had got as far as Bahurim, and all the people and the warriors who followed him in his flight were walking on the right and on the left side of the king, when one, Semei, a kinsman of the house of Saul, went by the hillside over against him, cursing him and casting stones at him, and scattering earth, and saying, "Be off! be off! thou man of blood! Thou hast usurped the kingdom! thy crimes are on you! thou man of blood!" Naturally enough, Abisai, the son of Sarvia, said, "What use in letting this hound (dead dog) go on with his cursing" (I am translating from the Hebrew wherever it suits me). "I will go over (with your leave) and take off his head." David answered, "What to me and to you ye sons of Sarvia that he curses (*ki yeqalel*), and that the Lord has said to him curse David; perhaps the Lord may look on my affliction, and the Lord may render me good for the cursing of this day"—(II. *Kings*, c. 16).

Now, did David say to Abisai, the son of Sarvia, "There is nothing common between me and you. There is no friendship between me and you; there is no association between me and you, ye sons of Sarvia?" They were the sons of his mother's sister; they were the rulers of his tribe; they were the generals of his army; they were chief among the

few that remained faithful to him in his misfortunes. If there was nothing common, no friendship between David and them, he would have soon been in the hands of Absalom and in a bloody grave. But perhaps the proposal to cut off Semei's head was so outrageous and so unreasonable, or thought by David to be so, that he flared up and spoke out regardless of truth, gratitude, friendship, and decency. For *that* he did, if the meaning of the words he spoke is, "What (is there common) to me and you." Now David did not think the proposal of Abisai so unreasonable or unjust or outrageous; for when he was giving charges to his son Solomon before resigning to him the kingdom, among other things of vast importance he gave him the following charge:—"Thou hast with thee Semei who cursed me with a grievous curse when I went to the camp, but because he came down to meet me when I passed over the Jordan, and I swore by the Lord saying I will not kill thee with the sword. Do not thou hold him guiltless. Thou shalt bring down his grey hairs with blood to hell."

What then did David say to Abisai? "An unsuitable thing to me and to you this cursing" (a sad thing, an afflicting thing), and that the Lord hath bid him curse David. "But let him curse, for perhaps for this cursing the Lord will render me good." Taking David's reply to Abisai in that meaning there can be no doubt of its appropriateness and its dignity. The other meaning is an outrage on common sense.

III. The same Abisai when David was returning, and Semei met him with ever so many apologies for his offence, *but with the very important one* that he was the first of the house of Joseph to return to his allegiance, the same Abisai wanted as before to have Semei put to death for his cursing (II. *Kings*, c. 19), and David replied to Abisai almost in the same words, "What (an unsuitable thing) to me and to you" (to put any to death this day in Israel) "and that you should be in opposition to me." Observe I do not translate the passage as it is in our English versions, "Why are you an adversary to me." I translate it correctly from the Hebrew. I do not think it right to dwell on this instance of the use of the expression

for the circumstances, and their signification are the same as given before.

IV. In the time of the famine, during the reign of Achab, Elias was sent to dwell in the house of a widow woman of Sarepta. When he came near the gate of the city he saw the woman, and asked for a morsel of bread. She answered that (so stricken were they by the famine) she had nothing left between her and death but a handful of meal in a pot, and a little oil in a cruse; she was gathering two sticks to dress it for herself and her son that they might eat, and then—die. "Make first for me," said Elias, "afterwards for thyself and thy son; and the pot of meal shall not waste, nor the cruse of oil be diminished till the Lord give rain on the earth." And so it came to pass, but it also came to pass that the son of the woman fell sick and died, and she said to Elias, "What to me and to thee? Man of The-Elohem? art thou come to me that my iniquities should be remembered me, and that thou shouldst kill my son?" The woman here attributes the death of her son to the presence of Elias in her house. Elias himself attributes it to his presence, as if God's anger afflicted not only himself but everyone who was kind to him. "O Lord God hast thou afflicted *also* the widow with whom I am maintained." The widow's words are a remonstrance with Elias, and an appeal to him to undo the evil that has been done. Is this the form in which she puts her appeal? "There is no connection between me and you; no friendship between me and you; no association between me and you, therefore you should not have slain my son." Surely if she were talking sensibly, if she were in earnest, it is the very opposite of that she would have said. She would have said, "There is a connection between me and you; there is a friendship between me and you; I have attended you; cared for you; provided your meals for you, for those nearly three years past, and is that a suitable return—to slay my son?"

That or nearly that is what in fact she did say. She said, "What (an unsuitable thing) to me and to you; my iniquities being remembered; my son being slain, because of you." That meaning of her words is the natural, appropriate,

and necessary meaning. The interpretation of them as meaning "What (is there common) between me and thee," is an absurdity, and a flagrant contradiction of the truth.

V. Joram, the King of Israel, and Josaphat, the King of Juda, conjointly with the King of Edom, were besieging the chief city of Moab. They had gone up through the desert of Edom, a seven days' journey, and now encamped before the city; they were in danger of perishing for want of water. They could not remain, no water was to be had. They could not retreat, for a seven days' journey through a desert without one well was before them. In their distress Josaphat thought of applying for help to Eliseus, who was not far distant, so the three kings went down to Eliseus. Now Joram was an idolator, and Eliseus was the Prophet of the Living God. It was an insolent thing of an idolatrous king to present himself before Eliseus, to ask a favour of the Prophet of God, while still holding to the prophets of Baal. It is much the same case as if a Protestant should bring his sick child to a priest to be cured, all the while holding to his Protestant creed. If the man who did so was an ordinary person the priest would, perhaps, order him out of the house, if he were a man whose ill-will could do much harm to the Catholics of that priest's parish, the priest would probably point out to him gently and firmly, that it was *unsuitable* for him a Protestant to be coming to a priest, and that it was *unsuitable* for a priest to be reading the prayers of the Church for one who was hostile to the Church, that he should go to his own ministers for that purpose. Now, Joram was the King of Israel, and Eliseus was the chief teacher and guide of the worshippers of God in Israel, and Eliseus, just as any of ourselves would do in the same circumstances, said to the king, "It is *unsuitable* to you" (a worshipper of Baal) "and to me" (a prophet of the Living God) "your coming to me, go to the prophets of your father and mother." This is one of those instances in which the translation "What (is there common) to me and to you," does not make absolute nonsense, but it makes very little sense, and what sense it makes is unbecoming the prophet, and unsuited to the solemnity and dignity of the occasion.

VI. Babylon (Persia) and Egypt were always rival kingdoms. In the time of Josias, Palestine, which lay between them and was their battle-ground, was a vassal of Babylon. The yoke of Babylon lay heavy on Juda. Babylon's difficulties always brought relief to Juda. In the time of Josias Babylon was in great difficulties. The Scythians had swarmed into the empire, and had penetrated as far as Azotus. Egypt took occasion of the difficulties of Babylon to reconquer some of its ancient dominions, and to cripple its perpetual antagonist. In this matter the interests of Palestine and its King Josias were identical with the interest of Egypt and its King Pharaoh Nechao. When then Pharaoh made war upon Babylon, he might have fairly calculated on the help of Josias, or at least on his neutrality. Josias, however, in opposition to the voice of sound policy, and as the Scripture says, in opposition also to the voice of religion, resolved to oppose the passage of Nechao through Palestine, and met him with his forces at Mageddo. Nechao sent messengers to remonstrate with him; to point out to him that his campaign involved no hostility to Juda, and that delay might be ruinous to the Egyptian campaign. He sent messengers saying, "What to me and to thee, O King of Juda, I am not come against thee this day; but I fight against another house to which God hath commanded me to go in haste."

Now, did Nechao in that remonstrance with Josias tell him "There is nothing common between you and me; there is no friendship between you and me; there is no association between you and me; therefore you should not fight against me." Granting that that was all true, did ever ambassador or court or statesman since the world commenced use such an argument to buy off opposition? Why, the conclusion of such an argument is all the other way. It was untrue that there was no community of interests between Josias and Nechao. There was an identity of interests. It was utterly unsuitable to Josias to oppose Nechao; it was next to disastrous to Nechao to be delayed on his march. That is the message Nechao did send, "What (an unsuitable thing) to me and to you, O King of Juda, your opposition to me." It is silly and contemptible to give the words in

Nechao's message the meaning of What (is there common) between you and me. The meaning What (an unsuitable thing) to you and to me is the natural and only meaning.

VII. In the First Book of *Esdras*, c. 3, there occurs an expression which is somewhat like the phrase in question, but it is not the same. The phrase in *Esdras* is not interrogative; it is assertive. It is not "What to me and to thee;" but "Not to you and to us is the building of the house to our God, because ourselves unanimously (*yac'had*) will build to the Lord God of Israel as Cyrus, King of Persia, commanded." I can see nothing containing a figure of speech in that sentence; nothing elliptical, it makes complete sense of itself. I see in it nothing to be explained. I do not see why it is quoted in connection with the "What to me and to thee." And if it be in any way parallel, the only meaning it can have is, "It is unsuitable to you (idolators) to join in building a temple to Jehova, and to us worshippers of the true God that you should join with us in building a temple to Jehova." If Catholics were building a Catholic church, and if their good Protestant neighbours were anxious to help them, the Catholics might decline their help; fearing, perhaps, that the co-builders in future times might establish a claim on it, or at least that they themselves might be expected to make a return in helping to build a Protestant church; but if the Catholics declined their help I presume it would be in a courteous way, they would not say, "There is no connection between you and us; there is no friendship between you and us." Granting that such a statement is true, it is in the circumstances quite uncalled for, and would not be made. No one has any right therefore to give to the passage in *Esdras*, that we have here quoted, the meaning "You have nothing to do with us." If that translation does not make absolute nonsense it makes very little sense, the natural and the true meaning of the expression is what has been given before. "It is an unsuitable thing for you and for us this building of a temple to the God of Israel."

VIII. I will put together the passages in which the expression occurs in the New Testament—*Matthew*, viii., 29; *Luke*, viii., 28; *Mark*, v., 7; "What to us and to thee." *Mark*, i., 24; *Luke*, iv.,

34; "What to me and to thee;" "What to us and to thee." Our Lord went over by ship into the country of the Gerasenes, and there met him two men that were possessed by devils; one of them possessed by a host of devils, and they cried out, "What to me and to thee;" "What to us and to thee;" "Art thou come thither to torment us before our time?" "I adjure thee by God that thou torment us not;" and "they besought him that he would not drive them out of the country," and "they besought him that he would not command them to go into the abyss."

When the devils said, "What to us and to thee," they were entreating our Lord to spare them in some way. Did they say to him by that expression, "There is nothing common to us and to you." If they did, they said what was very uncalled for. Is there any argument in that to deprecate his anger; to move him to put off their torment for a while? "There is no friendship between us and you; therefore do not send us into the abyss." "There is no association between us and you; therefore do not torment us before our time." They might as well have said "we defy you; therefore do not torment us before our time." But granting that the devils do not talk sense, I cannot grant that the Evangelist has recorded their nonsense. What they have said then is not nonsense, and therefore they did not say, "What (is there common) between me and you;" but they did say, "What (an unsuitable thing) that thou art come to torment us before our time." That is an argument; it is the truth; it is to the point; and it is worth recording. It is, of course, unsuitable to them to have their time of torment anticipated, and it is unsuitable to Jesus to shorten the interval of less suffering, which interval He Himself had fixed.

The passage from *Matthew*, xxvii., 19, where Pilate's wife sends a message saying, "Nothing to thee and that just man" is, like the passage from *Esdras*, in no way a parallel passage. The natural meaning of it, however, cannot be "Have nothing to do with that just man," unless to the word nothing is added, the word "unsuitable," that is, "Have nothing unsuitable to do with that just man." Have nothing to "do with condemning that just man." If that

man was a just man, surely Pilate should have a great deal to do with him. He should declare him innocent; he should require compensation to be made him for the injuries he had received; he should inflict punishment on his accusers. It does not mean, "Let there be nothing common to thee and that just man," surely it was Pilate's interest, as well as duty, to have much in common with him, if he were just. "Have nothing in common with that just man," that is what one would say about a villain, "Have nothing in common with that villain." The message from Pilate's wife has the very opposite meaning of, "Have nothing to do with that just man," "Let there be nothing in common between thee and that just man." It means, "Let there be nothing unsuitable (dangerous) to thee and that just man."

I have now gone through every passage without exception, that I know of, in the Scripture, in which the phrase "what to me and to thee," occurs. Certainly through every passage that is quoted.

I have shown that the interpretation of the words, "What to me, and to thee," by the expression; "What (is there common) to me and to thee" is an utterly impossible interpretation, the very opposite of the true meaning of the words; an outrage on common sense; a ridiculous and contemptible interpretation. On the other hand, I have proved that "an unsuitable thing to me and thee" is the meaning of the words; for it is the key that opens all the locks; it is the interpretation that fits into every passage, and leaves nothing to be desired in any passage, and is the true interpretation of the words.

What, then, was it occurred at the marriage feast? It was the third day of the feast when our Lord came with his disciples; the wine was getting scarce; the Blessed Virgin mentions that to our Lord. She says, "They have not wine," that is, "they have not wine to last out the other four days of the feast." *She makes no request. She makes no suggestion.* She says, "They have not wine." Our Lord replies, "An unsuitable thing for me and you." What is it that is unsuitable? That which she spoke about—the want of wine; and it is, for it necessitates some of the guests departing before

the close of the feast. I need make no further remark than that the passage in its very form shows that Our Lord puts the Blessed Virgin's convenience on the same footing as his own. "An unsuitable thing to me—and to thee."

I regret having taken up so much room with the argument; but the wrong meaning of the words has got so ingrained in the minds even of Catholics, that they might suspect something was lurking concealed, if I omitted a single text, and there is hardly any text of which the current translation is so utterly false and corrupt; and it is on that utterly false and corrupt interpretation of the text have been founded all objections to the veneration of the Blessed Virgin, and from that false and corrupt interpretation has come all the uneasiness that any Catholic has felt on the subject.

E. O'BRIEN.

POINTS OF VIEW.

THOMAS CARLYLE once met the late Dr. Murray of Maynooth at breakfast in Dublin. He thus describes our well remembered Professor :—

"Dr. Murray, Theology Professor of Maynooth, a big, burly mass of Catholic Irishism; head cropt-like stubble, red-skinned face, harsh grey Irish eyes, full of fiery Irish zeal too, and rage, which, however, he had the art to keep down under buttery vocables; man of considerable strength; man not to be loved by any manner of means."

Those who saw Dr. Murray oftener, and knew him better than the late cynic of Chelsea, while they will agree that he was a man of considerable strength, will certainly be far from thinking, that he was a "man not to be loved by any manner of means." For myself, I have never believed in that wondrous power of reading off character and seeing through one at a glance, supposed to be possessed by some gifted and keen observers. As Longfellow has translated from Von Logau, "Often in a wooden house a golden room we find." Shakspeare, on the other hand, speaks of "a

villain with a smiling cheek; a goodly apple rotten at the core. Oh! what a goodly outside falsehood hath." And the Wisest has said, "Nor do I judge according to the look of man: for man seeth those things that appear, but the Lord beholdeth the heart." The revelations of Carlyle's own inner life and domestic tyranny, made by his friend and literary executor, J. A. Froude, may perhaps occur to the reader, and make him doubt whether he himself was a "man to be loved by any manner of means." Another of the company at that breakfast, whom Carlyle esteemed perhaps as much as he could esteem any man not a successful Cromwell, or Frederick, or Bismarck, Charles Gavan Duffy, was also the life-long friend of Dr. Murray. With the extreme opinions which issued at last in hopeless insurrection, he did not agree. But Duffy always esteemed him as a sincere and able man, and a true friend in need—*amicus certus in re incerta*. When he first returned to Ireland from Australia, one of his earliest visits was to Maynooth, to his old friend. The present writer remembers with what interest and pleasure he saw the famous Forty-Eight man, now many golden years ago, walking round the College grounds, with Dr. Russell and Dr. Murray, who both now rest side by side in the little cemetery of the great college which they served so long and loved so well. He thus speaks of Dr. Murray's letters against jury-packing and government proceedings of those days when he was put on his trial five times, in his *Four Years of Irish History*:—

"But one man who had never written in newspapers, and rarely read them, brought the force of a powerful and unjaded intellect to the controversy, and burned the facts into the public mind. Dr. Murray, Professor of Theology at Maynooth, in a series of letters, signed 'an Irish Priest,' influenced opinion as anonymous letters had scarcely done since the Drapier's. He addressed them to the Attorney-General, and separating himself from the opinions of Young Ireland, which he did not share, and from any personal ill-will to the man, which he did not feel, on the ground common to both of them of an Irish Catholic Liberal, overwhelmed him with shame and scorn."—Note, *Four Years of Irish History*, p. 737.

Whilst Dr. Murray himself would not, I am sure, object to being called "a burly mass" of Theology: whilst he

rejoiced to think that in his great *Church Treatise* he had pulverized the bones of English Protestant theologians, the students, whose pleasure and privilege it was to study under him, know how genial, how gentle, how joyous he was always. He delighted to drive home his points, and fix them in the memory by some quip, or crank, or humorous story, which often set his class in roars of laughter. I recollect well how he honoured and revered his colleague, class-fellow and dear friend, the late, learned George Crolly, who lectured in the next hall, and with what regard and respect he always spoke of him. That he artfully concealed his Irish zeal "by buttery vocables," no one will believe who knows that one of the chief characteristics of the man was fearlessly to express his opinions and always "call a spade, a spade." To imagine then that Dr. Murray was a man altogether unlovable, as Carlyle did, was to view him from a totally wrong stand-point. Looked on from my point of view, whilst,

"Non ille pro caris amicis
Aut patria timidus perire,"

he at times followed the advice of the same shrewd philosopher,

"Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem :
Dulce est desipere in loco,"

knowing that the bow should not be kept always bent.

Carlyle says, that in his Irish travels, he came across only one specimen of the "true gentleman-priest in the Irish style." This was Father O'Shea, whom he met in Cork. He happened to be one of the first to exhort Fraser to go on with *Sartor Resartus*, a circumstance which probably caused Carlyle to see him from a favourable point of view. So also Thackeray, as we read in his *Irish Sketch Book*, "I met only one Irish priest who had not a downcast, hang-dog countenance." The one fortunate exception was Father Mathew then very popular in England. Thackeray knew a good deal more about *Vanity Fair*, and high life in London, than about Irish priests and their ways. His portraiture of the eminent personages moving in these high circles, the Marquis of Steyne, and Sir Pitt Crawley, and Sir Barnes

Newcome, and the Marchioness of Kew, and Becky Sharp and the Rev. Charles Honeyman, and the rest, are, as ghastly revelations so often remind us, much truer than his superficial impressions of Irish character. What gross, false, and offensive caricatures of Irish priests Lever has drawn! A nearer view, a more intimate knowledge, gives us the Father Edward O'Connor of Gerald Griffin, and the Father Connell of John Banim.

To the priesthood of Ireland, Lecky bears this testimony:

"No body of men has ever exhibited a more single-minded and unworldly zeal, refracted by no personal interests, sacrificing to duty the dearest of earthly objects, and confronting with undaunted heroism every form of hardship, of suffering, and of death."

That well weighed testimony, of a great Protestant writer, based on deep historical research, is I think a sufficient counterpoise to those unfavourable impressions formed from mere appearances, and chiming in with ancient prejudice.

Dr. Murray, from time to time, held with his class what he playfully called "a theological gossip." On these occasions he made many quaint and striking observations, which clung to the memory, and bore fruit in after years. He often showed how to use in practice that theological knowledge acquired with so much labour, and which perhaps without these practical "wrinkles," as he called them, like a sword in its sheath might "rust unburnished and not shine in use." On one such occasion, he was holding forth on the different points of view from which men look at life and happiness and success. Two Englishmen, he said, Messrs. Jobbins and Stocken were speaking of the recent death of their common friend, Mr. Pickersgill. "Oh! Pickersgill died well," said Mr. Jobbins. To the average Irishman "dying well," would suggest the "*pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors Sanctorum ejus*:" such a death as that of the renowned and learned Suarez, who when that so dreaded *ineluctabile tempus*, came, cried out, "I never thought it was so sweet a thing to die." Such, however, was not "dying well" from Messrs. Jobbins' and Stocken's point of view. "Pickersgill died well," said Mr. Jobbins, "he died worth £300,000." "Wonderfully well" quoth Mr. Stocken. Success in life, happiness in

life vary infinitely with the standpoints from which they are viewed.

A very competent authority has said that modern history is a vast conspiracy against the Catholic Church. Much truer is this of modern English Literature, and truer still of modern English Fiction. In this domain especially, the great English Protestant Tradition is enlarged, and handed down, and *crescit eundo*. The Catholic Church, her monasteries, convents, schools, are pictured as so many dens of conspiracy against honour, truth and freedom. Outsiders can form but a very feeble idea of the subtlety and force of this tradition of falsehood, which has become ingrained in English literature, and assimilated with English thought. Modern English Fiction is, first of all, like Coleman's razors, "made to sell." If this necessary marketable quality has so disfigured some of the works of a writer of such Catholic sympathies and instincts as Sir Walter Scott, we need not wonder much at Thackeray's picture of Father Holt, or Dickens's descriptions of monks, and Catholic customs in Italy, to say nothing of the incredible ravings of such smaller fry as Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. It is a mark of the lofty superiority of so supreme a genius as Shakespeare, if he were not indeed a Catholic, that writing in "the golden days of good Queen Bess," we find in his works no sneers at friars, Catholic teaching, or Catholic customs.

Dickens's impressions of priests in Italy were very similar to those of Carlyle and Thackeray in Ireland. But as they were still more superficial, and more of the *ore tenus* character than even those of his contemporaries and friends, he had not the good fortune to meet even one favourable specimen of the *genus* monk or friar. "The streets of Genoa," he wrote "would be all the better for the importation of a few priests of prepossessing appearance. I have no knowledge elsewhere of more repulsive countenances than are to be found among these gentry. . . The Jesuits, too, muster strong in the streets, and go slinking noiselessly about in pairs, like black cats." Here, again, everything is judged from the outside, from the point of view of the great, irrefragable English Protestant Tradition of the "sloth, deceit, and intellectual

torpor," which are the essential characteristics of priests and monks, and which are all legibly written on their countenances for the special information of the Protestant Englishman. Yet Dickens did, it appears, for a wonder, meet one friar on board a boat, bound for Nice, who "had a free, open countenance, and a rich, brown, flowing beard, and was a remarkably handsome man of about fifty." Although it was expected that the boat would reach Nice at 8 a.m., they did not land there till 4 p.m. The friar spoke frequently of his anxiety to be at Nice, as he intended "to perform Mass," and was therefore fasting. This pious intention is treated in a ridiculous and offensive style. The poor friar is described, when he found it was too late for Mass, as "going to work bravely, eating prodigiously of the cold meat and bread, drinking deep draughts of wine, etc." And he again gave offence, because when walking in a solemn procession at Nice, he did not recognise and salute his acquaintances, with whom he had conversed so freely on the boat. "There was not the faintest trace of recognition or amusement on his features. He walked in great state, being one of the superiors of the Order, and looked his part to admiration. . . . There was never anything so perfect in its kind as the contemplative way in which he allowed his placid gaze to rest on us, his late companions, as if he had never seen us in his life and didn't see us then."

In a letter to Forster from Broadstairs, he writes:—

"I have discovered that a cobbler who lives opposite to my bedroom window is a Roman Catholic, and gives an hour and a-half to his devotions every morning behind his counter."

From my point of view, the morning devotions of that humble man sanctifying his daily work, is a far more effective testimony in favour of his religion, than all those readings of "nature's handwriting" on the countenances of priests and friars in Italian cities, against it.

It is a curious thing that in Dickens's early life a report was current that he had become a Catholic (note—*Forster's Life of Dickens*, Household Edition, page 64). In one of his letters to John Forster, from Genoa, 30th September, 1844, he

relates a remarkable dream, one which evidently made a deep impression on him, bearing on the subject of religion :—

“Let me tell you of a curious dream I had last Monday night, and of the fragments of reality I can collect, which helped to make it up. I have had a return of rheumatism in my back, and knotted round my waist like a girdle of pain, and had laid (*sic*) awake nearly all that night under the infliction, when I fell asleep and dreamed this dream. Observe that throughout I was as real, animated, and full of passion as Macready (God bless him), in the last scene of *Macbeth*. In an indistinct place, which was quite sublime in its indistinctness, I was visited by a spirit. I could not make out the face, nor do I recollect that I desired to do so. It wore a blue drapery, as the Madonna might in a picture by Raphael, and bore no resemblance to anyone I have ever known except in stature. I think (but I am not sure), that I recognised the voice. Anyway I knew it was poor Mary's [Note—His dead sister-in-law] spirit. I was not at all afraid, but in a great delight, so that I wept very much, and stretching out my arms to it called it ‘Dear.’ At this I thought it recoiled, and I felt immediately, that not being of my gross nature, I ought not to have addressed it so familiarly. ‘Forgive me!’ I said, ‘We poor living creatures are only able to express ourselves by looks and words. I have used the word most natural to our affections, and you know my heart.’ It was so full of compassion and sorrow for me—which I knew spiritually, for as I have said, I did not perceive its emotions by its face—that it cut me to the heart, and I said, sobbing, ‘Oh! give me some token that you have really visited me!’ ‘Form a wish,’ it said. I thought, reasoning with myself, ‘If I form a selfish wish, it will vanish.’ So I hastily discarded such hopes and anxieties of my own as came into my mind, and said, ‘Mrs. Hogarth is surrounded with great distresses’—observe, I never thought of saying, ‘Your mother,’ as to a mortal creature—‘will you extricate her?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘And her extrication is to be a certainty to me, that this has really happened?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘But answer me one other question!’ I said, in an agony of entreaty, lest it should leave me, ‘What is the true religion?’ As it paused a moment without replying, I said, ‘Good God,’ in such an agony of haste, lest it should go away!—‘You think, as I do, that the form of religion does not so greatly matter, if we try to do good?’ ‘Or,’ I said, observing that it still hesitated, and was moved with the greatest compassion for me, ‘perhaps the Roman Catholic is the best? Perhaps it makes one think of God oftener, and believe in Him more steadily?’ ‘For you,’ said the Spirit, full of such heavenly tenderness for me, that I felt as if my heart would break; ‘for you it is the best!’ Then I awoke, with the tears running down my face, and myself in exactly the condition of the dream. It was just dawn, I called up Kate [his wife] and repeated it three or four times over that I might not unconsciously make it plainer or stronger after-

wards. It was exactly this, free from all hurry, nonsense, or confusion whatever. Now, the strings I can gather up leading to this were three. The first you know from the main subject of my last letter. The second was, that there is a great altar in our bedroom, at which some family who once inhabited this palace, had Mass performed in old time; and I had observed, within myself, before going to bed, that there was a mark in the wall above the sanctuary, where a religious picture used to be, and I had wondered within myself what the subject might have been, *and what the face was like*. Thirdly, I had been listening to the convent bells (which ring at intervals in the night), and so had thought, no doubt, of Roman Catholic services. And yet, for all this, put the case of that wish being fulfilled by any agency in which I had no hand, and I wonder whether I should regard it as a dream or an actual vision!"

That is a striking thought: "Perhaps the Roman Catholic religion makes one think of God oftener, and believe in Him more steadily." What, if after all, those wayside crucifixions and statues, those tinselled Madonnas, and religious festivals, those convent bells, and solemn processions, have the effect of causing Catholics like the poor cobbler of Broadstairs to think of God oftener, and to believe in Him more steadily?

What a different effect Catholic devotions and practices have when seen from within, with Catholic faith and love by the *domestici Fidei*, and when viewed externally without true knowledge of their depth and meaning, through the distorting medium of centuries of bigotry and falsehood. How differently the ceremonies of Holy Week in Rome appeared to Charles Dickens, and to Cardinal Wiseman. If success in life is to be judged by Mr. Jobbins' standard, if comfort and enjoyment here below are the be-all and end-all, if our motto is "Let us eat and drink and be merry, for to-morrow we shall die," then we could understand this "dislike of nunneries for young girls who have abjured the world before they have ever proved or known it." After all, the world which they thus abjure, to devote themselves to God in His suffering poor, is not always such a paradise. Thackeray knew it a good deal better than he knew the *terra incognita* of monasteries and convents, and Father Holt and the Jesuits. As depicted by his master-hand, this "world" is not always so pleasant a place for young girls. Did Dickens,

himself find peace and rest and happiness in the world, with all his success, and in that wedded home and domestic bliss which he has so often described as its chief sweetness and delight?

In childhood he had been attracted by a remarkable house called Gadshill-place, between Rochester and Gravesend, famous as the scene of Falstaff's highway exploits. His father, remarking the child's fancy for the place, once told him that if he was a good boy and worked hard he might some day come to live in it. And sure enough the child's dream, which well might seem impossible, came true. The little outcast drudge who pasted pots of blacking in the old, crazy, tumble-down warehouse, at old Hungerford-stairs, had turned out "the most popular novelist of the century, and one of the greatest humorists that England has produced," and Gadshill-place became his property in 1856, in his forty-fourth year. But peace and happiness were not his. He had just separated from his wife, after twenty years of wedded life. She never lived at Gadshill-place. It is sad to read some of his letters to his friend John Forster about this time. Thackeray and himself are fond of pathetically contrasting the poor player on the stage, painted and clothed in motley, jesting, laughing, the cause of laughter and amusement to many, and the same man in his own home, suffering in private, pain and want and sorrow. Some such thought strikes me in reading those letters. The great humorist had moved the tears and laughter of millions of his fellow-men, from Belgravian drawing-rooms to Californian wilds, where—

" While round them shadows gathered faster,
And as the fire-light fell,
One read aloud the book wherein the master
Had writ of ' Little Nell.' "

But when the ambition of a lifetime had been fulfilled there was no peace, no rest, no true happiness. It is the old, old story of the world, *Mataiotos Mataioteton*. He writes to Forster (20th January, 1856)—

" However strange it is to be never at rest, and never satisfied, and ever trying after something that is never reached, and to be always laden with plot and plan and care and worry, how clear it

is that it must be, and that one is driven by an irresistible might until the journey is worked out! It is much better to go on and fret, than to stop and fret. As to repose—for some men there's no such thing in this life. The foregoing has the appearance of a small sermon; but it is so often in my head in these days that it cannot help coming out. The old days—the old days! Shall I ever, I wonder, get the frame of mind back as it used to be then? Something of it perhaps; but never as it used to be. I find that the skeleton in my domestic closet is becoming a pretty big one."

Again :

"Poor Catharine and I are not made for each other, and there is no help for it. It is not only that she makes me uneasy and unhappy, but that I make her so too, and much more so . . . What is now befalling me I have seen steadily coming ever since the days you remember when Mary was born, and I know too well that you cannot, and no one can, help me."

For him, as Forster observes, but in a different sense, there was no "City of the mind," for inner consolation and shelter.

If you would know what that "City of the mind," that city of refuge for the soul when pressed by a "siege of troubles" really is, contrast with the foregoing one or two extracts from the letters of one who had "abjured the world," a Religious, a Jesuit, St. Francis Xavier. He writes "To the Society at Rome," January 1548 :

"I passed from thence into the islands that are called 'of the Moor,' about sixty leagues from Molucco. There were here many Christian villages unattended to for a length of time, both on account of their great distance from India, and because the natives had put to death the only priest who was among them. In these islands I baptized a great number of children, and in the space of three months, for I remained that length of time, I visited all the Christian villages and made them devoted to Christ and to myself. All these isles are full of dangers on account of the feuds which rage among the inhabitants and their civil wars; the race is barbarous, totally ignorant of letters, devoid of any written monuments of the past, and without any notions of reading or writing. It is their practice to take away the lives of any whom they hate by poison, and in this way a great number are killed. The soil is rugged and destitute of productions which support life. There is no corn or wine; the natives scarcely know what flesh meat is; they have no herds nor flocks, nothing but a few swine, which are rather objects of curiosity than food. . . . I have written all this to you, my dearest brothers, that you may know how much these islands overflow with heavenly joys. All these dangers and discomforts, when borne

for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, are treasures filled full with heavenly consolation, so much so that one might think these islands were just the places where in a few years one might lose his eyesight from weeping so abundantly the sweetest tears of joy. Nowhere do I remember either to have been so flooded with so much limpid and perpetual spiritual delight, or to have borne so lightly all fatigue and bodily trouble, though I was going about islands begirt by enemies, inhabited by not the most trustworthy friends, and entirely destitute of anything that could help in sickness, or could defend and preserve life when endangered. In short, it seems as if these isles should rather be called the Islands of Divine Hope, than of the Moor."¹

Again, when in imminent danger of death in a tempest, which continued for three days and three nights, he writes :

"Lastly, I called upon all the choirs of angels and all the different classes of the saints one by one ; and to obtain more easily the pardon of my numberless sins I put myself under the patronage of the most Holy Mother of God, the Queen of Heaven, who always obtains from her Son without trouble whatever she asks. Lastly, on putting all my hope in the infinite merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, I enjoyed surrounded as I was by so many and so powerful protectors, far greater pleasure while in danger in that horrible tempest than afterwards when I was delivered from urgent peril. I am filled with confusion, that I, the most wicked of all mortals, should in that last moment of danger have shed so great a flood of tears out of heavenly joy. So then I prayed humbly to Jesus Christ our Lord, not to deliver me from this peril unless He reserved me for equal or even greater dangers by-and-bye for his service and glory."²

J. J. KELLY.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE RELICS OF THE HOLY BLOOD, AND THE MANTLE OF ST. BRIGID KEPT AT BRUGES.

TO the lover of antiquity and its many objects of religious interest, there are few towns on the Continent so well deserving of a visit as Bruges, independently of its possessing the above venerable and holy relics. A few words, therefore, descriptive of the quaint old city, will not, I think

¹ *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier.* By H. J. Coleridge, S.J., vol. i., pp. 386, 387.

² *Ibid.*

be out of place, and may prove interesting to many readers of the I. E. RECORD.

Although the City of Bruges no longer occupies the proud position it held in the Middle Ages, when it was one of the three principal cities of Northern Europe, Novogorod and London being the other two, yet it still possesses many attractions for the Catholic tourist.

History tells us that in 1383, at the inauguration of Margaret and Philip the Bold, a new era of commercial prosperity was opened. It was as an emblem of the opulence of the country, mainly derived from the manufacture of wool, that Philip l'Assuré, on the occasion of his marriage with Isabella of Portugal in 1430, established the celebrated Order of the Golden Fleece, the first three chapters of which were held here. In 1456 as many as one hundred and fifty foreign vessels entered the basin of Bruges in one day. The town which had then attained the height of its splendour, boasted of no less than fifty-two guilds, and had one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. Fifty thousand artisans are said to have found constant employment within its walls. Factories of merchants from seventeen kingdoms were settled here as agents, with twenty foreign consuls. Hither came the Lombard and Venetian traders to exchange the beautiful tissues of Italy and the Levant, and the rarities of Persia and India, for the skilful productions of the Netherlands, and the bulky stores of Sweden, Denmark and the North. In its warehouses were to be found gerfalcons from Iceland, furs from Russia and Bulgaria, the metals of England, Poland, Hungary and Bohemia, wool, cheese and coals from Great Britain and Ireland, the honey of Portugal and the oils of Andalusia, sugar from Morocco and Tunis, and wine from the borders of the Rhine. In short, all the treasures from the North and South were to be found here. The population has gradually decreased since the end of the fifteenth century, and is at present about fifty thousand inhabitants. The size of the town remains unaltered. In 1384 Philip the Bold divided the city into six sections, all of which commence at the Grande Place, and this division is still retained. There are fifty-two bridges over the different canals, and two

hundred and sixty streets, many of which have foreign names. It is enclosed by ramparts which form an agreeable promenade, and, being studded with windmills, add much to its picturesque appearance. There are seven gates of entrance, each of which formerly had its Hospice for the reception of poor travellers, and which are closed at nightfall. The splendour of many of its buildings remind one of the wealth and prosperity of the foreign merchants who formerly resided here. The town still retains a good deal of its quaint appearance—old picturesque houses with their corby-stepped gables, carvings and fantastic sculptured ornaments; in fine, were it not for the sound of the railway whistle, you might fancy you were living in the fourteenth century.

There are many places in Europe which possess the blood of our Divine Lord, but then it has some connexion with miraculous hosts, sacred vessels and corporals, so of these I shall not make mention, but only of the blood which was collected on Mount Calvary, the theatre of man's redemption.

Mantua in Italy possesses a relic of the Holy Blood of our Saviour, which is exposed to the veneration of the faithful on the Feast of the Ascension every year. Devotion to this relic has been sanctioned by the Holy See from the time of Leo IX. in 1089. Again, in Provence, in the Department of Var, there is a small town called St. Maximin in which Sylvester Prieria tells us, is preserved a portion of the blood of our Lord. He says it was collected by St. Mary Magdalene at the foot of the cross, and that on Good Friday every year it becomes liquid, but afterwards appears dried up with the clay or earth, with which it is mixed. Numbers of miracles have taken place, both at Mantua and St. Maximin. As they are foreign to my subject, I do not intend to enter into any details regarding them, but shall confine myself to the devotion at Bruges, of which we have authentic documents, and which has been sanctioned by several Popes, with a special Office and Mass.

Immediately adjoining the Hotel de Ville are two chapels built one over the other. The lower one is dedicated to St. Basil, and was originally the chapel of the castle erected by Baldwin Bras de Fer in 865, the upper one is the Chapel

of the Holy Blood. You ascend to it by an elegant winding staircase of flamboyant style, with ribs of stone, and vault of red brick. The chancel walls of the chapel are decorated with polychrome in richly diapered patterns, and the vault of both chancel and nave is painted with symbols of the Passion. The high altar with its carved reredos is in the style of the fifteenth century, and has five compartments, representing the crowning with thorns, the carrying of the cross, the crucifixion, the descent from the cross, and the preparation for the entombment. On the opposite side is a small altar of white marble, which was formerly in the Chapel of the Palais du Franc. In the south aisle is a canopied throne of oak painted and gilt, which is used for the exposition of the relic of the Precious Blood for the veneration of the faithful. Here one of the chaplains is seated in cotta and red stole, having the reliquary containing the Holy Blood suspended from his neck by a large massive silver chain. The Holy Blood is said to have been preserved by St. Joseph of Arimathea, and was given in 1149 by Baldwin III., then King of Jerusalem, to his brother-in-law Thierry d'Alsace, who brought it with him when returning from the Holy Land after the Crusades, and deposited it here in 1150. Every Friday it became liquified, until the 13th of April, 1310, when a blasphemer having kissed it, it suddenly congealed, and has ever since remained a solid body. It is kept in an octagonal vial enclosed in a crystal cylinder, and has a golden crown at each end. The cylinder is ordinarily kept in a chasse or shrine of silver which was given by the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. But on solemn occasions, and at processions, the relic is enclosed in a large hexagonal shrine of silver, gilt and of Renaissance style, which is really costly and magnificent. From the plinth spring six Corinthian columns supporting a canopy, from which hangs the jewelled crown of Mary of Burgundy, which the Duchess bequeathed to the Confraternity of the Holy Blood. The canopy is surmounted by three domed niches in which are placed gold statuettes of Christ, our Blessed Lady, St. Basil and St. Donatus. Above the central dome is the pelican in her piety; the whole being studded with rubies, diamonds, antique cameos, and precious

stones. Most of those were presented by the crowned heads of Europe, and one was pointed out to me as the gift of our Queen.

Every Friday the chapel is open, and Masses are celebrated from early morning until half-past eleven o'clock; during Holy Week the chapel is open from five o'clock, a.m., to six o'clock, p.m. Once a year there is a grand procession with the relics through certain streets of the city, on the first Monday after the Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross. The shrine is generally borne by the Papal Nuncio, and in his absence by the Bishop of the Diocese. All the seven parishes of the city are represented, the canons and clergy in costly vestments with the banners of the various confraternities attached to each parish being present. The members of the various guilds in their pretty costumes, the religious of the different orders, the convents, colleges, schools, and orphanages all take part in the procession. Here you will see *tableaux vivants* of the Crusaders in gorgeous panoply; a Godfrey de Bouillon, a St. Louis, Baldwin (King of Jerusalem), surrounded by their knights, barons, and soldiers. Again, James (King of Arragon), St. Peter of Nolasco, with their band of ransomed captives, kings, queens, princes, and princesses attended by their pages and courtiers. Space alone prevents me from mentioning the many other attractions and interesting objects connected with the procession. To a stranger for the first time the spectacle is really impressive, as it reminds one of the glorious Ages of Faith, when that virtue was universal in Christendom, and there was but one Fold and one Shepherd.

During the month of May it is very edifying to witness persons in bodies or singly going through the particular streets of the procession by day and by night saying the Rosary or other vocal prayers bareheaded, and this notwithstanding the occasional sneer of some English tourist or infidel. Again, there is a grand fair held here, which continues during the whole month, and which may, in truth be called cosmopolitan.

Here you will see natives from the different kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa, with their various articles of mer-

chandise, and, if a linguist, you will have ample opportunity of testing your knowledge in almost any language. Organ grinders in dozens are to be heard in every street, but very properly these itinerant and noisy musicians are permitted by the corporation to remain in the city only for three days. *Al fresco* theatres of tragedy, comedy, the opera, and ballet, with the hippodrome, circus, &c., are to be seen here. Almost every kind of wild beasts and other strange animals you will find in the different menageries. In fine, even the medical faculty is represented by gypsies from Spain and Bohemia, who engage to cure all bodily ailments, and for a small extra fee, on learning your birthday, will draw your horoscope to your entire satisfaction.

I find in Father Bowden's *Miniature Lives of the Saints* that in the thirteenth century Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., brought from Germany a relic of the Precious Blood. He placed two-thirds of it in a monastery which he built at Ashbridge in Hertfordshire, and the other third part in a similar monastery at Hailes in Gloucestershire. He founded the Congregation of "Goodmen," to guard and honour the relic. The Congregation of Missioners of the Precious Blood was founded by the Venerable Gaspare del Bufalo in Rome, and the feast was solemnly instituted by the late holy Pontiff Pius IX., in 1849, for the first Sunday in July. About ten years ago the late Emperor and Empress of Germany were in Bruges and visited the Chapel of the Holy Blood, where they carefully examined the *chasse* or reliquary. At the same time the late Monsignore Stephens of the Diocese of Raphoe was present and formed one of the party. Afterwards they all proceeded to the Palais de Justice, formerly the palace of the Counts of Flanders. In the council chamber is a finely carved mantelpiece, on which the Monsignore expatiated in glowing language, as he was really not only a lover of antique objects of art, but also a competent judge.

THE RELIC OF A PORTION OF THE MANTLE OF ST. BRIGID,
THE MARY OF ERIN.

I regret much that my account of this precious relic is but

meagre; still I can testify as to its real presence in Bruges. The relic which is kept in the Church of St. Saviour, now the Cathedral of Bruges, is to be found in a chapel in the south aisle, on the Gospel side of the High Altar. In a niche in the wall is a small frame with folding doors in which is placed the relic. It appeared to me, when I examined it some years ago, to be of woollen material with silver threads running through it. Others say it is of velvet; the colour is brown. In the Church of St. Donatus, formerly the Cathedral of Bruges, but utterly destroyed by the Vandals of the Revolution, was found a leaden or zinc plate, on which is written a short account of the life of Gunilda. This princess was the daughter of Godwin, Count of Essex, Sussex, and Kent, and sister of Harold the last Saxon king of England. After the battle of Hastings she and her mother fled from Exeter in ships of Bruges, and found shelter in Flanders. She died here in 1087, leaving a magnificent set of jewels to the Chapter of St. Donatus, together with this relic of St. Brigid. Her tomb in the cloisters of the church was violated by the French Republicans in 1804, when this plate was found under the head of the princess, and fortunately saved from destruction. The plate is kept in the sacristy of St. Saviour. The most ancient account we have, except the one on the leaden plate, of the relic, is to be found in an inventory of relics preserved in the Church of St. Donatus, and written about the year 1300. This inventory is now printed and can be seen in *Le Beffroi*, vol. iii., pp. 199 to 202. "In the fourteenth century this tunic was set in a reliquary of precious stuff having the form of a mantle. This cloak reliquary is mentioned in an inventory of objects given by the Chapter of St. Donatus to the care of Giles of Ghent, Caré and Sacristan of this church, the 8th of August, 1347, under this designation—'Item Mantellum Beate Brigide' (*sic.*) In 1866 the relic was extracted and placed in its present reliquary."

WILLIAM BRADY.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF CHARLES DARWIN.¹

THE book, the title of which stands at the head of this paper, was given to the world in November last. No book of recent years has been looked for with greater and wider interest than it. For five years it was expected by the general public, and when it became known that it should contain an autobiographical chapter recording the formation of the great scientist's character, and the development of his ideas, expectation indeed ran high. It had no sooner appeared than the literary cooks fell upon it, boiled it down, and served it up in dainty bits, spiced with smart remarks, to satisfy the desires of a long-waiting public. Everywhere this book was favourably received—not merely by scientists, but by those who know nothing of the ways of naturalists. And those reviews or journals that have signalised themselves by the bitterness and persistency of their opposition to Mr. Darwin's views have not been the least loud in praise of his character as reflected in this work. Indeed it has been the means of focussing, as it were, in one concentrated glow feelings of admiration of all manner of men on the memory of the deceased scientist.

Two causes contribute to the popular reception of these volumes.

The first is the sweet and gentle nature of the man, the elevation of character, the love of home and family, the persevering industry and self-sacrifice in the pursuit of what he thought true. He had none of those faults which beset great men, arrogance, irritability, and envy. Modesty, and an absence of a desire to shine, are the prevailing ideas which the perusal of these volumes will leave upon the mind. These traits, in spite of all his retirement, stole out upon the world through his letters and treatises, and must have influenced the reception of his theories. If we speak thus of Darwin,

¹ *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, including an Autobiographical Chapter edited by his son, Francis Darwin. In Three Volumes. London: Murray. 1887.

and we are constrained to do so, we abstract altogether from the religious side of his character, which, towards the close of his life, was absolutely non-existent. His life is a remarkable instance of the Christian virtue flowering amidst the total wreck of Christian faith. It is as great a problem from a moral point of view as his theories.

The second cause of the popularity of this work is, that the theories of Darwin have become the gospel of numbers in every country. Says Mr. Ruskin, "Darwin has a mortal fascination for all vainly curious, and speculative persons, and has collected in the train of him every impudent imbecile in Europe, like a dim comet wagging its useless tail of phosphorescent light across the steadfast stars." People like to know what manner of man was he whose gospel they profess. Strange how those theories have advanced in public favour. Denounced thirty years ago in press and pulpit, smothered almost at their birth with contempt and ridicule, they have now become in the minds of many the recognised teaching on the most important questions that could engage the attention of man. Not many years ago if one ventured to meddle with a question that relegated God to the background, and relieved Him of the responsibility of the world; that denied Him to be the artist of this universe, but attributed its production to heredity and variation, shaped and moulded by the struggle for existence; that substituted for the Fall of Man the Rise of Man; that considered man as a developed ape—a little higher than the chimpanzee and gorilla; or that traced his ancestors back to the acephalous mollusk (first cousin to the clams and mussels) whose rudimental spine shadowed forth the far away dawn of humanity—if one were to deal with questions that raised such momentous issues as these, he would be allowed to enjoy them alone in the obscurity of his own home. Not so now. "Thought once awakened does not again slumber." This Darwinian theory is regarded as a perfectly fair subject for general conversation not only amongst educated and intelligent people, but also amongst the ignorant, whose pretensions to knowledge are flattered by the greatness of ideas that are laden as they know with the whole future of

human progress and destiny. This theory of the origin of the human race is discussed by them as if it were as harmless a question as the origin of a maiden aunt's lap-dog. Nor are they ashamed of professing that man is made and moulded of things past, and that bygone generations from the Ascidian upwards have become incarnate in him. Such is the wonderful influence wielded in those days by Mr. Darwin, a brief sketch of whose life we shall now proceed to give.

These volumes before us though styled the *Life of Darwin* are really an autobiography, a part of which was written for his children and children's children, and the rest is contained in letters to friends, in which he reveals himself in all his simplicity and frankness.

Charles Robert Darwin was born at Shrewsbury on February 12th, 1809, his father being a physician of respectable practice in that town. He exemplified in himself the principle of heredity, for his grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, speculated in the theories which lifted the grandson into the temple of fame, and his father was remarkable for keenness of observation and love of detail—those very characteristics that were the foundation of the great naturalist's reputation. His elder brother, Erasmus, is known as the friend of Carlyle who in his *Reminiscences* speaks of him as one who “had something of original and sarcastically ingenious in him, one of the sincerest, naturally truest, and most modest of men; eldest brother of Charles Darwin (the famed Darwin on Species of these days) to whom I rather prefer him for intellect, had not his health quite doomed him to silence and patient idleness.” (Vol. ii., p. 208). Darwin had the misfortune of losing his mother when he was about eight years old.

In 1817 he was sent to a day school in Shrewsbury where he remained a year. Even at this early period his future career was foreshadowed; he says:—

“My taste for natural history, and more especially for collecting, was well developed. I tried to make out the names of plants and collected all sorts of things, shells, seals, franks, coins and minerals.” (Vol. i., p. 28).

Like many other little boys he was naughty and "given to inventing deliberate falsehoods," which with him, however, were prophetic of his future pursuits :—

"One little event during this year [1817] has fixed itself very firmly in my mind, and I hope it has done so from my conscience having been afterwards sorely troubled by it ; it is curious as showing that apparently I was interested at this early age in the variability of plants ! I told another little boy (I believe it was Leighton, who afterwards became a well-known lichenologist and botanist), that I could produce variously coloured polyanthus and primroses by watering them with certain coloured fluids, which was of course a monstrous fable, and had never been tried by me." (Vol. i., p. 28).

This is remarkable considering the light which he threw upon these flowers in after years. In 1818 he was removed to Dr. Butler's high-school in Shrewsbury. Here he spent seven years, leaving it very little wiser than he went. At this time his religious feelings were strong, for whilst at Dr. Butler's school he used often run home between "callings over" and "locking up" at night, and "I remember," he says, "that I often had to run very quickly to be in time, and from being a fleet runner was generally successful ; but when in doubt I prayed earnestly to God to help me, and I well remember that I attributed my success to the prayers and not to my quick running, and marvelled how generally I was aided." (Vol. i., p. 31.) Dr. Butler's school was purely classical, nothing else being taught except a little ancient geography and history. Great attention was paid at this school to verse-making, for which Darwin had no facility, but an "extensive memory" enabled him to learn by heart forty or fifty lines of Virgil or Homer during morning chapel—an exercise he regarded as utterly useless, for every verse was forgotten in forty-eight hours. Darwin was never able to master a language. The German which supplied him with much scientific reading in after life was learned by simply hammering away with a dictionary, whilst of his deficiency in his own language he was painfully conscious, and expresses the feeling with candour "I have as much difficulty as ever," he tells us, "in expressing myself clearly and concisely. There seems to be a sort of fatality in my mind, leading me to put at first my statement or proposition

in a wrong or awkward form." This difficulty was never overcome, and made the literary part of his work the greatest trouble. He would often get stranded in the middle of a sentence, and to free himself would say, "Now, then, what do you want to say," and the formulating of the answer usually brought him relief. But if he had no taste for the acquisition of languages, he took great pleasure in the unravelling of intricate and complex subjects. He studied Euclid under a private tutor, and "I distinctly remember," he says, "the intense satisfaction which the clear geometrical proofs gave me." Chemistry was studied with his brother Erasmus. When it became known in school that he worked at this almost unknown science he was nicknamed "Gas," and was once publicly rebuked by the headmaster "for wasting his time on such useless subjects."

Darwin's education at Shrewsbury being a complete failure, his father removed him in 1825 to Edinburgh University, hoping he would enter the medical profession. Here he made very little progress, for he was filled with the idea that his father would leave him sufficient property on which he could live with comfort, and a repugnance to dissection and a horror of the sight of blood interfered with his medical studies. Instruction was given in this University by means of lectures. "They were intolerably dull," he remarks, "and those on Geology produced on me the determination never as long as I lived to read a book on Geology, or in any way to study the science." This determination soon gave way, and he pursued the study of this science with a passion surpassed not even by that of shooting. But he had a rooted antipathy to the system of professorial lecturing. In common with many others, he believed that this system did not communicate knowledge well, nor give a discipline to the faculties. "It has no advantages," he says, "and many disadvantages compared with reading." During his stay at the University an incident arose, which shaped, perhaps, his future career in some little way. He made the acquaintance of Dr. Grant, one of the professors, whom he describes as exteriorly, a dry old crust, but underneath all aglow with enthusiasm.

During a walk together "Grant burst forth in high admiration of Lamarck and his views on Evolution. I listened in silent astonishment, and as far as I can judge without any effect on my mind Nevertheless it is probable that the hearing rather early in life such views maintained and praised may have favoured my upholding them under a different form in my 'Origin of Species.'"

On the whole, the two years spent at Edinburgh were fruitless, and Dr. Darwin fearing his son should be "good for nothing but hunting and ratting," decided that he should enter the Church. Though young Darwin liked the thought of being a country clergyman, he asked some time to consider, as he had some doubt about declaring his belief in all the dogmas of the Church of England. After reading Pearson on the Creed, and as he had not then "the least doubt of the strict and literal truth of every word in the Bible," he came to the conclusion that these dogmas might be accepted, and in this complacent frame of mind went up to Cambridge in 1828 to prepare for the Church.

"Considering how fiercely I have been attacked by the orthodox, it seems ludicrous that I once intended to be a clergyman If the phrenologists are to be trusted, I was well fitted in one respect to be a clergyman. A few years ago the secretaries of a German psychological society asked me earnestly by letter for a photograph of myself, and some time afterwards I received the proceedings of one of the meetings, in which it seemed that the shape of my head had been the subject of a public discussion, and one of the speakers declared that I had the bump of reverence developed enough for ten priests." (Vol. i., p. 45).

During his three years at Cambridge Darwin wasted his time as completely as at Edinburgh and at school. A sporting man by nature he threw himself into the horsey element of the University. But the "tendency to horsiness" was curiously tempered by the tastes of an "æsthete." He was a frequent visitor of the picture galleries, some of the pictures often exciting in him a sense of sublimity. Falling in with a musical set, he was inoculated with a taste for music. He timed his walks to be in for the music in the chapels, and paid the choir boys to come and sing for him in his rooms. This was the more remarkable as he had a very bad ear. He was

not able to perceive a discord or hum a tune correctly. His musical friends, perceiving his state, amused themselves by making him pass an examination, which consisted in ascertaining how many tunes he could recognise when they were played rather more quickly than usual. This taste for music long continued, and he often speaks of the sensation which pleasantly agitated his vertebral column on hearing beautiful music. But, alas! these tastes for music, painting, and poetry were in later life swallowed up by his all absorbing passion for the natural sciences. He says:—

“Up to the age of thirty all kinds of poetry—the works of Milton, Gray, Byron, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley—afforded me lively pleasure. Shakespeare was my delight, principally his historical plays when I was a schoolboy. Painting also, and above all music, gave me agreeable sensations. Now, and for some time past, I cannot endure reading a line of poetry. I have tried lately to read Shakespeare, and have found him so boring that he disgusted me. I have also lost my taste for painting and music. Music generally makes me think strongly upon the subject of my work, instead of giving me the pleasure of relief. . . . On the other hand, novels which are works of imagination, even those that have nothing remarkable about them, have for some years afforded me prodigious relaxation and pleasure, and I often bless the race of novelists. A large number of novels have been read aloud to me, and I love them all, even if they are only middling, especially if they end well. A law ought to be passed forbidding them to end badly.”

But his time at Cambridge was not entirely given to the pursuits of the turf. He hunted beetles as keenly as he hunted foxes, and imparted this enthusiasm to others. This enthusiasm may be judged from the following:—

“One day in tearing off some old bark I saw two rare beetles, and seized one in each hand; then I saw a third, a new kind, which I could not bear to lose, so that I popped the one which I held in my right hand into my mouth. Alas! it ejected some intensely acrid fluid, which burnt my tongue, so that I was forced to spit the beetle out, which was lost, as was the third one.” (Vol. i., p. 50).

To take out his degree he had to brush up his mathematics and classics, and get up Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*. Though helped by a private tutor, he was disgusted with mathematics, and that was chiefly owing to the fact that he had not mastered the first part of algebra. He regretted that he did not understand something of the

great leading principles of mathematics, for "men thus endowed," he remarked, "seem to have an extra sense." But he threw himself heart and soul into Paley's *Evidences*. "I am convinced," he declares, "that I could have written out the whole of the *Evidences* with perfect correctness, but not of course in the clear language of Paley. The logic of this book, and, as I may add, of his *Natural Theology*, gave me as much delight as did Euclid I did not at that time trouble myself about Paley's premisses; and taking these on trust, I was charmed and convinced by the long line of argumentation." (Vol. i., p. 47).

Darwin had the knack of securing the favour of his professors. At Cambridge he was fortunate in being admitted into the friendship and society of Professors Sedgwick and Henslow. The former introduced him to the practical study of geology, bringing him for that purpose into the Welsh hills during the vacations; whilst the latter remained his life-long friend and mentor. Superior in every branch of science, Henslow was the nucleus around which gathered the most learned men of the time, and into his favoured company Darwin had the pleasure and advantage of being admitted. Contact with these men generated in him a desire to do something for the advancement of science. Soon an opportunity was given him of realising this desire.

In 1831 Darwin left Cambridge. In that year the Government fitted up a vessel—the famous *Beagle*—for surveying and scientific purposes, and placed it under the command of Captain FitzRoy. He had instructions to survey the South Coast of Tierra del Fuego, afterwards to visit the South Sea Islands, and then to return home by the Indian Archipelago. A young naturalist was wanted to accompany FitzRoy. Professor Henslow was asked to recommend one. He recommended Darwin as the best qualified to undertake such a situation. "I state this," says he, in a letter to Darwin, "not in the supposition of your being a finished naturalist, but as amply qualified for collecting, observing, and noting anything worthy to be noted in Natural History." In the December of 1831 the *Beagle* sailed from Devonport on her memorable voyage, Darwin still carrying with him

the pious desire of entering the Church. Into the scientific fruits of this voyage it is needless to enter, for are they not all recorded in the *Voyage of a Naturalist on the Beagle*? Suffice it to say that this love of science absorbed every other taste, and the desire of entering the Church was rather pushed out of his mind than formally renounced. Thus it was that Providence prevented a wolf in sheep's clothing from entering the fold.

After an absence of five years the *Beagle* returned, and Darwin laden with specimens of animals and plants, of geology and mineralogy, placed them under the care of Henslow. Settling down in London he set about arranging and sorting them. From them he wrote many papers on botany and geology, and through these papers was admitted into all the learned societies that patronise the various branches of natural science. Of the works he wrote about this time we shall not speak. We hasten to see the beginning of the great work, the *Origin of Species*, "by which the name of Charles Darwin," says Huxley, "stands alongside of Isaac Newton and Michael Faraday."

Wearied with the hubbub of London life, Darwin removed in 1842 to Down, a quiet out-of-the-way Kentish town, within easy distance of London. Space will not allow us to linger over his happy life here, which his son so delightfully paints in his Chapter of *Reminiscences*. It was here, for twenty years, whilst an energetic worker in various departments of natural science, he continued to pursue his speculations on the origin of species, and to gather together from every source evidence bearing on the subject. And it was here he finally ground out of his copious materials, after much patient industry, the principle of "natural selection"—the central idea of the *Origin of Species*, and the very quintessence of Darwinism.

The idea of the transmutation of species possessed Darwin's mind as early as 1837, and was produced by the character of the South American fossils, and species on the Galapagos Archipelago. The genesis of his great work—the *Origin*—is best described in his own words:—

"During the voyage of the *Beagle* I had been deeply impressed by discovering in the Pampean formation great fossil animals covered

with armour like that on the existing armadillos ; secondly, by the manner in which closely allied animals replace one another in proceeding southwards over the continent, and thirdly, by the South American character of most of the productions of the Galapagos Archipelago and more especially by the manner in which they differ slightly on each island of the group ; none of the islands appearing to be very ancient in a geological sense." (Vol. i., p. 82).

Facts like these could only be explained by the supposition that the species had become gradually modified. But what was the cause of the modification ? This was the difficulty he set himself to solve. Lamarck and Hilarie's explanations he could not accept. Surrounding conditions, and the will of the organisms, especially in the case of plants, could not account for the modifications by which certain organisms are beautifully and admirably adapted to habits of life. To solve the difficulty he paid attention to domestic animals and cultivated plants. He soon found out that man's power of selecting and breeding from certain individuals was the most powerful means of producing new species. "I soon perceived," he tells us, "that selection was the keystone of man's success in making useful races of animals and plants. But how selection could be applied to organisms living in a state of nature remained for some time a mystery to me." In October, 1838, fifteen months after this systematic inquiry, he happened to read for amusement Malthus *On Population*. Malthus taught that all animal life has a tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence, and expounded the struggle for existence which begins when population has increased too rapidly. . . . "being well prepared," says Darwin, "to appreciate the struggle for existence which everywhere goes on from long-continued observation of the habits of animals and plants, it at once struck me that under these circumstances favourable variations would tend to be preserved and unfavourable ones to be destroyed. The result of this would be the formation of new species." Thus leaped forth the idea of the preservation of the better-equipped race in the struggle for life, or as Herbert Spencer put it the "Survival of the Fittest." "How extremely stupid," "not to have thought of that," remarked Huxley when he read the *Origin of Species*. "I suppose the com-

panions of Columbus said the same when he made the egg stand on end."

Possessed of a theory by which to work, but anxious to avoid prejudice, Darwin refrained for some time from writing out the briefest sketch of it. In 1842 he pencilled it in thirty-five pages, which in 1844 were developed into 230 pages. But whilst he was secretly elaborating his views (if we except Lyell and Asa Gray to whom he communicated his ideas) a strange event unexpectedly occurred, which, whilst upsetting all his plans for the time, served to demonstrate the honour and uprightness of his nature, his selfishness and desire for self-effacement in the cause of science. Mr. Wallace, a thoughtful and observant naturalist, proceeded in 1854 to investigate the little-known zoology of the Malay Archipelago. He sent a letter to Darwin, containing the astounding news that he had independently worked out the same identical theory which Darwin had been engaged upon for twenty years. "I never saw a more striking coincidence," says Darwin. "If Wallace had my MS. sketch written out in 1842 he could not have made a better short extract! Even his terms now stand as heads of my chapters." (Vol. ii., p. 116.) It is hard on human nature to cast aside a great work representing the patient industry of many years, and to refuse the credit of launching it upon the world, but Darwin was anxious to withhold his theory in favour of Wallace. The upshot of all this was, that the views of both naturalists were published conjointly in the Linnaean Society's Journal in 1858, Darwin's occupying little more than six pages.

In November, 1859, the *Origin of Species* was published. 1,250 copies were sold on the first day of publication whilst a second edition of 3,000 was soon after exhausted. It has been translated into almost every European language, including Russian, Polish and Bohemian. The *Descent of Man*, a kind of complement of the *Origin*, appeared in 1871. The appearance of the *Origin* was the signal for a war of controversy, out of which Darwin himself kept remarkably free. He withstood the storm of abuse and ridicule which the publication of his theory raised against him, not merely with

unruffled calmness, but without using a single bitter expression against the most violent of his opponents. But his friend Huxley, who had "sharpened up his claws and beak, and who was endowed with any amount of combativeness," fought singlehanded against all opponents of the new teaching, and returned their abuse with interest. All the Reviews of note were opposed, more or less, to the new theory. But the *Quarterly Review* of July, 1860, by an article that breathes a tone of lofty contempt, has earned for itself the distinction of being the most hostile and abusive. It was from the pen of Bishop Wilberforce, and of it Huxley characteristically remarks, that "since Lord Brougham assailed Dr. Young, the world has seen no such specimen of the insolence of a shallow pretender to a Master in science as this remarkable production." Nor was the war of words and its attendant abuse confined to Reviews; they were carried into learned societies. At a meeting of the British Association at Oxford, in 1860, the Bishop and Huxley again crossed swords over the *Origin*. The bitterness of this controversy may be guessed when we read how the courtly bishop, in an eloquent condemnation of the book, hurried along on the current of his eloquence, so far forgot himself as to ask Huxley whether he was "related by his grandfather or grandmother's side to an ape."

Of Darwin's religion we may here only say a few words. He professes himself to be a follower of the gospel of "Don't Know!" If this gospel is rightly defined as "Materialism *plus* the Unknowable," then it can scarcely be said with truth that he was an agnostic. Towards the close of his life his religious ideas were swamped in materialism, but when he thought of the immense and wonderful universe, of man and his power of looking backward and forward, he was good enough to tag on the "Unknowable," only to be again cast off in the next moment by "the horrid doubt whether the convictions of man's mind which has been developed from the mind of the lower animals are of any value, or at all trustworthy." But his religious opinions have no weight. His religious faculty, like that of painting, music, and poetry was blighted, atrophied, by the passion for science, and on his own con-

fession he had no aptitude for abstract or metaphysical reasoning. But he has unfortunately left us in his works a principle which, undermining the human mind, destroys all religion, all knowledge, all science. It is with this we have to reckon. Biology, not religion, was Darwin's field. In the former he strove to string and connect together by one great pervading law the manifold and diverse forms of life, as Newton had brought the phenomena of the physical world under the eternal principle of universal gravitation.

Darwin died in April, 1882. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and his grave lies in close neighbourhood to that of Isaac Newton.

J. FITZGERALD.

THE FLIGHT OF THE NORTHERN EARLS.

“Tis an old story ; might awrath with right—
 A nation conquered and her shrines o'erthrown ;
 Her chieftains flying seaward in the night,
 And not a trumpet of departure blown.
 For the last hope of Ireland quenched its light ;
 The master-spirit of the past had flown ;
 And England glaring through the smoke and heat,
 Beheld the people prostrate at her feet.”

JOHN F. O'DONNELL.

THE history of Ireland has its dark days and its bright ones, its sunshine and its shadow, its joy and its sorrow, its glory and its gloom. All this, perhaps, can be said with equal truth of other countries, but in our history there is this remarkable peculiarity, that the brightest sunshine was always followed in quick succession by the blackest shadow, the sweetest joy by the bitterest sorrow, the most refulgent glory by the most disheartening gloom. This strange fact has not escaped the notice of some of our well known writers. D'Arcy M'Gee in one of his soul-thrilling Irish ballads compares our history's page to a pure, clear mountain lake. At one moment you see it a lovely placid sheet, unmoved save by the gentle ripple on its sunny

surface. A storm comes, and in another moment that lake so bright and beautiful before is changed into a scene of unparalleled dreariness and gloom. And so it has been with our island's story—

“Now bright with the presage of glory,
Now dashed into gloomiest gloom.”

We have been led into this strain of thought by the study of the sad event which furnishes the subject of this paper—the Flight of the Northern Earls. The events immediately preceding

———“that dark day,
When under James Fitz-James' ban,
Ulster's chieftains sailed away,”

are amongst the most glorious on our history's hallowed page. These were the days of Clontibret and the Yellow Ford, of Tyrrell's Pass and Portmore, the days when Hugh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell, laying aside their petty strifes, joined hands for faith and fatherland. Then came like a lightning flash the disastrous day of Kinsale when the blundering policy of the chicken-hearted¹ D'Aquila sealed the fate of Ireland.

After the defeat of Kinsale the Irish chieftains met at Innishannon, near Bandon, where it was arranged that Red Hugh O'Donnell, Redmond Burke and the Franciscan, Florence Conroy, with seven other Irish gentlemen should at once set out for Spain to seek further aid for the Irish cause from King Philip III., that meanwhile Hugh O'Neill should return to Ulster to await the expected aid, and that Rory O'Donnell should rule the *Clan-Conail* in his brother's absence. But the Spanish aid never came and poor Hugh O'Donnell, discouraged and broken-hearted, died at Simancas on the 10th of September, 1602. He was buried with due honours in the Franciscan Church of Valladolid, which holds,

¹ “Don Juan D'Aquila is charged with having tamely allowed the French and English to capture Morlaix and Quimper (1594), and at Crodon, after exposing a brave garrison to destruction through his incompetence and cowardice, he yielded that most important position which he had ample means to defend.”—Mitchel's *Life of Aodh O'Neil*, p. 169.

says Mitchel,¹ "the bones of as noble a chief and as stout a warrior as ever bore the wand of chieftaincy or led a clan to battle." The State papers² of the time furnish what to some might seem conclusive evidence that Hugh Roe was basely poisoned by one James Blake who had been sent out to Spain for that purpose; but Father Meehan, the greatest living authority on this subject, holds the opposite opinion, and we would not care to dispute the statement of so high an authority.

But how fared it meanwhile with O'Neill? After a long and tiresome winter journey he reached his own territory and began to prepare for Mountjoy who, he rightly concluded, was not likely to leave him long unmolested. But the fates were warring against him. To begin with, he received the sad intelligence of O'Donnell's death and the consequent destruction of all his high hopes of Continental aid; then some of his most trusted officers began to desert him and go over to the enemy.³ Besides all this, the country presented a most horrible spectacle of desolation. "No spectacle," says Moryson, "was more frequent in the ditches of towns than to see multitudes of these poor people dead with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks and all things they could rend up above ground,"⁴ and the same writer tells how he saw "three children gnawing the entrails of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed twenty days past, and having eaten it all, from the feet upwards, to the bare bones, roasting it by a slow fire." Plowden⁵ says that up to this the process of subjugating Ireland had cost the English nearly two million pounds. How much more must it have cost the poor Irish!

Under these circumstances no one will wonder that when Mountjoy, after spending the spring in Munster, marched once more to the Blackwater, Hugh should show a disposition

¹ *Life of Aodh O'Neill*, p. 209.

² Carew, writing from Cork, October 9th, 1602, says: "And I do think it will fall out that he [O'Donnell] is poisoned by James Blake, of whom your Lordship hath been formerly acquainted."

³ Father Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, p. 3.

⁴ Moryson's *History of Ireland*, folio ed., p. 272.

⁵ Plowden, *History of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 86.

to come to terms, and surely enough the Lord Deputy was not a whit loth to make parley with the terrible Red Hand of Tyrone. His royal mistress, to be sure, would far sooner have "the viper's head,"¹ but it was not just so easy to come at "the sacred person of O'Neill, who had so many eyes of jealousy about him;" and so she had to content her royal soul with seeking his submission. She accordingly empowered the Lord Deputy to make the best terms possible with the Northern rebel. Mountjoy in turn commissioned Sir William Godolphin and Sir Garret Moore to parley with O'Neill, who had burned his own castle at Dungannon and betaken himself to the inaccessible fastness of Glen-con-Keane. Roderick O'Donnell and O'Cahan had already handed in their submission; the Irish forces were everywhere unsuccessful and nothing now remained for O'Neill but to listen to the parley of the queen's messengers. A meeting was accordingly arranged to take place between him and Mountjoy at historic Mellifont. The Lord Deputy came there on the 24th of March. Three days after his arrival he received news of the queen's death, and on the 30th of the same month O'Neill arrived. If we can believe Fynes Moryson, his submission was humble enough. On bended knees the old chieftain, now sixty years of age, broken in fortune and spirit, implored the queen's pardon and humbly begged to be restored to his "former dignity and living." Mountjoy, on behalf of the *dead* queen, accepted his submission and granted him pardon, which, says Cox,² "was on authority that was determined before it was executed."

These were the terms of the Treaty of Mellifont:—

1. O'Neill was to have full pardon for himself and his followers.
2. Free exercise of the Catholic religion for himself and his people.
3. He was to be restored in blood and letters-patent granted him for all his lands with some few restrictions.

¹ For the execution of this benevolent design on O'Neill several persons were from time to time employed, amongst others his kinsman Henry Oge O'Neill.—See Father Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes*, p. 3.

² *Hibernia Anglicana*, Part ii., p. 2.

4. He was to renounce for evermore the title of The O'Neill, and assume instead his hitherto unused English title of Earl of Tyrone.'

5. He must allow his territory to become "shireground," and admit thereto the queen's sheriffs.

6. He must promise to cut off all communication with Spain, and bring home his son Henry, then a student at the University of Salamanca..

These terms being agreed to the whole party proceeded to Dublin, where O'Neill heard for the first time of the queen's death. When he heard the news he wept bitterly, not, we may be sure, because Elizabeth's death had touched his "tenderest sympathies," but because, as Cox¹ says, "he had lost the best opportunity in the world either of continuing the war with advantage or of making a profitable and meritorious submission to the king." In Dublin O'Neill renewed his submission to King James in a set form, in which "he abjured all foreign power and jurisdiction in general, and the King of Spain in particular."² He then returned to his ancient seat at Dungannon. Soon after his return home, he challenged regal authority over O'Cahan, who previously to O'Neill's surrender had entered into an agreement with Docwra that he should "have her Majesty's letters-patent to hold to him and his heirs all his territory with some exceptions :"³ besides this he hanged Docwra's guide without trial by judge or jury, and laid claim to the fisheries of Lough Foyle, which had long before been granted to the English commander. Docwra irritated, and probably alarmed, by these high handed proceedings on the part of O'Neill, went to complain against him to the lord deputy. Curiously enough, Mountjoy did not give him much satisfaction. "O'Cahan," he said, "was a drunken fellow unable to do good or harm," and, after a long interview, wound up by asserting with an oath "that O'Cahan must and shall be under my Lord Tyrone," "and," adds Docwra,⁴ "hee seemed to be extremilie offended to be troubled with complaints of that kinde."

¹ *Hibernia Anglicana*, part ii., p. 3.

² *Hibernia Anglicana*, *ibid.*

³ Father Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes*, p. 20, and O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, p. 2338.

⁴ Letter of Docwra quoted by O'Donovan, *Four Masters*, p. 2238.

The accession of King James raised new hopes in the hearts of the Irish Catholics. But these hopes were not long lived. He was not long crowned when he issued a proclamation, in which His Majesty declared "to his beloved subjects of Ireland that *he will not admit of any such liberty of conscience as they were made to expect by any report,*" and then he goes on to order the expulsion of "Catholic bishops, Jesuits, and all other ministers of the Catholic faith." In June, 1603, Hugh O'Neill and Roderick O'Donnell accompanied Mountjoy to pay their homage to the new king. They were well received, the letters patent granting them their *own* territories were renewed; O'Neill was, as the legal phrase goes, "restored in blood," and O'Donnell was created first Earl of Tyrconnell. We suppose Sir John Davies' description of Ireland's condition at this time cannot be much overdrawn. "The multitude," he says, "being brazed as it were in a mortar with sword, famine, and pestilence together, submitted themselves to the English Government, received the laws and magistrates, and most gladly embraced the king's pardon and peace in all parts of the realm with demonstrations of joy."

But notwithstanding the honours that were shown him Hugh O'Neill's movements in England were well watched. A scoundrel named Atkinson, who had been employed by Cecil to murder O'Neill in the reign of Elizabeth, was now commissioned to dog his every step and report on his conduct. He reported that Tyrone was often to be seen in the company of the Jesuit Father Archer, "called commonly the Pope's legate, and archprelate over all the provinces of Leinster and Munster, and also the O'Neale's or of others called Tyrone's confessor, as he had been the archduke's confessor of Austria, and in England is said to be the earl's massing priest,"¹ and that "the Romish priests" and other followers of the earl "do much frequent the Spanish and French ambassador's to pry into the secrets of states and foreign legations."²

¹ Atkinson's *Information in the State Paper Office*, quoted by Rev. C. P. Meehan.

² *Ibid.*

But notwithstanding the mean espionage to which they were subjected, the two earls came home loaded with honours in August, 1603.

Just at this time the office of Deputy was held by Sir George Carey, an ex-paymaster of the forces. He turned all his energies towards amassing a fortune, which he succeeded in doing in less than nine months, after which he returned to his Devonshire home to spend in luxury the fortune he had accumulated by a mean system of usurious money-lending.

Carey was succeeded by Sir Arthur Chichester, another Devonshire man, who was, in his young days, expelled from Oxford for larceny. He then became a soldier, and after serving for some time on the Continent and in the West Indies came to Ireland in the train of Essex. He was first appointed governor of Carrickfergus, and, in February, 1603, succeeded Carey in the office of Lord Deputy. Father Meehan's description of him is not calculated to fill one with admiration of his character. "Sir Arthur," says the learned author of the *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*,¹ "deficient in depth of intelligence, but thoroughly skilled in every species of low intrigue, was malignant, cruel devoid of sympathy, and solely intent on his own aggrandizement. His physiognomy was repulsive and petrifying; so much so, that looking at his engraved portrait, one is inclined to wonder that he ever sat to a painter. His religion was Puritanism of the most morose character, which he learned in the school of the fanatical Cartwright."

We have quoted Father Meehan's description of Chichester to give the reader an idea of the character of the man who brought ruin to the Northern Earls. He was no sooner appointed Lord Deputy than he began to subject both O'Neill and O'Donnell to a system of base espionage. So closely was O'Neill looked after "that he was heard to complain that he had so many eyes watching over him that he could not drink a full carouse of sack but the State was advertised thereof a few hours after."² Chichester's conduct in this respect must have been very galling to the grey-haired victor of Beal-an-

¹ P. 35, Third Edition.

² Sir John Davies', *Hist. Relat.*

atha-buide. In other days he would have resented it bitterly, but he had already given up all thought of war, and only desired to live the remainder of his days in peace. Chichester, however, had other plans. He had set his greedy eye on the broad acres of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, and was resolved that the earls should be got rid of at any cost. He found ready supporters of his nefarious designs in the sanctimonious Attorney-General, Sir John Davies, and the less sanctimonious, but equally unscrupulous, "King's Bishop" of Raphoe, Derry, and Clogher, George Montgomery. Three greater knaves never plotted against the rights and liberties of honest men. Knavery sometimes requires a little talent to make it successful, and this was supplied by "Artful Cecil," who had some time before discovered, and, as said by some, contrived the Gunpowder Plot.¹ After trying such mean expedients as tempting the Countess of Tyrone to "reveal her husband's secrets,"² these worthies got up a fictitious plot, which they pretended had been entered into by the earls against the Deputy and the Government. There are several accounts of this transaction, all contradicting each other, and furnishing, in their manifest absurdity, the best proof that the conspiracy had no existence outside the fertile brains of "Artful Cecil" and his companions. The first of these accounts written by Dr. Henry James, King's Bishop of Meath, who had been previously Scoutmaster-General to Cromwell's army, runs thus:—³

"Anno, 1607, there was a providential discovery of another rebellion in Ireland, the Lord Chichester being Deputy: the *discoverer not being willing to appear*, a letter from him, *not subscribed*, was superscribed to Sir William Usher, Clerk of the Council, and dropt in council chamber, then held in the Castle of Dublin; in which was mentioned a design for seizing the castle and murdering the Deputy, with a general revolt and dependence on Spanish forces; and this also for religion; for particulars thereof I refer to that letter dated March 13th, 1607."

Dr. Carleton,⁴ Protestant bishop of Chichester, a contem-

¹ See Mitchel's *Life of Aodh O'Neill*, p. 236 (note).

² Letter from Chichester to Cecil, quoted by Father Meehan.

³ See Preface to Borlace's *History of the Irish Rebellion*.

⁴ See Curry's *Civil Wars in Ireland*, pp. 44-6.

porary writer, has left us a prolix account of the "conspiracy," without making any mention of the anonymous letter, and contradicting James on almost every point. His story is that the information was brought to Montgomery, King's Bishop of Raphoe, Derry, and Clogher, by O'Cahan; that Montgomery had O'Neill cited to appear at Dublin Castle, and that O'Neill "growing suspicious" fled to Spain, accompanied by O'Donnell and other "conspirators."

Another, and perhaps the more correct version of the nefarious transaction, is that given by Anderson,¹ and adopted by MacGeoghegan in his *History of Ireland*: "Artful Cecil employed one St. Lawrence² to entrap the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, the Lord of Delvin, and other Irish chiefs into a sham plot, which had no evidence but his."

It matters little which of the foregoing stories is the correct one. "The candid reader," says Curry in his *Civil Wars in Ireland*,³ "will conclude that there never was any such conspiracy; and that these accounts were then framed, however injudiciously, to give some colour of right to public acts of plunder, oppression, and rapine." But the "plunderers" were not half judicious. The bogus plot was not kept as secret as its authors wished, so that the earls became aware a little too soon of the fate that awaited them if they remained in Ireland. Cuconnaught Maguire had heard on the Continent some inkling of the evil that was brewing at home. He purchased "a ship of fourscore tons, furnished with sixteen cast pieces of ordnance and threescore soldiers," and, assisted by a mariner named John Bath, steered for the Irish coast. He arrived off Rathmullen on the 13th September, 1607, and on the following day there went on board the most distinguished band of exiles that ever left the Irish shore.

The following⁴ is a complete list of those who went in that ill-omened vessel, which

"——— might in after years
Have sailed in widowed Erin's tears":

"The Earl of Tyrone; Baron of Dungannon; Mc Gwire;

¹ Royal Genealogies.

² Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, twenty-second Baron of Howth.

³ P. 46.

⁴ *Carte Papers*, quoted by Rev. C. P. Meehan.

Father Florence ye friar; Cormacke O'Neill's sonn; Iver Mc Conill's two sonnes; Weston of Dunkalk; Henry O'Hagan [O'Neill's foster brother and secretary]; Shane (O'Hagan) Ne Ponty, rent gatherer; James Bath; Plunkett, gent. of his horse; three serving men; a page; two lacquaies; the Earl of Tyreconnell; Caffer O'Donnell, his brother; Shane Groome, his stewarde; Captain John Connor; Donnagh O'Bryen; Edmond Brannagh; his secretary; Henry O'Kelly; four serving men; a page; three lacquaies. Women—the Countesse of Tyrone; Tیرهconnel's sister; Tیرهconnel's brother's wife; and three waitingwomen." "A distinguished party," exclaim the Four Masters, "was this for one ship; for it is certain that the sea never carried, and that the winds never wafted from the Irish shores, individuals more illustrious or noble in genealogy or more renowned for deeds of valour, prowess, and high achievements. Would that God had permitted them to remain in their patrimonial inheritances until the children should arrive at the age of manhood! Woe to the heart that meditated—woe to the mind that conceived—woe to the council that recommended the project of this expedition, without knowledge whether they should to the end of their lives be able to return to their ancient principalities and patrimonies."

After a stormy voyage of twenty-one days they arrived safely in the harbour of Quilleboeuf at the mouth of the river Seine. The incidents of the voyage are recounted with great minuteness of detail by O'Keenan, one of the party, in an interesting narrative, the original of which is in the archives of the Franciscan convent in Dublin. Their course was from the very beginning beset with dangers and difficulties; but they were sustained by the consolations of the grand old Catholic Celtic faith that they had learned in the schools and convents of their own "Dark Dun-an-gall." Here is a touching little story related by O'Keenan:—¹

"For thirteen days the sea was angry and the tempest left us no rest; and the only brief interval of calm we enjoyed was when O'Neill took from his neck a golden crucifix containing a relic of the

¹ See Father Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, p. 78, third edition.

true cross and trailed it in the wake of the ship. At that moment, two poor merlins, with wearied pinions, sought refuge in the rigging of our vessel and were captured for the noble ladies, who nursed them with tenderest affection."

O'Neill was often represented by his enemies as a bad man, having no religion, caring nothing for law either human or divine, in point of fact a barbarian of the barbarians. Surely his conduct on this occasion was not what we would expect from a faithless barbarian. Does it not rather recall one of those wonderful incidents recorded of St. Francis Xavier's voyages?

We do not propose to follow the Earls through the vicissitudes of their exile. It would occupy more space than we can hope for to describe, however briefly, their receptions at royal courts, at universities and convents; the grand entertainments given in their honour by Marshals and Archdukes, great generals and famous legislators; the honours paid them, the aid and encouragement given them by the Father of Christendom (Paul V.) who sent his brother, Cardinal Borghese, to accord them a right hearty welcome on their arrival in the Eternal City. But all these great honours had only small attraction and gave but little satisfaction to the exiled chieftains. Broken-hearted at the thought of the sufferings of their own poor people at home and discouraged by repeated failures to muster force enough to aid them, death must have been to them a welcome relief.

O'Donnell was carried off by intermittent fever at Rome on the 28th July, 1608. O'Neill lingered eight years after his kinsman and companion. At the beginning of 1616 he lost his sight, and on the 20th of July in the same year he too went to receive his eternal reward.

Thus ended the lives of the two great Northern Earls, the heads of the two most powerful clans in Ireland. Their last moments were consoled by the Sacraments of God's Church, which softened in great measure the pang of dying in a foreign land far away from their faithful clansmen in Tyrone and Tyrconnell.

J. C. CANNON.

AN ABBREVIATE OF THE GETTING OF IRELAND, AND OF THE DECAY OF THE SAME.¹

[Lawrence Nowel, born at Readhall, Lancashire, was an able antiquary, compiler of a dictionary of the Saxon tongue, and the restorer of Anglo-Saxon literature;² he was Dean of Lichfield, and died in 1576. His dictionary is preserved in the Bodleian Library; his treatise on Ireland is in the British Museum (Domitian, A. 18), and a copy of it, bound up with some Irish maps, was lately offered for sale in London, at the price of £7 10s.]

The MS. was written before 1576 from documents, some of which were penned between the year 1520, when the Duke of Norfolk was Lord Deputy, and the year 1554 when Norfolk died. It gives such an interesting picture of Ireland in the sixteenth century, that I wonder it has never been published. I print it in full, save 1° three lines which seem to offend against decency and truth; 2° a duplicate list of Irish counties; 3° a list of "passes to be cut," which often defies identification, and would not interest the reader. For his comfort I modernise the spelling, extend the contractions, punctuate the text, and append in parenthesis the proper forms, where the nomenclature is very corrupt. I print between inverted commas some additions, which appear to have been written about the same time as the original, but with different ink, and I deem it right to preserve the old proper names, as many of them present semi-phonetic forms, which come nearer the Gaelic sounds than the modern equivalents; such as "Kierie" for Kerry, "Rahangan" for Rathangan; though others show curious clerical errors, as "Yraghticapari" for Oireacht Ui-Chatháin.]

AN ABBREVIATE OF THE GETTING OF IRELAND, AND OF THE DECAY OF THE SAME.

IRELAND of old time had five kings: one of Leinster, which containeth five counties, that is to say, Dublin, Kildare, Caterlah,³ Weixford, and Kilkenny, "King's County, Queen's

¹ *An Abbreviate of the Getting of Ireland and of the Decay of the same.* By Lawrence Nowel, Dean of Lichfield.

² Bradbury and Evans' *Cyclop. of Biog.*; Gorton's *Biog.*

³ *Cetharlach* = Carlow.

County,¹ and Wicklow;" Mounster hath two portions: one by south of the river of Shenin (Shannon) from Waterford to Limerick, containing five counties, that is to say, Waterford, Cork, Kierye,² Tipperary, and Limerick. The second, by west, called briene's (O'Brien's) country or Thomonar (Thomond), and the county (country) of Counaght, containing six counties: "Galway, Slygo, Majo (Mayo), Roscomon, Leitrim, and Longford." Ulster containeth ten counties: "Armdagh, Tyrons (Tyrone), Cavan, Fermanagh, Monaghan, Downe, Antrim, Donygall, and Londonderry. The chief of these five kings, called the Monarch, kept the county of Midth (Meath) with himself *ad mensam*, "that is, for the maintenance of his more honourable diet.

The most part of Leinster, Connaught, South-Munster, Midth (Meath), and Ulster was conquered by King Henry Fitz Empress, and by the lords and gentlemen coming into Ireland by his licence and commandment. The chief was Richard, Earl of Strangho (Strongbow), who married MacMurgho's³ daughter, which, as well by MacMurghow's³ gift as by conquest, he enjoyed all Leinster, and brought it to good order and obedience of the king's law. He enjoyed it eight years during MacMurghow's³ life, and six years after in his own. He died fourteen years after the conquest, leaving but one daughter, whom the king married to William, Earl Marshal, who came into Ireland and enjoyed all Leinster in peace sixty years after the conquest, and left it obedient to the king's laws at his death, except certain of the blood of MacMurghow, whom he suffered because of his (wife), the (then?) dwelling in the county of Caterlagh, in a place, as it were a barony, called Yepin (Idrone).

This Earl had issue by his wife five sons and five daughters. The sons were Earls of Leinster, the one after another, and ruled it in peace and obedience during all their lives, which continued to the time of Edward the First. The five daughters were all married in England to Lords, who, after the death of their brethren, divided Leinster amongst them.

¹ Made shires by Irish Act of Philip and Mary. ² *Ciarraige* = Kerry.

³ *Mac Murchadha* = McMurrough.

The eldest had the County of Catertagh; the second, Weixford; the third, Kilkenny; the fourth, Kildare; and the fifth, the manor of Dunamah¹ (Dunamase), in Leis, with other certain lands in the County of Kildare. The Lords, their husbands, having great possessions in England, of their own, regarded little the defence of land in Ireland, but took the profits thereof for a while, as they could, and some of them never saw the land. And when the revenues began to decay, he, that had Dunamah (Dunamase) in Leis, retained an Irishman, one of the Mores (O'Mores),² to be his captain in Leis in defence thereof. The other, that had Weixford and Caterlagh, retained one of the Kavanaghs (Cavanaghs),³ that remained in Ydrone, to be his captain, taking no regard to dwell there themselves, so that, within twenty years after, or thereabout, in the beginning of King Edward the Second's time, More, that was captain of Leis, kept that portion as his own, calling himself O'More; and the other, of the Kevanaghes kept a great piece of the counties of Caterlagh and Weixford, calling himself M'Murghowe, and within a little space the M'Murghowe, growing in strength, raised the Birnes and Thohiles (O'Tooles)⁴ in his aid, so that hitherto they have kept all the country betwixt Caterlagh and the east sea as their own, which is thirty miles and more, and so began the decay of Leinster.

The successors of this M'Murghowe, being in great strength in the latter end of King Edward the Third's days, received of the King as wages⁵ 80 marks yearly out of the Exchequer. It is to be considered, and true it is, that every of the five portions that were conquered by the king and nobles, left under tribute certain Irishmen of principal blood of their nation, who were before the conquest inhabitants of

¹ *Dun-masy* (F. Masters), = Donemaske (Inquis. an. 23, Ric. II.)

² O'More was elected by his "Nation," and was King of Laighis (An. of Loch-Cé), Lord of Laighis (Four Masters). He is the ancestor of More O'Ferrall of Balyna.

³ He was King of Leinster (An. Loch-Cé.) Ancestor of M'Murrough Kavanagh of Borris. Kavanaghe, Kevanagh = *Cæmhanach*.

⁴ *O'Tuathail*.

⁵ A euphemism for "black mail, black rent, tribute," as the Dean calls it farther on.

the land. In Leinster (the) Kevanaghcs of the blood of M'Murghowe; in Southmounster (Desmond),¹ the M'Arties of the blood of M'Artie, sometime King of Cork; in Westmonster,² where O'brine (O'Brien) is, which I read, was never conquered, nor obedient to the king's laws. O'Briene and his blood have continued there still, who bare tribute to Henry the Second "and his successors," by the space of one hundred years; and the Lord Culbert (Gilbert) de Clare Earl of Gloucester, had one of the best manors in O'Brien's country, and dwelled therein.

In Connaght were left certain of the blood of O'Conor, sometime king thereof, and certain of the O'Kelleyes, and certain others; in Ulster certain of the Neles of the blood of O'nele (O'Neill), sometime king thereof; in Midth (Meath), certain of the blood of O'Malaghlin, sometime king thereof, and divers others. All these Irishmen have ever since been inclined³ to English rule and order, waiting ever when Englishmen would rebel and digress from obedience of laws, which, more harm is, have fallen to the purpose, as hereafter shall be more plainly declared.

All the south portion of Mounster, betwixt Waterford and Limerick, was conquered by King Henry the Second and the noble knights who inhabited the same; the Geraldines, the Butlers, the Roenes (Roches), Barries, and Cogans, with many others; so that it was English, and obedient to the laws, the space of one hundred and sixty years, as it appeareth by the king's records.⁴ In King Edward the Third's days, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant of Ireland, perceiving not only that the Lords of Mounster, but also of other countries, began to incline to Irish rule and order, at a Parliament holden at Kilkenny, made certain statutes for the common wealth and for the preservation of English order, which, if they "had been put in use, the people had hitherto been obedient to the king's laws." These were called the Statutes

¹ *Des-Mumha*.

² *Ur-Mumha* is East Munster, *Tuadh-Mumha* is North Munster or Thomond, *Iar-Mumha* is West Munster.

³ *Sic*: perhaps "very little" is omitted.

⁴ Yet, not by the Irish Records.

of Kilkenny, which were these:¹—1° No man should take coyne and livery upon the king's subjects, which would destroy hell, if they were used in the same. 2° None of the king's English subjects should make any alliance by alterage² or fosterage with any of the Irish nation. 3° No "man" of the king's English subjects, possessed of lands and tenements, should marry any Irish woman (and no English) woman (should marry an Irish) man, upon pain of forfeiture of all their lands, with divers other beneficial³ statutes for the maintenance of English order.

So long as these statutes were observed the land prospered,³ and obeyed the king's laws; but soon after the Duke's departure into England, the great lords, as well of Mounster as Leinster, being in great wealth, and growing into great name and authority, as John Fitz-Thomas, lately created Earl of Kildare, James Butler, then created Earl of Ormond, being divided amongst themselves, began to make alterage with Irishmen for their strength to resist others, and disdained to take punishment of knights, being the king's justices or deputies for the time. By reason whereof the Earls of Ormond and of Desmond, by strength of Irishmen on either side, fought together a battle in King Henry the Sixth's time, wherein all the good men of the town of Kilkenny, with many others, were slain. Since which time, neither the Geraldines of Mounster have duly obeyed the king's laws; but continually allied themselves with Irishmen, using coyne and livery, whereby all the land is now of Irish rule, except the little English Pale within the counties of Dublin, Midth (Meath), and Uriel (Louth), which pass not thirty or forty miles in length.

In the manner, for lack of punishment of these great lords of Mounster, by "want of" ministration of justice, by their extortion of coyne and livery, and "by" other abuses, they have expelled all the English freeholders and inhabitants out of Mounster; so that in fifty years past was none there obedient to the king's laws, except cities and walled towns, which "things" hath been the decay of Mounster.

¹ They have been fully and learnedly edited by Hardiman.

² Alterage = fosterage.

³ (? ?).

The county of Midth was given by Henry the Second to Sir Hugh de Lacie, to hold of him by knight's service, for which Sir Hugh conquered the same, and gave much of it to lords and gentlemen to hold of him. And as he was building the Castle of Dernath (Durrow),¹ in West-Midth, he was treacherously slain by a mason of his own,² and it is written in the chronicles, *quod ibi cessavit conquestus Hybernice*. He left two sons, Sir Walter and Sir Hugh. Sir Walter dying left two daughters; the elder was married to Sir Theobald de Verdun; the other to Geffrey Peniville (Geniville), who departed (divided) Midth betwixt them. Sir Geffrey had the manor of Trim, to whom the king is heir; the manor of Logsedie (Loch Sewdy)³ came in Theobald's portion, who had no heir but daughters, which were married in England to the Lord Furnival and others, who dwelled still in England, taking profits, as they could get, for a while, and sent small defence therefor, so that in a few years all was lost, except certain manors within the English Pale, which Thomas, Baron of Slare (Slane), Sir Robert Holywood, Sir John Cruce, and Sir John Bellewe, purchased in King Richard the Second's days. And thus decayed the half of Midth, which obeyed not the king's laws these hundred years.

In Connaught Culbert (Gilbert) de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, Sir William Bourg, and Sir William Brymingham of Amery (Athenry), under Henry the Second, were principal conquerors thereof, and with their complices inhabited the same; made it English and obedient to the king's laws from O'Briene's Country to Slygo, in length above sixty miles, which continued so one hundred and sixty years, to King Edward the Third's days, the decay whereof shall appear in Ulster (*sic*.)

Sir John De Courcy, under Henry the Second, was conqueror of Ulster, who fought therein seven battles with the Irishmen, whereof he has won five and lost two. Nevertheless he got it, and brought it to English rule and order; and so (it) continued about twenty years until King John, having him in displeasure for certain evil reports that he

¹ *Dermhagh*.² In 1189.³ *Loch Seimhdidhe*.

ould have made of him for killing his elder brother Geoffrey's son, wrote into Ireland to Sir Walter de Lacie and to his brother, Sir Hugh, to take the said Courcy and send him into England. To execution whereof Hugh went into Ulster with an army, and fought with him in battle at Dcwn, where many were slain, and Courcy obtained the victory. Which done, Sir Hugh practised with certain of Courcy's men to betray their master for money; whereby, on the Good Friday ensuing, he took the said Courcy going about the churchyard of Down, and payed the traitors for their labour, as he promised, hanging them up incontinently¹ according to their deserts. The King gave to Sir Hugh for this service the Earldom of Ulster, who enjoyed it during his life, and died leaving one only daughter, which was married to Sir Walter de Bury (Burg), Lord of Connaght, so that he was Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaght, and enjoyed them both a long time in obedience. His son, Sir William de Bury (Burg) did also the like, and likewise his son, Sir Richard, who might spend yearly thereby £10,000 sterling and above. He had issue "John," which "John" had issue William, "which William had issue" but one daughter, and was traiterously slain by his own men. His daughter was married to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who had the same in peace and obedience so long as he tarried in Ireland, which was not long. At his departure he left small defence in both places; so that in King Richard's day certain knights of the Bourges (Bourkes), brethren, kinsmen of the said² William, who during his life had the rule of Connaught, in his absence, considering themselves far from punishment, and their lord out of the land, usurped all the country to themselves, making daily alliance and friendship with Irishmen, and fell to Irish orders; so that the Duke being dead, his heir had never any revenue out of Connaught, and so, for lack of looking to and defence, not only that, but also Ulster, before King Edward the Fourth's days, who was true heir thereunto, was lost. So that at this day the King hath

¹ Hagig the up in cotined "lie" in the MS.; perhaps "in a continuous line."

² *Sic.*, Lord or said?

no profit at all there, saving only the manor of Carlingford: so thus are decayed, for lack of good defence, both Connaght and Ulster.

Some men be of opinion that the land is harder to be reformed than it was at the first to be conquered, considering that Irishmen have more hardiness and policy in war, more harness and artillery, than they had at the conquest. To this may be shortly answered that surely Irishmen have not such wisdom or policy but Englishmen, selling¹ themselves thereto, will far exceed them, and as for harness and artillery, therein we exceed them too far; and as for hardiness, I have had experience that in all my days I never feared that a hundred footmen or horsemen of (the) Irish would abide to fight with so many English, whereof I report me to the Duke of Norfolk and others that have been there.² Another advantage is that at the conquest "there" were not in Ireland five castles or piles out of the cities, and now there be five hundred castles and piles.

The four saints in Ireland—St. Patrick, St. Colomb St. Braghan (Brendan), and St. Maling (Moling)—prophecied many hundred years ago that Englishmen should conquer Ireland, and keep it in prosperity so long as they should keep their own laws, but falling to Irish order they should decay. The beginning of reformation should be in Leinster, situate in an angle betwixt Waterford and Dublin, wherein no³ Irishmen should dwell but the Kavanaghs, of whom M'Murghowe is captain, which cannot make 200 horse, and the Birnes and Thotiles (O'Tooles), which make about a hundred, besides the Irish inhabitants of the countries, which be but naked⁴ men and kerne.

To help, on the one side of them are the Weixford English, on the other, Kildare and Dublin; on the west, Kilkenny or Killbeges, noteable Dunbrothie,⁵ and Tintern in Weixford,

¹ Setting?

² Essex and Raleigh were not of that opinion. See my paper on "The Physical Characteristics of the Irish" in *The Month*, March, 1887.

³ "Now" in the MS.

⁴ I.e., unarmed.

⁵ The text is very corrupt, Dunbrody = Dunbrothie, Ballinglake = Baltinglass, and perhaps Saradowsk = Abbey of Duisk.

Saradowsk in Caterlach, Crane Ballinglake in Kildare. To be given Old Ross with the Tasagh of Beautrie (Fasach of Bantry), the Castle of Caterlagh, the Manors of Rathvile (Rathvilly) and Clonmor; the Lordship of Weixford, the Castle of Ferns, the Abbey of Dowsk, Leghlin (Leighlin), Bathglass (Baltinglass) and Crane Caith Kenine, the Manors of Rathdowne and Powerscourt, the Castles of Wicklo and Arklo, the Castles of Athee (Athy)¹, and Woodstock, with the barony of Reban to stop O'More from Kildare; the barony of Rahangan (Rathangan),² the Castles of McMurghowe's country and O'Birn's.

Archiepiscopatus (Archiepiscopus) in Hybernia, 4.

Ardmahanensis, Dublinensis, Cassellesis (Cassellensis), Thuomens (Tuamensis).

Ardmahanæ (Sedi) subsunt Midia, Clomknos (Clonmacnois), Ardagh, Kilmore, Cogher (Clogher), Rabo (Raphoe), Dirre (Derry), Comnre "Conerensis Episcopatus" (Connor), Downe, Dromore.

Thomensi subsunt Kilmaco (Kilmacduagh), Olkne (Elphin),³ Anaghduin (Annadown), Clonfast (Clonfert), Morsoo (Mayo);⁴ Dublinensi (subsunt) Kildare, Leghlin, Ferns, Osserie; Cassellesi (Cassellensi) subsunt Waterford, Lismore, Cork, Clone (Cloyne), Rosse Ardigh,⁵ Limerick, Emley, Killaloo, Clonfart (Ardfert.)

HAVENS OF IRELAND.

Logfovel (Lochfoyle), the Banne, Wolderfrith (Olderfleet), Cragfergus, Strangford, Ardglasse, Loghuen, Carlingford, Kilkele, Dundalke, Kilcloghir,¹ Drogheda, Holmpatrick, Rushe, Malahide, Howthe, Dublin, Dalkey. Wicklo, Arklo, Weixford, Dungarvan, Youghal, Cork, Tomolag (Timoleage), Kinsale, Kierie, Rosse Isles, Derry, Balatimore (Baltimore), Downemore (Dunmore), Downeshead, Downelong, Artlaman, Croghan, Dunbwie (Dunboy), Ballineskeligy, Dangyr Igchois (Dingle), Tralie, Shenin, Cassane. Kilnewine, Limerick,

¹ Athy = *Baile Atha-Ai*.

² Pronounced Rahangan by the people, who in Limerick say Alunkard and in Dublin Ragar for Athlunkard and Rathgar.

³ = *Oilfin*.

⁴ Campion has "Mayo."

⁵ Rosse Ardigh = *Ros Ailitrech* = Ross.

Inniscae, Belalem, Arinnenewe (Arran), Glanemagh, Ballywhyghan (Ballyvaughan), Kinwarre (Kinvarra), Downig, Woran, Roscain, Galway, Killinkillie, Innispotin, (Inisbofin), Burske, Belaclare, Rathsilben, Bierweisour, Burwis Oarc, Ardremakow, Rosbare (Roslare?), Kilgholm, Balalu, Rabran, Strone, Burweis nowe, Tattr, Kattr, Kalbally, Ardenoch, Ardroute,¹ Sligah (Sligo.)

A Description of the Power of Irishmen.

Ireland was of old divided into five portions, called Cowiges,² Leinster, both Mounsters, Desmound and Toumond, Connaght, and Ulstir, "cuige Lachdan, Da Cuigeane Maudhan, Cuigeane Cunachtida, cuige usa, Trencha cead na Midhe."³ None of this land obey the king's laws, saving a part of the four shires called Midth, Uriell (Louth), Dublin, and Kildare, which of their own power be scant able to maintain the wars of three Irishmen.

LEINSTER.

McMurghowe is prince of Leinster. He and his kinsmen will be 200 horse, well harnessed, a batayle of galloglas (of 60 or 80 men), and 300 kern. His country is Ydron. O'Conor, Lord of Ophaly, 60 h, 1 b, 200 k.³

O'More, L. of Leis, 60 h., 1 b., 200 k.

O'Birn, L. of Y Cranaght (Ui-Branach), 60 h., 1 b., 88 k.

M'Gilpatrick, L. of Osserie, 40 h., 1 b., 60 k.

O'Duim, L. of Yregar (Ui-Riagain), 8 h., 200 k.

O'Demsey, L. of Chiova Ure (Clann Maoilughra), 24 h., 100 k.

O'Thohil of Ferewolin (Feara-Cualann) and Ymale, 24 h., 80 k.

Art Mac Donagho, L. of Yemsesy, 16 h., 60 k.

O'Morghowe, L. of Yphelimi, (Ui-Feilmeadha), 16 h., 40 k.

Redmond M'Shane, L. of Gawllranel (Gabbal-Raghnaill), 8 h., 40 k.

¹ These places could be identified with the help of books of reference and maps, to which I have not access at present.

² *coiced* = quinta pars in B. of Ardmagh; hence Còigíodh Laighion, Da chòigíodh Mumhan, còigíodh Chonnacht, còigíodh Uladh, and Triocha-ched na Midhe. See Keating ch. 2 and 3.

³ h = horse, b = batayle of 60 or 80 Galloglas.

O'Riane, L. of (ldrone), 12 h., 24 k.

O'Nowlane, L. of Fohyrly (Fotharta), 12 h., 20 k.

O'Brenan, L. of Ydough, 40 k.

Summa totalis : 260 h., 5 b., 1,508 k.

Wexford (hath) 60 h. and 200 k. ; (they are) so environed with Irishmen that they cannot answer the King's Deputy ; neither (are they) of power to keep themselves safe only by paying yearly tribute to Irishmen. The Bullers (Butlers) in Kilkenny, 80 h., 2 b., 200 k. ; the Geraldines of Mounster, environed with Irish, hardly can keep themselves ; the County of Caterlagh, without aid (is) not able to keep itself, and was lately conquered by the Earl of Kildare.

DESMOND.

1. McArtie More, Prince and Lord of that portion of his own name, 40 h., 2 b., 2,000 k.
2. McArty Renagh (Riabhach), L. of Charbery, 60 h., 1 b., 2,000 k.
3. McDonoghege (M'Donogh) MacArty, L. of Abaillie (Ealla or Duhallow), 24 h., 1 b., 200 k.
4. O'Flyd riscol (O'Driscol), L. of Corelayh¹ and Balatimore, 6 h., 200 k., who useth long galop (galleys).
5. O'Suullivan, L. of Fleragh (Iveragh), Beary, and Beatrice (Bantry), called O'Suullivan Bearre, 16 h., 200 k.
6. O'Donoghowe More, L. of Leglene (Loch Lein), 12 h., 200 k.
7. O'Conor Kierie (L. of Ciarraighe Luachra), 24 h., 120 k.
8. O'Mahond, L. of Foushera (O'Mahony of Fonn-Iartharach), 16 h., 120 k.
9. O'Kiene, L. of (O'Keeffe of Feara-muighe or Dromagh), 22 h., 100 k.
10. A sept of the Bienes dwelling at the manor of Carig (O'gunnell), 20 h., 60 k.
11. O'Crowlie, L. of (Kilshallow), 8 h., 60 k.
12. O'Downeghuan (O'Donovan), L. (of Clan Cathail), 6 h., 60 k.
13. O'Donoghowe Clansligh (Glenfesk ?), 6 h., 60 k.

¹ *O'h-Eidirsceoil of Corca-Laoighe.*

14. Another sept of the Brienas at Hacrilagh (Creatalach), 8 h., 24 k.
15. Another of them in the Combraghcs, 6 h., 24 k.

Summa totalis : 304 h., 5 b., 5,648 k.

The Earl of Desmond and his kin hath of lands under him 120 miles, 400 horse, 8 bat. of Gall., 1 bat. of crossbowmen and gunners, 3,000 kerne. His country (is) so long and so environed, and hateth the King's lawes, so as they give none aid.

A part of the Butlers in Tipperary, 60 h., 2 bat., 200 k., severed amongst themselves and environed.

A part of (the) Burges (Burkes), called the Bourgh country, 24 h., 1 bat., 200 k., environed and dissevered.

THOUMOUND.

1. O'Brien, L. of Thoumound, 200 h., 2 b., 600 k.
2. McNemarry, L. of Clinchollan (Clan Coilein), 200 h., 1 b., 600 k.
3. O'Caru (O'Carroll), L. of Ely, 80 h., 1 b.,¹ 140 k.
4. O'Kenedy, L. of the other Ormond, 60 h., 1 b., 120 k.
5. O'Bren Arayh of the Brenes, L. of Aragh (Ara), 40 h., 1 b., 100 k.
6. O'Mulrian, L. of Mony (Owny), 24 h., 100 k.
7. O'Conor, L. of Corcunrus (Corcumroe), 24 h., 100 k.
8. O'Loghlin, L. of Borin, 20 h., 100 k.
9. O'Maghir, L. of Ikerin, 16 h., 100 k.
10. O'Duire, L. of Kilnemanagh, 12 h., 100 k.
11. McTeg, L. of one of the Ormonds, 24 h., 60 k.
12. M'Mahowne, L. of Corke vaskm (Corca Bhaiscinn), 20 h., 60 k.
13. M'Bren, L. of Konagh (O'Goonagh), 16 h., 60 k.
14. McTeig McPhilip, L. of Kalena longiet, 6 h., 40 k.
15. O'Dall, L. of Yferraghe (O'Daly of Finvarra), 8h., 24 k.

Summa ; 150 h., 6 bat., 2144 k.

CONNAGHT.

1. O'Kellie, L., of Imany, 200 h., 2 b., 400 k.

¹ 16 b. in MS.

2. O'Conoghor Downe, L. thereof (i.e. of Connaght) with his kin: O'Conoghor Downe, L. of Maghir Conaght (*Machaire Connacht*), O'Conoghor Rowe, 120 h., 2 b., 300 k.
3. O'Raylie, L. of the other Brennyne (Breifny), 60 h., 1 b., 400 k.
4. O'Faral, L. of Analy, 60 h., 1 b., 300 k.
5. O'Rwork, L., of one of the Brennies, 40 h., 1 b., 300 k.
6. McDermoth, L. of Moylorg, 40 h., 1 b., 200 k.
7. McDonogho, L. of Tryurris *alias* Timical,¹ 40 h., 1 b., 160 k.
8. McManish Joonghur,² L. of Charbrey, 40 h., 1 b., 100 k.
9. O'Dowda, L. of Tirgherag Moy (Tireragh Moy),³ 20 h., 300 k.
10. Magranel, L. of Montirosht (Muintir-Eolais), 8 h., 300 k.
11. O'Flarry Buy (O'Hara) L. of lince (Leyney), 6 h., 300 k.
12. O'Maile, L. of Owlmale (Umhal) bath long galleys, 16 h., 200 k.
13. Magawran, L. of Taliagha (Tealach Eachach), 6 h., 200 k.
14. O'Maddin, L. of Shilanghee (Sil-Anmchadha), 14 h., 110 k.
15. O'Flabirty, L. of Tharconaght (Iar-Connacht), 14 h., 100 k.
16. O'Gara, L. of Kowlowine (Coolavin), 14 h., 100 k.
17. O'Shagness, L. of Kinaleagh, 12 h., 100 k.

EDMUND HOGAN, S.J.

(*To be continued.*)

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE BAPTISM OF CONVERT CHILDREN.

“REV. SIR,—Kindly oblige me by solving the following case:—

“Several members of a Protestant family—eight brothers and sisters—were recently received into the Church, and baptised (conditionally). All were previously instructed except the two youngest—one nine and a-half, the other seven and a-half years of age. These

¹ Tirerrill. ² MacMaghnusa O'Conchobhuir, L. of Carbery.

³ Fir-Fhiachrach Muaidhe.

two were not instructed, but came to the church with their brothers and sisters and were with them baptised. The youngest had no knowledge of the principal mysteries of religion, and had at most only a very indistinct knowledge, if indeed any knowledge at all, of the existence of God. It is very likely that the other young child had casually heard the mysteries of religion repeated a few times. Hence a doubt arises about the validity of baptism in the case of these two children. Is *faith*, or *what* faith is necessary in an adult for the *valid* reception of baptism?

"I imagine that as regards the *intention* in the case stated there is no doubt worth considering, because the younger children were quite willing to submit and to do whatever they saw their elder brothers and sisters submitting to and doing.

"I assume that the children had sufficient use of reason, viz., were adults, or at least that the contrary is not certain.

"A reply, as soon as possible, in the pages of the *RECORD* or in private, will very much oblige me, as the case is practical, and I am in doubt as to whether the children should be re-baptised or not.

"SACERDOS"

I think I shall best answer the question of "Sacerdos" by establishing (1) that faith is not directly necessary for the validity of baptism; (2) that the necessary intention can be had without faith, and therefore that faith is not indirectly necessary; (3) that baptism has been validly received in the case described; and (4) that it will revive, if it has not already produced its effect.

I.—FAITH IS NOT DIRECTLY NECESSARY.

In adults neither faith in the sacrament, nor Catholic faith, nor even faith in the essential dogmas, is necessary for the valid reception of baptism. The *voluntary* reception of the sacrament is the only condition indispensably necessary for its validity.

When theologians treat of the conditions necessary for the valid reception of this sacrament, some regard intention as being all-sufficient, and therefore by implication exclude faith. Some contrast the dispositions necessary for the validity, with those that are necessary for the fruitful reception of the sacrament, requiring intention for the validity, faith and other dispositions for the fruitful reception. Some,

in fine, expressly exclude faith from the category of indispensable conditions. A few extracts will suffice:

(a) Laymann¹ writes:—"Itaque aliud non requiritur quam ut materia ac forma sacramenti, secundum institutionem Christi applicetur, libera voluntate tum ministrantis . . . tum suscipientis."

(b) Lehmkuhl²:—"Ut illi qui usum rationis perfectum unquam adepti sunt *valide* baptizentur, necesse est ut ipsi *voluntatem* recipiendi baptismum aliquo modo habuerint vel habeant. Ut vero cum *fructu* baptizentur . . . actum *fidei* . . . adesse vel adfuisse necessarium est."

(c) Suarez³ writes:—"Primo ergo sit certum ad valorem sacramenti, nec fidem, nec bonam aliquam dispositionem in suscipiente requiri . . . Ergo etiamsi cum *incredulitate* et *infidelitate* ad baptismum quis accedat, si tamen baptizari *ult*, characterem recipit et verum sacramentum."

II.—FAITH IS NOT INDIRECTLY NECESSARY.

The intention of receiving a sacrament is absolutely necessary for its validity. This presents a difficulty. Does not the intention of receiving a sacrament, suppose a crude knowledge at least, of the nature and effects of the sacramental rite? Does it not presuppose a knowledge of grace, and of a new world for whose attainment the sacraments have been instituted? Does it not suppose then some knowledge of God, and future happiness?

Suarez⁴ replies:—"Interdum vero potest esse voluntas quae ad valorem baptismi sufficiat absque ulla credulitate baptismi, solum sub quadam ratione confusa faciendi vel suscipiendi quod Christiani faciunt vel suscipiunt, quidquid illud sit; quam voluntatem potest quis habere, etiamsi privata opinione credat totum id nullius valoris vel momenti esse."

It is not necessary therefore for the valid reception of the sacrament to know that baptism is a sacrament, or that it confers grace. It is not necessary to believe or know the existence of God. It is necessary to distinguish baptism from ordinary bodily ablutions, to know that it is regarded as

¹ Lib. v., Tract. ii., cap. 4.

² P. ii., L. i., Tract. ii., page 56.

³ Disp. xxiv., sect. ii.

⁴ *Ibid.*

a peculiar rite by its own votaries, and to voluntarily receive it as it is received by believers in the baptismal rite. It may be received from some temporal motive. "Potest enim [voluntas baptismi] ex aliquo motivo humano vel naturali procedere."

We can conceive a pagan receiving baptism *validly*, and yet ignorant of the existence of God and of future rewards and punishments. He may be travelling in a Christian country; he may have learned that the inhabitants profess some religious creed; that baptism is regarded as a peculiar sacred rite; that in this Christian country temporal immunities and privileges are accorded the baptized, whilst disabilities innumerable are imposed on the unbaptized. Now, if in order to avoid these disabilities he seriously received this rite as it was administered in the Christian community he would be validly baptized. "Sufficit [voluntas baptismi] sub ratione confusa suscipendi quod Christiani suscipiunt, quidquid illud sit."

III.—THE CHILDREN REFERRED TO IN THE LETTER HAVE BEEN VALIDLY BAPTIZED.

The children may have been very ignorant of religious doctrine: they may have been ignorant of the existence of God: they may have had no idea of the necessity and utility of baptism; yet they were aware that the members of their family were becoming Catholics. They, too, were to become Catholics. They intended to do what the elder converts were doing. Even the younger child would distinguish the baptismal ceremony from ordinary bodily ablutions—otherwise I should say the child had not attained the perfect use of reason. They intended to receive baptism as it was received by their friends, as it was administered by the priest, as some rite peculiar to the Catholic religion. They had therefore sufficient intention for the validity of the sacrament.

IV.—THE SACRAMENT WILL REVIVE, &c.

It is much to be regretted that the poor children were not properly instructed before their baptism. The younger child

¹ Suarez, *Ibid.*

may not have come to the perfect use of reason, may not be an adult. But if both had come to the perfect use of reason, faith is necessary for their justification. And if faith in the essential dogmas were wanting, the sacrament remained inoperative: it impressed the *character*, but did not produce its sanctifying and regenerating graces. What conditions therefore, are necessary for its revival?

1. If the absence of faith was the only obstacle to the graces of baptism, the sacrament will revive, when the children will be instructed, and when they make an act of faith in the essential doctrines.

2. It is most likely that an act of faith will suffice for the revival of the sacrament, in the case of the younger child, because it is very probable he has not committed mortal sin—I assume now that the child has arrived at that stage of reason when faith becomes absolutely necessary for justification.

3. The same is true of the elder child if he has not committed mortal sin.

4. If the children have committed mortal sin? (a) The sacrament will revive with an act of perfect contrition. (b) It will revive with attrition and the Sacrament of Penance. And as the children were baptized before in the Protestant Church, and were now baptized only conditionally; according to a decree of the Holy Office, they must confess, not only mortal sins committed since their Conditional Baptism, but the mortal sins—if there were any—which were committed during their past life. They would be absolved conditionally from sins committed before their Conditional Baptism; and *absolutely* from sins committed after their baptism in the Catholic Church (vide Lehmkuhl, P. II, L. I., page 236; and O’Kane on the Rubrics, nn. 428, 430, 464.)

D. COGHLAN.

DOCUMENTS.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS LEO XIII. ON LIBERTY

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA
PAPAE XIII. LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE AD PATRIARCHAS
PRIMATES ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS VNIVERSOS
CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COMMVNIONEM CVM APOS-
TOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

DE LIBERTATE HUMANA.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHIE-
PISCOPIIS ET EPISCOPIIS VNIVERSI CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM
ET COMMVNIONEM CVM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBVS.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM
BENEDICTIONEM.

Libertas, praestantissimum naturae bonum, idemque
intelligentia aut ratione utentium naturarum unice pro-
prium, hanc tribuit homini dignitatem ut sit *in manu consilii
sui*, obtineatque actionum suarum potestatem.—Veruntamen
eiusmodi dignitas plurimum interest qua ratione geratur,
quia sicut summa bona, ita et summa mala ex libertatis usu
gignuntur. Sane integrum est homini parere rationi, morale
bonum sequi, ad summum finem suum recta contendere.
Sed idem potest ad omnia alia deflectere, fallacesque bono-
rum imagines persecutus, ordinem debitum perturbare, et
in interitum ruere voluntarium.

Liberator humani generis Iesus Christus, restituta atque
aucta naturae dignitate pristina, plurimum ipsam iuvit
hominis voluntatem; eamque hinc adiunctis gratiae suae
praesidiis, illinc sempiterna in caelis felicitate proposita, ad
meliora erexit. Similique ratione de hoc tam excellenti
naturae bono et merito est et constanter merebitur Ecclesia
catholica, proptereaquod eius est parta nobis per Iesum
Christum beneficia in omnem saeculorum aetatem propagare.

Nihilominus complures numerantur, qui obesse Ecclesiam humanae libertati putent. Cuius rei causa in perverso quodam praeposteroque residet de ipsa libertate iudicio. Hanc enim vel in ipsa sui intelligentia adulterant, vel plus aequo opinione dilatant, ita ut pertinere ad res sane multas contendant, in quibus, si recte diiudicari velit, liber esse homo non potest.

Alias nos, nominatimque in litteris Encyclicis *Immortale Dei* de *modernis*, uti loquuntur, *libertatibus* verba fecimus, id quod honestum est discernentes ab eo quod contra: simul demonstravimus, quidquid iis libertatibus continetur boni, id tam esse vetus, quam est veritas: illudque semper Ecclesiam libentissime probare et re usuque recipere solitam. Id quod accessit novi, si verum quaeritur, in parte quadam inquinatio consistit, quam turbulenta tempora ac rerum novarum libido nimia peperere. — Sed quoniam sunt plures in hac opinione pertinaces, ut eas libertates, in eo etiam quod continent vitii, summum aetatis nostrae decus et constituendarum civitatum fundamentum necessarium putent, ita ut, sublati iis, perfectam gubernationem reipublicae cogitari posse negent, ideo videtur, publica Nobismetipsis utilitate proposita, eiusmodi argumentum pertractari separatim oportere.

Libertatem *moralem* recte persequimur, sive in personis ea singulis, sive in civitate spectetur. — Principio tamen iuvat aliquid de libertate *naturali* breviter dicere, quia quamquam a morali omnino distinguitur, fons tamen atque principium est, unde genus omne libertatis sua vi suaque sponte nascitur. Hanc quidem omnium iudicium sensusque communis, quae certissima naturae vox est, in iis solum agnoscit, qui sint intelligentiae vel rationis compotes, in easque ipsa causam inesse apparet, cur auctor eorum, quae ab eo aguntur, verissime habeatur homo. Et recte quidem: nam quando ceteri animantes solis ducuntur sensibus, soloque naturae impulsu adquirant quae sibi prosint, fugiuntque contraria, homo quidem in singulis vitae factis rationem habet ducem. Ratio autem, quaecumque habentur in terris bona, omnia et singula posse iudicat esse, et aequae posse non esse:

et hoc ipso nullum eorum decernens esse necessario sumendum, potestatem optionemque voluntati facit ut eligat, quod lubeat.

Sed *de contingentia*, ut appellant, eorum bonorum quae diximus, ob hanc causam iudicare homo potest, quod animum habet naturâ simplicem, spirituales cogitationisque participationem: qui idcirco quod est eiusmodi, non a rebus corporeis ducit originem, neque pendet ex eis in conservatione sui; sed, nulla re intercedente, ingeneratus a Deo, communemque corporum conditionem longo intervallo transgrediens, suum et proprium habet vivendi genus, suum agendi: quo fit ut, immutabilibus ac necessariis veri bonique rationibus iudicio comprehensis, bona illa singularia nequaquam esse necessaria videat. Itaque cum animos hominum segregatos esse statuitur ab omni concretione mortali eosdemque facultate cogitandi polere, simul naturalis libertas in fundamento suo firmissime constituitur.

Iamvero sicut animi humani naturam simplicem, spirituales atque immortales, sic et libertatem nemo nec altius praedicat, nec constantius asserit Ecclesiâ catholica, quae scilicet utrumque omni tempore docuit, sicque tuetur ut dogma. Neque id solum: sed contra dicentibus haereticis novarumque opinionum fautoribus, patrocinium libertatis Ecclesia suscepit, hominisque tam grande bonum ab interitu vindicavit. In quo genere, litterarum monumenta testantur, insanos Manichaeorum aliorumque conatus quanta contentione repulerit; recentiori autem aetate nemo est nescius quanto studio quantaque vi tum in Concilio Tridentino, tum postea adversus Iansenii sectatores, pro libero hominis arbitrio dimicaverit, nullo tempore nulloque loco *fatalismum* passa consistere.

Libertas itaque, ut diximus, eorum est, qui rationis aut intelligentiae sunt participes, propria: eademque, si natura eius consideretur, nihil est aliud nisi facultas eligendi e pluribus, is est factorum suorum dominus. — Iamvero quia omne, quod rei cuiuspiam adipiscendae causa assumitur, rationem habet boni, quod uti'e dicitur: bonum autem hoc habet

naturâ, ut proprie appetitionem moveat, idcirco liberum arbitrium est voluntatis proprium, seu potius ipsa voluntas est, quatenus in agendo habet delectus facultatem. Sed nequaquam voluntas movetur, nisi mentis cognitio velut fax quaedam praeluxerit: videlicet bonum, voluntati concupitum, est necessario bonum quatenus rationi cognitum. Eo vel magis quod in omnibus voluntatibus delectum semper iudicatio praeit de veritate bonorum, et quodnam sit anteponendum ceteris. Atqui iudicare, rationis esse, non voluntatis, nemo sapiens dubitat. Libertas igitur si in voluntate inest, quae natura sua appetitus est rationi consentaneo.

Nihilominus quoniam utraque facultas a perfecto abest, fieri potest ac saepe fit, ut mens voluntati proponat quod nequaquam sit reapse bonum, sed habeat adumbratam speciem boni, atque in id sese voluntas applicet. Verum sicut errare posse reque ipsa errare vitium est, quod mentem non omni parte perfectam arguit, eodem modo arripere fallax fictumque bonum, esto indicium liberi arbitrii, sicut aegritudo vitae, est tamen vitium quoddam libertatis. Ita pariter voluntas, hoc ipso quod a ratione, pendet quando quidquam appetat quod a recta ratione dissideat, vitio quodam inditus inquinat libertatem, eademque perverse utitur. Ob eamque causam Deus infinite perfectus, qui cum sit summe intelligens et per essentiam bonitas, est etiam summe liber, malum culpaе velle nulla ratione potest; nec possunt, propter contemplationem summi boni, beati caelites.

Scite Augustinus alique adversus Pelagianos hoc animadvertabant, si posse deficere a bono secundum naturam esset perfectionemque libertatis, iam Deus, Iesus Christus, Angeli, beati, in quibus omnibus ea potestas non est, aut non essent liberi, aut certe minus perfecte essent, quam homo viator atque imperfectus. De qua re Doctor Angelicus multa saepe disputat, ex quibus effici cogique potest, facultatem peccandi non libertatem esse, sed servitutem. Subtilissime illud in verba Christi Domini¹ "Qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati:" *Unumquodque est illud, quod convenit ei secundum*

¹ Io: n. viii, 34.

naturam. Quando ergo movetur ab aliquo extraneo, non operatur secundum se, sed ab impressione alterius quod est servile. Homo autem secundum suam naturam est rationalis. Quando ergo movetur secundum rationem, proprio motu movetur et secundum se operatur: quod est libertatis; quando vero peccat, operatur praeter rationem, et tunc movetur quasi ab alio, retentus terminis alienis: et ideo "qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati"—Quod satis perspicue ipsa viderat philosophia veterum, atque ii praecipue quorum est doctrina, nisi sapientem, liberum esse neminem: sapientem vero, uti exploratum est nominabant, qui constanter secundum naturam, hoc est honeste et cum virtute vivere didicisset.

Quoniam igitur talis est in homine conditio libertatis, aptis erat adiumentis praesidiisque munienda, quae cunctos eius motus ad bonum dirigerent, a malo retraherent: secus multum homini libertas nocuisset arbitrii:—Ac primo quidem *lex* hoc est agendorum atque omittendorum norma, fuit necessaria; quae quidem proprie nulla esse in animantibus potest, qui necessitate agunt, propterea quod quidquid agant, naturae agunt impulsu, nec alium ullum sequi ex se possunt in agendo modum. Verum eorum, qui libertate fruuntur ideo in potestate est agere, non agere, ita vel secus agere quia tum, quod volunt, eligunt, cum antecessit illud quod diximus rationis iudicium. Quo quidem iudicio non modo statuitur quid honestum naturā sit, quid turpe, sed etiam quid bonum sit reque ipsa faciendum, quid malum reque ipsa vitandum: ratio nimirum voluntati praescribit quid petere, et a quo debeat declinare, ut homo tenere summum finem suum aliquando possit, cuius causa sunt omnia facienda. Iamvero haec *ordinatio rationis lex* nominatur.

Quamobrem cur homini *lex* necessaria sit, in ipso eius libero arbitrio, scilicet in hoc, nostrae ut voluntates a recta ratione ne discrepent, prima est causa, tamquam in radice, quaerenda. Nihilque tam perversum praeposterumque dici cogitarive posset quam illud, hominem, quia natura liber est, idcirco esse oportere legis expertem; quod si ita esset, hoc profecto consequeretur, necesse ad libertatem esse non cohaerere cum ratione: cum contra longe verissimum sit, idcirco legi oportere subesse, quia est naturā

liber. Isto modo dux homini in agendo lex est, eundemque praemiis poenisque propositis ad recte faciendum allicit, a peccando deterret.

Talis est princeps omnium *lex naturalis*, quae scripta est et insculpta in hominum animis singulorum, quia ipsa est humana ratio recte facere iubens et peccare vetans. Ista vero humanae rationis praescriptio vim habere legis non potest, nisi quia altioris est vox atque interpretis rationis, cui mentem libertatemque nostram subiectam esse oporteat. Vis enim legis cum ea sit, officia imponere et iura tribuere, tota in auctoritate nititur, hoc est in vera potestate statuendi officia describendique iura, item poenis praemiisque imperatas auctiendi: quae quidem omnia in homine liquet esse non posse, si normam actionibus ipse suis summus sibi legislator daret. Ergo consequitur, ut naturae lex sit ipsa *lex aeterna*, insita in iis qui ratione utuntur, eosque inclinans *ad debitum actum et finem* eaque est ipsa aeterna ratio creatoris universumque mundum gubernantis Dei.

Ad hanc agendi regulam peccandique frenos singularia quaedam praesidia, Dei beneficio, adiuncta sunt, ad confirmandam hominis regendamque voluntatem aptissima. In quibus princeps est atque excellit divinae virtus *gratiae*; quae cum mentem illustret, voluntatemque salutaris constantia roboratam ad morale bonum semper impellat, expeditiorem efficit simulque tutiorem nativae libertatis usum. Ac longe est a veritate alienum interveniente Deo, minus esse liberos motus voluntarios: nam intima in homine et cum naturali propensione congruens est divinae vis gratiae, quia ab ipso et animi et voluntatis nostrae auctore manat, a quo res omnes convenienter naturae suae moventur. Immo gratia divina, ut monet angelicus Doctor, ob hanc causam quod a naturae opifice proficiscitur, mire nata atque apta est ad tuendas quasque naturas, conservandosque mores, vim, efficientiam singularum.

Quae vero de libertate singulorum dicta sunt, ea ad homines civili inter se societate coniunctos facile transferuntur. Nam quod ratio lexque naturalis in hominibus singulis, idem efficit in consociatis *lex humana* ad bonum commune civium promulgata.—Ex hominum legibus aliae in eo

versantur quod est bonum malumve naturâ, atque alterum sequi praecipiunt, alterum fugere, adiuncta sanctione debita. Sed istiusmodi decreta nequaquam ducunt ab hominum societate principium, quia societas sicut humanam naturam non ipsa genuit, ita pariter nec bonum procreat naturae conveniens, nec malum naturae dissentaneum : sed potius ipsi hominum societati antecedunt, omninoque sunt a lege naturali ac propterea a lege aeterna repetenda. Iuris igitur naturalis praecepta, hominum comprehensa legibus, non vim solum habent legis humanae, sed praecipue illud multo altius multoque augustius complectuntur imperium, quod ab ipsa lege naturae et a lege aeterna proficiscitur. Et in isto genere legum hoc fere civilis legumlatoris munus est, obedientes facere cives, communi disciplina adhibita, pravos et in vitia promptos coercendo, ut a malo deterriti, id quod rectum est consecretur, aut saltem offensioni noxaeque ne sint civitati.

Alia vero civilis potestatis praescripta non ex naturali iure statim et proxime, sed longius et oblique consequuntur, resque varias definiunt, de quibus non est nisi generatim atque universe naturâ cautum. Sic suam conferre operam cives ad tranquillitatem prosperitatemque publicam natura iubet : quantum operae, quo pacto, quibus in rebus, non naturâ sed hominum sapientiâ constituitur. Iamvero peculiaribus hisce vivendi regulis prudenti ratione inventis, legitimaque potestate propositis, lex humana proprii nominis continetur. Quae quidem lex ad finem communitati propositum, cives universos conspirare iubet, deflectere prohibet : eademque quatenus pedisequa et consentiens est praescriptionibus naturae, ducit ad ea quae honesta sunt, a contrariis deterret. Ex quo intelligitur, omnino in aeterna Dei lege normam et regulam positam esse libertatis, nec singulorum dumtaxat hominum, sed etiam communitatis et conjunctionis humanae.

Igitur in hominum societate libertas veri nominis non est in eo posita ut agas quod lubet, ex quo vel maxima existeret turba et confusio in oppressionem civitatis evasura, sed in hoc, ut per leges civiles expeditius possis secundum legis aeternae praescripta vivere. Eorum vero qui praesunt non in eo sita libertas est ut imperare temere et ad libidinem queant, quod pariter flagitiosum esset et cum summa etiam republicae per-

nicie coniunctum, sed humanarum vis legum haec debet esse, ut ab aeterna lege manare intelligantur, nec quidquam sancire quod non in ea, veluti in principio universi iuris, contineatur. Sapientissime Augustinus:¹ “*Simul etiam te videre arbitror, in illa temporali (lege) nihil esse iustum atque legitimum quod non ex hac aeterna (lege) sibi homines derivarint.*” Si quid igitur ab aliqua potestate sanciat, quod a principiis rectae rationis dissideat, sitque reipublicae perniciosum, vim legis nullam haberet, quia nec regula iustitiae esset, et homines a bono cui nata societas est, abduceret.

Natura igitur libertatis humanae, quocumque in genere consideretur, tam in personis singulis quam in consociatis, nec minus in iis qui imperant quam in iis qui parent, necessitatem complectitur obtemperandi summae cuidam aeternaeque rationi, quae nihil est aliud nisi auctoritas iubentis, vetantis Dei. Atque hoc iustissimum in homines imperium Dei tantum abest ut libertatem tollat aut ullo modo diminuat, ut potius tueatur ac perficiat. Suum quippe finem consecrari et assequi, omnium naturarum est vera perfectio: supremus autem finis, quo libertas aspirare debet humana, Deus est.

Haec verissimae altissimaeque praecepta doctrinae, vel solo nobis lumine rationis cognita, Ecclesia quidem exemplis doctrinaeque divini Auctoris sui erudita passim propagavit, asseruit: quibus ipsis et munus suum metiri, et christianas informare gentes nunquam destitit. In genere morum leges evangelicae non solum omni ethnicorum sapientiae longissime praestant, sed plane vocant hominem atque instituunt ad inauditam veteribus sanctitatem effectumque propiorem Deo simul efficiunt perfectioris compotem libertatis.

Ita semper permagna vis Ecclesiae apparuit in custodienda tuendaque civili et politica libertate populorum. Eius in hoc genere enumerare merita nihil attinet. Satis est commemorare, servitutem, vetus illud ethnicarum gentium dedecus, operâ maxime beneficioque Ecclesiae deletam. Aequabilitatem iuris, veramque inter homines germanitatem primus omnium Iesus Christus asseruit: cui Apostolorum suorum resonuit vox, non esse Iudaeum, neque Graecum, neque

¹ *De Liö. Arb.* lib. i. cap. 6, n. 15.

barbarum, neque Scytham, sed omnes in Christo fratres. Tanta est in hac parte tamque cognita Ecclesiae virtus, ut quibuscumque in oris vestigium ponat, exploratum sit, agrestes mores permanere diu non posse: sed immanitati mansuetudinem, barbariae tenebris lumen veritatis brevi successurum. Item populos civili urbanitate excultos magnis afficere beneficiis nullo tempore Ecclesia desiit, vel resistendo iniquorum arbitrio, vel propulsandis a capite innocentium et tenuiorum iniuriis, vel demum operâ danda ut rerum publicarum ea constitutio valeret, quam cives propter aequitatem adamarent, externi propter potentiam metuerent.

Praeterea verissimum officium est vereri auctoritatem, iustisque legibus obedienter subesse: quo fit ut virtute vigilantiaque legum ab iniuria improborum cives vindicentur. Potestas legitima a Deo est, et *qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit*: quo modo multum obedientia adipiscitur nobilitatis cum iustissimae altissimaeque auctoritate adhibeatur. — Verum ubi imperandi ius abest, vel si quidquam praecipitur rationi, legi aeternae, imperio Dei contrarium, rectum est non parere, scilicet hominibus, ut Deo pareatur. Sic praecluso ad tyrannidem aditu, non omnia pertrahet ad se principatus: sua sunt salva iura singulis civibus, sua societati domesticae, cunctisque reipublicae membris, data omnibus verae copia libertatis, quae in eo est, quemadmodum demonstravimus, ut quisque possit secundum leges rectamque rationem vivere.

Quod si, cum de libertate vulgo disputant, legitimam honestamque intelligerent, qualem modo ratio oratioque descripsit, exagitare Ecclesiam nemo auderet propter illud quod per summam iniuriam ferunt, vel singulorum libertati, vel liberae reipublicae esse inimicam. — Sed iam permulti Luciferum imitati, cuius est illa nefaria vox *non serviam*, libertatis nomine absurdam quamdam consecantur et meracam licentiam. Cuiusmodi sunt ex illa tam late fusa tamque pollenti disciplina homines, qui se, ducto a libertate nomine, *Liberales* appellari volunt.

Revera quo spectant in philosophia *Naturalistae*, seu *Rationalistae*, eodem in re morali ac civili spectant *Liberalismi* fautores, qui posita a *Naturalistis* principia in mores action-

emque vitae deducunt. — Iamvero totius *rationalismi* humanae principatus rationis caput est: quae obedientiam divinae aeternaeque rationi debitam recusans, suique se iuris esse decernens, ipsa sibi sola efficitur summum principium et fons et iudex veritatis. Ita illi, quos diximus, *Liberalismi* sectatores in actione vitae nullam contendunt esse, cui parendum sit, divinam potestatem, sed sibi quemque esse legem: unde ea philosophia morum gignitur, quam *independentem* vocant, quae sub specie libertatis ab observantia divinorum praeceptorum voluntatem removens, infinitam licentiam solet homini dare. — Quae omnia in hominum praesertim societate quo tandem evadant, facile est pervidere. Hoc enim fixo et persuaso, homini antistare neminem, consequitur causam efficientem conciliationis civilis et societatis non in principio aliquo extra aut supra hominem posito, sed in libera voluntate singulorum esse quaerendam: potestatem publicam a multitudine velut a primo fonte repetendam, praetereaque, sicut ratio singulorum sola dux et norma agendi privatim est singulis, ita universorum esse oportere universis in rerum genere publicarum. Hinc plurimum posse plurimos: partemque populi maiorem universi iuris esse officiique effectricem.

Sed haec cum ratione pugnare, ex eis quae dicta sunt apparet. Nullum siquidem velle homini aut societati civili cum Deo creatore ac proinde supremo omnium legislatore intercedere vinculum, omnino naturae repugnat, nec naturae hominis tantum, sed rerum omnium procreatarum: quia res omnes effectas cum causa, a qua effectae sunt, aliquo esse aptas nexu necesse est: omnibusque naturis hoc convenit, hoc ad perfectionem singularem pertinet, eo se continere loco et gradu, quem naturalis ordo postulat, scilicet ut ei quod superius est, id quod est inferius subiiciatur et pareat.

Sed praeterea est huiusmodi doctrina tum privatis hominibus cum civitatibus maxime perniciosa. Sane reiecto ad humanam rationem et solam et unam veri bonique arbitrio, proprium tollitur boni et mali discrimen; turpia ab honestis non re, sed opinione iudicioque singulorum differunt: quod libeat, idem licebit; constitutaeque morum disciplinæ, cuius ad coercendos sedandosque motus animi turbidos nulla fere vis

est, sponte fiet, ad omnem vitae corruptelam aditus. In rebus autem publicis, potestas imperandi separatur a vero naturalique principio, unde omnem haurit virtutem efficientem boni communis: lex, de iis quae facienda fugiendave sunt statuens, maioris multitudinis permittitur arbitrio, quod quidem est iter ad tyrannicam dominationem proclive. Imperio Dei in hominem hominumque societatem repudiato, consentaneum est nullam esse publice religionem rerumque omnium quae ad religionem referantur, incuria maxima consequetur. Similiter opinione principatus armata, facile ad seditionem turbasque labitur multitudo, frenisque officii et conscientiae sublatis, nihil praeter vim relinquitur; quae tamen vis tanti non est, ut populares cupiditates continere sola possit. Quod satis testatur dimicatio propemodum quotidiana contra *socialistas*, aliosque seditiosorum greges, qui funditus permovere civitates diu moliuntur. — Statuant igitur ac definiant rerum aequi aestimatores, tales doctrinae proficiantne ad veram dignamque homine libertatem, an potius ipsam pervertant totamque corrumpant.

Certe quidem opinionibus iis vel ipsa immanitate sua formidolosis, quas a veritate aperte abhorrere, easdemque malorum maximorum causas esse vidimus, non omnes *Liberalismi* fautores assentiuntur. Quin compulsi veritatis viribus, plures eorum haud verentur fateri, immo etiam ultro affirmant, in vitio esse et plane in licentiam cadere libertatem, si gerere se intemperantius ausit, veritate iustitiaque posthabita: quocirca regendam gubernandamque recta ratione esse, et quod consequens est, iuri naturali sempiternaeque legi divinae subjectam esse oportere. Sed hic consistendum rati, liberum hominem subesse negant debere legibus, quas imponere Deus velit, alia praeter rationem naturalem via.

Id cum dicunt sibi minime cohaerent. Etenim si est, quod ipsi consentiunt nec dissentire potest iure quisquam, si est Dei legislatoris obediendum voluntati, quia totus homo in potestate est Dei et ad Deum tendit, consequitur posse neminem auctoritati eius legiferae fines modumve praescribere, quin hoc ipso faciat contra obedientiam debitam. Immo vero si tantum sibi mens arrogarit humana, ut, quae et quanta sint tum Deo iura, tum sibi officia, velit ipsa decernere, verecun-

diam legum divinarum plus retinebit specie quam re, et arbitrium eius valebit prae auctoritate ac providentia Dei.

Necesse est igitur, vivendi normam constanter religio-
sequē, ut a lege aeterna, ita ab omnibus singulisque petere
legibus, quas infinite sapiens, infinite potens Deus, qua sibi
ratione visum est, tradidit, quasque nosse tuto possumus
perspicuis nec ullo modo addubitandis notis. Eo vel magis
quod istius generis leges, quoniam idem habent, quod lex
aeterna, principium, eundemque auctorem, omnino et cum
ratione concordant et perfectionem adiungunt ad naturale
ius: eademque magisterium Dei ipsius complectuntur, qui
scilicet, nostra ne mens neu voluntas in errorem labatur, nutu
ductuque suo utramque benigne regit. Sit igitur sancte
inviolatēque coniunctum, quod nec diiungi potest nec debet,
omnibusque in rebus, quod ipsa naturalis ratio praecipit,
obnoxie Deo obedienteque serviatur.

Mitiores aliquanto sunt, sed nihilo sibi magis constant,
qui aiunt nutu legum divinarum dirigendam utique vitam ac
mores esse privatorum, non tamen civitatis: in rebus publicis
fas esse a iussis Dei discedere, nec ad ea ullo modo in con-
dendis legibus intueri. Ex quo perniciosum illud gignitur
consecrarium, civitatis Ecclesiaeque rationes dissociari
oportere. — Sed haec quam absurde dicantur, haud diffi-
cilter intelligitur. Cum enim clamet ipsa natura, oportere
civibus in societate suppetere copias opportunitatesque ad
vitam honeste, scilicet secundum Dei leges, degendam, quia
Deus est omnis honestatis iustitiaeque principium, profecto
illud vehementer repugnat, posse iisdem de legibus nihil
curare, vel etiam quidquam infense statuere civitatem. —

Deinde qui populo praesunt, hoc omnino rei publicae
debent, ut non solum commodis et rebus externis, sed
maxime animi bonis, legum sapientiā, consulant. Atqui
ad istorum incrementa bonorum ne cogitari quidem potest
quidquam iis legibus aptius, quae Deum habeant auctorem:
ob eamque rem qui in regendis civitatibus nolunt divinarum
legum haberi rationem, aberrantem faciunt ab instituto suo
et a praescriptione naturae politicam potestatem. Sed quod
magis interest, quodque alias Nosmetipsi nec semel monuimus,
quamvis principatus civilis non eodem, quo sacer, proxime

spectet, nec iisdem eat itineribus, in potestate tamen gerenda obviam esse interdum alteri alter necessario debet. Est enim utriusque in eosdem imperium, nec raro fit, ut iisdem de rebus uterque, etsi non eadem ratione, decernat. Id quotiescumque usuveniat, cum configere absurdum sit, sapientissimaeque voluntati Dei aperte repugnet, quemdam esse modum atque ordinem necesse est, ex quo, causis contentionum certationumque sublati, ratio concors in agendis rebus existat. Et huiusmodi concordiam non inepte similem coniunctioni dixere, quae animum inter et corpus intercedit, idque commodo utriusque partis: quarum distractio nominatim est perniciose corpori, quippe cuius vita extinguit.

Quae quo melius appareant, varia libertatis incrementa, quae nostrae quiescit aetati feruntur, separatim considerari oportet. — Ac primo illud in singulis personis videamus, quod est tantopere virtuti religionis contrarium, scilicet de *libertate*, uti loquuntur, *cultus*. Quae hoc est veluti fundamento constituta, integrum cuique esse, aut quam libuerit, aut omnino nullam profiteri religionem. — Contra vero ex omnibus hominum officiis illud est sine dubitatione maximum ac sanctissimum quo pie religioseque Deum colere homines iubemur. Idque necessario ex eo consequitur quod in Dei potestate perpetuo sumus, Dei numine providentiaque gubernamur, ab eoque profecti, ad eum reverti debemus.

Huc accedit, virtutem veri nominis nullam esse sine religione posse: virtus enim moralis est, cuius officia versantur in iis, quae ducunt ad Deum, quatenus homini est summum atque ultimum bonorum; ideoque religio quae *operatur ea, quae directe et immediate ordinantur in honorem divinum*,² cunctarum princeps est moderatrixque virtutum. Ac si quaeratur, cum plures et inter se dissidentes usurpentur religiones, quam sequi unam ex omnibus necesse sit, eam certe ratio et natura respondent, quam Deus iusserit, quam ipsam facile homines queant notis quibusdam exterioribus agnoscere, quibus eam distinxisse divina providentia voluit, qui in re tanti momenti summae errorem ruinae essent consecuturæ. Quapropter oblata illa, de qua loquimur, libertate, haec homini potestas

² S. Th. II-II, q. LXXXI. a 6.

tribuitur, ut officium sanctissimum impune pervertat vel deserat, ideoque ut aversus ab incommutabili bono sese ad malum convertat, quod, sicut diximus, non libertas sed depravatio libertatis est, et abiecti in peccatum animi servitus.

Eadem libertas si consideretur in civitatibus, hoc sane vult, nihil esse quod ullum Deo cultum civitas adhibeat aut adhiberi publice velit: nullum anteferri alteri, sed aequo iure omnes haberi oportere, nec habita ratione populi, si populus catholicum profiteatur nomen. Quae ut recta essent, verum esse oporteret, civilis hominum communitalis officia adversus Deum aut nulla esse, aut impune solvi posse: quod est utrumque aperte falsum. Etenim dubitari non potest quin sit Dei voluntate inter homines coniuncta societas, sive partes, sive forma eius spectetur quae est auctoritas, sive causa, sive earum, quas homini parit, magnarum utilitalum copia. Deus est, qui hominem ad congregationem genuit atque in coetu sui similium collocavit, ut quod natura eius desideraret, nec ipse assequi solitarius potuisset, in consociatione reperiret. Quamobrem Deum civilis societas, quia societas est, parentem et auctorem suum agnoscat necesse est, atque eius potestatem dominatumque vereatur et colat. Vetat igitur iustitia, vetat ratio atheam esse, vel, quod in atheismum recideret, erga varias, ut loquuntur, religiones pari modo affectam civitatem, eademque singulis iura promiscue largiri.

Cum igitur sit unius religionis necessaria in civitate professio, profiteri eam oportet quae unice vera est, quaeque non difficulter, praesertim in civitatibus catholicis, agnoscitur, cum in ea tamquam insignitae notae veritalis appareant. Itaque hanc, qui rempublicam gerunt, conservent, hanc tueantur, si volunt prudenter, atque utiliter, ut debent, civium communitati consulere. Publica enim potestas propter eorum qui reguntur utilitalem constituta est: et quamquam hoc proxime spectat, deducere cives ad huius, quae in terris degitur, vitae prosperitalem, tamen non minuere, sed augere homini debet facultatem adipiscendi summum illud atque extremum bonorum, in quo felicitas hominum sempiterna consistit: quo perveniri non potest religione neglecta.

Sed haec alias uberius exposuimus: in praesentia id animi.

adverti tantum volumus, istiusmodi libertatem valde obesse verae cum eorum qui regunt, tum qui reguntur, libertati. Prodest autem mirifice religio, quippe quae primum ortum potestatis a Deo ipso repetit, gravissimeque principes iubet, officiorum suorum esse memores, nihil iniuste acerbè imperare, benigne ac fere cum caritate paterna populo praeesse. Eadem potestati legitimae cives vult esse subiectos, ut Dei ministris; eosque cum rectoribus reipublicae non obedientiâ solum, sed verecundiâ et amore coniungit, interdictis sediti-onibus, cunctisque incaeptis quae ordinem tranquillitatemque publicam perturbare queant, quaeque tandem causam afferunt cur maioribus frenis libertas civium constringatur. Praetermittimus quantum religio bonis moribus conducatur, et quantum libertati mores boni. Nam ratio ostendit, et historia confirmat, quo sint melius moratae, eo plus libertate et opibus et imperio valere civitates.

Iam aliquid consideretur de *libertate loquendi*, formisque litterarum quodcumque libeat exprimendi. Huius profecto non modice temperatae sed modum et finem transeuntis libertatis ius esse non posse, vix attinet dicere. Est enim ius facultas moralis, quam, ut diximus saepiusque est dicendum, absurdum est existimare, veritati et mendacio, honestati et turpitudini promiscue et communiter a natura datam. Quae vera, quae honesta sunt, ea libere prudenterque in civitate propagari ius est, ut ad quamplures pertineant; opinionum mendacia, quibus nulla menti capitalior pestis, item vitia quae animum moresque corrumpunt, aequum est auctoritate publica diligenter coerceri, ne serpere ad perniciem reipublicae queant.

Peccata licentis ingenii, quae sane in oppressionem cadunt multitudinis imperitae, rectum est auctoritate legum non minus coerceri, quam illatas per vim imbecillioribus iniurias. Eo magis quod civium pars longe maxima praestigias cavere captionesque dialecticas, praesertim quae blandiantur cupiditatibus, aut non possunt omnino, aut sine summa difficultate non possunt. Permissa cuilibet loquendi scribendique infinita licentia, nihil est sanctum inviolatumque permansurum: ne illis quidem parceretur maximis verissimisque naturae iudiciis, quae habenda sunt velut commune idemque nobilissimum

humani generis patrimonium. Sic sensim obducta tenebris veritate, id quod saepe contingit, facile dominabitur opinionum error perniciosus et multiplex. Qua ex re tantum capiet licentia commodi, quantum detrimenti libertas ac tutior, quo frena licentiae maiora.—At vero de rebus opinabilibus disputationi hominum a Deo permissis, utique quod placeat sentire, quodque sentiat libere eloqui concessum est, non repugnante natura : talis enim libertas nunquam homines ad opprimendam veritatem, saepe ad indagandam ac patefaciendam deducit.

De ea, quam *docendi libertatem* nominant oportet non dissimili ratione iudicare.—Cum dubium esse non possit quin imbuere animos sola veritas debeat, quod in ipsa intelligentium naturarum bonum est et finis et perfectio sita, propterea non debet doctrina nisi vera praecipere, idque tum iis qui nesciant, tum qui sciant, scilicet ut cognitionem veri alteris afferat, in alteris tueatur. Ob eamque causam eorum, qui praecipunt, plane officium est eripere ex animis errorem et ad opinionum fallacias obsepere certis praesidiis viam. Igitur apparet magnopere cum ratione pugnare, ac natam esse pervertendis funditus mentibus illam, de qua institutus est sermo, libertatem, quatenus sibi vult quidlibet pro arbitrato docendi licentiam; quam quidem licentiam civitati dare publica potestas, salvo officio, non potest. Eo vel magis quod magistrorum apud auditores multum valet auctoritas, et verane sint, quae a doctore traduntur, raro admodum diiudicare per se ipse discipulus potest.

Quamobrem hanc quoque libertatem, ut honesta sit, certis finibus circumscriptam teneri necesse est : nimirum ne fieri impune possit, ut ars docendi in instrumentum corruptelae vertatur.—Veri autem, in quo unice versari praecipientium doctrina debet, unum est naturale genus, supernaturale alterum. Ex veritatibus naturalibus, cuiusmodi sunt principia naturae, et ea quae ex illis proxime ratione ducuntur, existit humani generis velut commune patrimonium : in quo, tamquam fundamento firmissimo, cum mores et iustitia et religio atque ipsa coniunctio societatis humanae nitatur, nihil tam impium esset tamque stolidè inhumanum, quam illud violari ac diripi impune sinere.

Nec minore conservandus religione maximus sanctissimusque thesaurusearum rerum, quas Deo auctore cognoscimus. Argumentis multis et illustribus, quod saepe Apologetae consueverunt, praecipua quaedam capita constituuntur, cuiusmodi illa sunt; quaedam esse a Deo divinitus tradita: Vnigenitum Dei Filium carnem factum, ut testimonium perhiberet veritati: perfectam quamdam ab eo conditam societatem, nempe Ecclesiam, cuius ipsemet caput est, et quacum usque ad consummationem saeculi se futurum esse promisit. Huic societati commendatas omnes, quas ille docuisset, veritates voluit hac lege ut eas ipsa custodiret, tueretur, legitima cum auctoritate explicaret: unâque simul iussit, omnes gentes Ecclesiae suae, perinde ac sibimetipsi, dicto audientes esse: qui secus facerent, interitu perditum iri sempiterno. Quare ratione plane constat, optimum homini esse certissimumque magistrum Deum, omnis fontem ac principium veritatis, item Vnigenitum, qui est in sinu Patris, viam, veritatem, vitam, lucem veram, quae illuminat omnem hominem, et ad cuius disciplinam dociles esse omnes homines oportet: *Et erunt omnes docibiles Dei.*¹

Sed in fide atque in institutione morum, divini magisterii Ecclesiam fecit Deus ipse participem, eandemque divino eius beneficio falli nesciam: quare magistra mortalium est maxima ac tutissima, eâque inest non violabile ius ad magisterii libertatem. Revera doctrinis divinitus acceptis se ipsa Ecclesia sustentans, nihil habuit antiquius, quam ut munus sibi demandatum a Deo sancte expleret: eademque circumfusus undique difficultatibus fortior, pro libertate magisterii sui propugnare nullo tempore destitit. Hac via orbis terrarum, miserrima superstitione depulsa, ad christianam sapientiam renovatus est. — Quoniam vero ratio ipsa perspicue docet veritates divinitus traditas et veritates naturales inter se oppositas esse revera non posse, ita ut quodcumque cum illis dissentiat, hoc ipso falsum esse necesse sit, idcirco divinum Ecclesiae magisterium tantum abest ut studia discendi atque incrementa scientiarum intercipiat, aut cultioris humanitatis progressionem ullo modo retardet, ut potius plurimum afferat

¹ Ioan. vi. v. 45.

luminis securamque tutelam. Eademque causa non parum proficit ad ipsam libertatis humanae perfectionem, cum Iesu Christi servatoris sit illa sententia, fieri hominem veritate liberum. *Cognoscetis veritatem, et veritas liberabit vos.*¹

Quare non est caussa, cur germana libertas indignetur, aut veri nominis scientia moleste ferat leges iustas ac debitas quibus hominum doctrinam contineri Ecclesia simul et ratio consentientes postulant. Quin imo Ecclesia, quod re ipsa passim testatum est, hoc agens praecipue et maxime ut fidem christianam tueatur humanarum quoque doctrinarum omne genus fovere et in maius provehere studet. Bona enim per se est et laudabilis atque expetenda elegantia doctrinae: praetereaque omnis eruditio quam sana ratio pepererit, quaeque rerum veritati respondeat, non mediocriter ad ea ipsa illustranda valet, quae Deo auctore credimus. Revera Ecclesiae haec beneficia debentur sane magna, quod praeclare monumenta sapientiae veteris conservavit: quod scientiarum domicilia passim aperuerit, quod ingeniorum cursum semper incitaverit, studiosissime has ipsas artes alendo; quibus maxime urbanitas aetatis nostrae coloratur, — Denique praetereundum non est, immensum patere campum, in quo hominum excurrere industria, seseque exercere ingenia libere queant: res scilicet quae cum doctrina fidei morumque christianorum non habent necessariam cognationem, vel de quibus Ecclesia, nulla adhibita sua auctoritate iudicium eruditorum relinquit integrum ac liberum.

His ex rebus intelligitur, quae et qualis illa sit in hoc genere libertas, quam pari studio volunt et praedicant *liberalismi* sectatores. Ex una parte sibi quidem ac reipublicae licentiam adserunt, tantam, ut cuilibet opinionum perversitati non dubitent editum ianuamque patefacereque: ex altera Ecclesiam plurifariam impediunt, eiusque libertatem in fines quantum possunt maxime angustos compellunt, quamquam ex Ecclesiae doctrina non modo nullum incommodum pertimescendum sit: sed magnae omnino utilitates expectandae.

Illam quoque magnopere praedicatur, quam *conscientiae libertatem* nominant: quae si ita accipiatur, ut suo cuique

¹ Ioan, viii, 32.

arbitratu aequae liceat Deum colere, non colere, argumentis quae supra allata sunt, satis convincitur. — Sed potest etiam in hanc sententiam accipi ut homini ex conscientia officii, Dei voluntatem sequi et iussa facere, nulla re impediante, in civitate liceat. Haec quidem vera, haec digna filiis Dei libertas, quae humanae dignitatem personae honestissime tuetur, est omni vi iniuriaque major eademque Ecclesiae semper optata ac praecipue cara. Huius generis libertatem sibi constanter vindicavere Apostoli, sanxere scriptis Apologetae, Martyres ingenti numero sanguine suo consecraverunt. Et merito quidem: propterea quod maximam iustissimamque Dei in homines potestatem, vicissimque hominum adversus Deum princeps maximumque officium, libertas haec christiana testatur. Nihil habet ipsa cum animo seditioso nec obediens commune: neque ullo pacto putanda est, velle ab obsequio publicae potestatis desciscere, propterea quod imperare atque imperata exigere, eatenus potestati humanae ius est, quatenus cum potestate Dei nihil dissentiat, constitutoque divinitus modo se contineat. At vero cum quidquam praecipitur quod cum divina voluntate aperte discrepet, tum longe ab illo modo disceditur, simulque cum auctoritate divina configitur: ergo rectum est non parere.

Contra *Liberalismi* fautores, qui herilem atque infinite potentem faciunt principatum, vitamque nullo ad Deum respectu degendam praedicant, hanc de qua loquimur coniunctam cum honestate religioneque libertatem minime agnoscunt: cuius conservandae causa si quid fiat, iniuria et contra rem publicam factum criminantur. Quod si vere dicerent, nullus esset tam immanis dominatus, cui subesse et quem ferre non oporteret.

Vehementer quidem vellet Ecclesia, in omnes reipublicae ordines haec, quae summatim attigimus, christiana documenta re usuque penetrarent. In iis enim summa efficacia inest ad sananda horum temporum mala, non sane pauca nec levia, eaque magnam partem iis ipsis nata libertatibus, quae tanta praedicatione efferuntur, et in quibus salutis gloriaeque inclusa semina videbantur. Spem fefellit exitus. Pro iucundis et salubribus, acerbis et inquinatis provenire fructus. Si remedium quaeritur, sanarum doctrinarum revocatione quaeratur,

a quibus solis conservatio ordinis, adeoque verae tutela libertatis fidenter expectari potest.

Nihilominus materno iudicio Ecclesia aestimat grave pondus infirmitatis humanae: et qualis hic sit, quo nostra vehitur aetas, animorum rerumque cursus, non ignorat. His de causis, nihil quidem impertiens iuris nisi iis quae vera quaeque honesta sint, non recusat quominus quidpiam a veritate iustitiaeque alienum ferat tamen publica potestas, scilicet maius aliquod vel vitandi causa malum, vel adipiscendi aut conservandi bonum. Ipse providentissimus Deus cum infinitae sit bonitatis, idemque omnia possit, sinit tamen esse in mundo mala, partim ne ampliora impediuntur bona, partim ne maiora mala consequantur. In regendis civitatibus rectorem mundi par est imitari: quin etiam cum singula mala prohibere auctoritas hominum non possit, debet *multa concedere atque impunita relinquere, quae per divinam tamen providentiam vindicantur, et recte.*¹ Veruntamen in eiusmodi rerum adiunctis, si communis boni causam et hac tantum causam, potest vel etiam debet lex hominum ferre toleranter malum tamen nec potest nec debet id probare aut velle per se: quia malum per se cum sit boni privatio, repugnat bono communi, quod legislator, quoad optime potest, velle ac tueri debet. Et hac quoque in re ad imitandum sibi lex humana proponat Deum necesse est, qui in eo quod mala esse in mundo sinit, *neque vult mala fieri, neque vult mala non fieri, sed vult permittere mala fieri, et hoc est bonum.*² Quae doctoris Angelici sententia brevissime totam continet de malorum tolerantia doctrinam.

Sed confitendum est, si vere iudicari velit, quanto plus in civitate mali tolerari pernecesse est, tanto magis distare id genus civitatis ab optimo: itemque tolerantiam rerum malorum, cum pertineat ad politicae praecepta prudentiae, omnino circumscribi iis finibus oportere, quos causa, idest salus publica, postulat. Quare si salutis publicae detrimentum afferat et mala civitati maiora pariat, consequens est eam adhiberi non licere, quia in his rerum adiunctis abest ratio boni. Si vero ob singularia reipublicae tempora usuveniat, ut modernis qui-

¹ S. August. *de lib arb*, lib. i. cap. 6, num. 14.

² S. Th. p. I qu. XIX a q. ad. 2.

busdam libertatibus Ecclesia acquiescat, non quod ipsas per se malit, sed quia permissas esse iudicat expedire, versis in meliora temporibus, adhibitura sane esset libertatem suam, et suadendo, hortando, obsecrando studeret, uti debet, munus efficere sibi assignatum a Deo, videlicet sempiternae hominum saluti consulere. Illud tamen perpetuo verum est, istam omnium et ad omnia libertatem non esse, quemadmodum pluries diximus, expetendam per se, quia falsum eodem iure esse ac verum, rationi repugnat.

Et quod ad *tolerantiam* pertinet, mirum quantum ab aequitate prudentiaque Ecclesiae distant, qui *Liberalismum* profitentur. Etenim permittenda civibus omnium earum rerum, quas diximus, infinita licentiâ, omnino modum transiliunt, atque illuc evadunt, ut nihilo plus honestati veritati tribuere, quam falsitati ac turpitudini videantur. Ecclesiam vero, columnam et firmamentum veritatis, eandemque incorruptam morum magistram, quia tam dissolutum flagitiosumque *tolerantiae* genus constanter, ut debet, repudiat, idemque adhiberi fas esse negat, criminantur esse a patientia et lenitate alienam; quod cum faciunt, minime sentiunt, se quidem, quod laudis est, in vitio ponere. Sed in tanta ostentatione *tolerantiae*, re persaepe contingit, ut restricti ac tenaces in rem catholicam sint: et qui vulgo libertatem effuse largiuntur, iidem liberam sinere Ecclesiam passim recusant.

Et ut omnis oratio una cum consecrariis suis capitulatim breviterque, perspicuitatis gratiâ, colligatur, summa est, necessitate fieri, ut totus homo in verissima perpetuaque potestate Dei sit: proinde libertatem hominis, nisi obnoxiam Deo eiusque voluntati subiectam, intelligi minime posse. Quem quidem in Deo principatum aut esse negare, aut ferre nolle, non liberi hominis est, sed abutentis ad perduellionem libertate: proprieque ex animi tali affectione conflatur et efficitur *Liberalismi* capitale vitium. Cuius tamen distinguitur forma multiplex: potest enim voluntas non uno modo, neque uno gradu ex obtemperacione discedere, quae vel Deo, vel iis, qui potestatem divinam participant, debetur.

Profecto imperium summi Dei funditus recusare atque

omnem obedientiam prorsus exuere in publicis, vel etiam in privatis domesticisque rebus, sicut maxima libertatis perversitas, ita pessimum *Liberalismi* est genus : omninoque de hoc intelligi debent quae hactenus contra diximus.

Proxima est eorum disciplina, qui utique consentiunt, subesse mundi opifici ac principi Deo oportere, quippe cuius ex numine tota est apta natura : sed iidem leges fidei et morum, quas natura non capiat, ipsa Dei auctoritate traditas, audacter repudiant, vel saltem nihil esse aiunt, cur earum habeatur, praesertim publice in civitate, ratio. Qui pariter quanto in errore versentur, et quam sibimetipsis, parum cohaereant, supra vidimus. Et ab hac doctrina, tamquam a capite principioque suo, illa manat perniciosa sententia de rationibus Ecclesiae a republica disparandis : cum contra liqueat, geminas potestates, in munere dissimili et gradu dispari, oportere tamen esse inter se actionum concordia et mutatione officiorum consentientes.

Huic tamquam generi subiecta est opinio duplex. — Plures enim rempublicam volunt ab Ecclesia seiunctam et penitus et totam, ita ut in omni iure societatis humanae, in institutis, moribus, legibus reipublicae muneribus, institutione iuventutis, non magis ad Ecclesiam respiciendum censeant, quam si esset omnino nulla : permissa ad summum singulis civibus facultate, ut privatim, si libeat, dent religioni operam. Contra quos plane vis argumentorum omnium valet, quibus ipsam de distrahendis Ecclesiae reiue civilis rationibus sententiam convincimus : hoc praeterea adiuncto, quod est perabsurdum, ut Ecclesiam civis vereatur, civitas contemnat.

Alii quominus Ecclesia sit, non repugnant, neque enim possent : ei tamen naturam iuraque propria societatis perfectae eripiunt, nec eius esse, contendunt, facere leges, iudicare, ulcisci, sed cohortari dumtaxat suadere, regere sua sponte et voluntate subiectos. Itaque divinae huiusce societatis naturam opinione adulterant, auctoritatem, magisterium, omnem eius efficientiam extenuant et coangustant, vim simul potestatemque civilis principatus usque eo exaggerantes, ut sicut unam quamvis e consociationibus civium voluntariis, ita Ecclesiam Dei sub imperium ditionemque reipublicae subiungant. — Ad hos plane refellendos argumenta valent Apologetis usitata nec praetermissa Nobis nominatim in

Epistola encyclica *Immortale Dei*, ex quibus efficitur, divinitus esse constitutum, ut omnia in Ecclesia insint, quae ad naturam ac iura pertineant legitimae, summae, et omnibus partibus perfectae societatis.

Multi denique rei sacrae a re civili distractionem non probant; sed tamen faciendum censent, ut Ecclesia obsequatur tempori, et flectat se atque accomodet ad ea, quae in administrandis imperiis hodierna prudentia desiderat. Quorum est honesta sententia, si de quadam intelligatur aequa ratione, quae consistere cum veritate iustitiaque possit: nimirum ut, explorata spe magni alicuius boni, indulgentem Ecclesia sese impertiat, idque temporibus largiatur, quod salva officii sanctitate potest. — Verum secus est de rebus ac doctrinis, quas demutatio morum ac fallax iudicium contra fas invexerint. Nullum tempus vacare religione, veritate, iustitia potest: quas res maximas et sanctissimas cum Deus in tutela Ecclesiae esse iusserit, nihil est tam alienum quam velle, ut ipsa quod vel falsum est vel iniustum dissimulanter ferat, aut in iis quae sunt religioni noxia conniveat.

Itaque ex dictis consequitur, nequaquam licere petere, defendere, largiri, cogitandi, scribendi, docendi, itemque promiscuam religionum libertatem, veluti iura totidem, quae homini natura dederit. Nam si vere natura dedisset, imperium Dei detractari ius esset, nec ulla temperari lege libertas humana posset—Similiter consequitur, ista genera libertatis posse quidem, si iustae causae sint, tolerari, definita tamen moderatione, ne in libidinem atque insolentiam degenerent—Ubi vero harum libertatum viget consuetudo, eas ad facultatem recte faciendi cives transferant, quodque sentit de illis Ecclesiae, idem ipse sentiant. Omnis enim libertas legitima putanda, quatenus rerum honestarum maiorem facultatem afferat, praeterea nunquam.

Ubi dominatus premat aut impendeat eiusmodi, qui oppressam iniusta vi teneat civitatem, vel carere Ecclesiam cogat libertate debita, fas est aliam quaerere temperationem reipublicae, in qua agere cum libertate concessum sit: tunc enim non illa expetitur immodica et vitiosa libertas, sed sublevatio aliqua, salutis omnium causâ, quaeritur, et hoc unice agitur ut, ubi rerum malarum licentia tribuitur, ibi potestas honeste faciendi ne impediatur.

Atque etiam malle reipublicae statum populari temperatum genere, non est per se contra officium, salva tamen doctrina catholica de ortu atque administratione publicae potestatis. Ex variis reipublicae generibus, modo sint ad consulendum utilitati civium per se idonea, nullam quidem Ecclesia respuit; singula tamen vult, quoad plane idem natura iubet, sine iniuria cuiusquam, maximeque integris Ecclesia iuribus, esse constituta.

Ad res publicas gerendas accedere, nisi alicubi ob singularem rerum temporumque conditionem aliter caveatur, honestum est: immo vero probat Ecclesia, singulos operam suam in communem affere fructum, et quantum quisque industriâ potest, tueri, conservare, augere rempublicam.

Neque illud Ecclesia damnat, velle gentem suam nemini servire nec externo, nec domino, si modo fieri, incolumi iustitia, queat. Denique nec eos reprehendit qui efficere volunt, ut civitates suis legibus vivant, civesque quam maxima augendorum commodorum facultate donentur. Civicarum sine intemperantia libertatum semper esse Ecclesia fautrix fidelissima consuevit: quod testantur potissimum civitates italicæ scilicet prosperitatem, opes, gloriam nominis municipali iure adeptæ, quo tempore salutaris Ecclesiæ virtus in omnes reipublicæ partes, nemine repugnante, pervaserat.

Haec quidem, venerabiles, Fratres, quæ fide simul et ratione duce, pro officio Nostro apostolico tradidimus, fructuosa plurimis futura, vobis maxime Nobiscum adnitentibus, confidimus—Nos quidem in humilitate cordis Nostri supplices ad Deum oculos tollimus, vehementerque petimus, ut sapientiæ consiliique sui lumen largiri hominibus benigne velit, scilicet ut his aucti virtutibus possint in rebus tanti momenti vera cernere, et quod consequens est, convenienter veritati, privatim, publice, omnibus temporibus immotaque constantiâ vivere.—Horum caelestium munerum auspicem et Nostræ benevolentiae testem vobis, venerabiles. Fratres, et Clero populoque, cui singuli praeestis, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xx. Iunii An. MDCCCLXXXVIII. Pontificatus Nostri Vndecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH BISHOPS ON THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

The following statement on the present position of the Irish Land Question was drawn up and unanimously adopted at the recent General Meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held in the College of Maynooth, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 27th and 28th June:—

“Having become aware from the recent comments of many of the leading organs of public opinion throughout Europe, that a widespread misconception still prevails as to the existing state of the land laws in Ireland, we deem it our duty to make the following statement on the subject.

“We do not aim at enumerating all the grievances of which the agricultural tenants of Ireland may justly complain. We fully recognise the impossibility of dealing with many of them in the present session of Parliament. But in our opinion there are certain most pressing grievances, which in the interests of public order as well as of justice, imperatively call for immediate legal redress.

“I. The fundamental demand of the agricultural tenants of Ireland, in the matter of rent, is, as it has always in substance been, for the establishment of an impartial public tribunal to adjudicate between landlord and tenant. The tenants do not claim that the amount of rent to be paid should be fixed by themselves. What they object to is that it should be determined by the arbitrary will of a landlord.

“II. It is unnecessary here to enumerate the special circumstances of the Irish land system which put the justice of the tenants' claim in this matter beyond question. The principle that Irish agricultural tenants should be protected by law against the imposition of exorbitant rents, and against eviction in consequence of the non-payment of such rents, has long since been recognised by Parliament. It is the fundamental principle of the Land Act of 1881, and of several subsequent statutes.

“III. The present claim of the tenants, then, is for the full and effective application of this principle. Even as regards those classes of agricultural tenants on whom the right of having their rents fixed by a public tribunal has been con-

ferred by Acts of Parliament, obstacles have been allowed by the legislature to remain, which in very many cases practically render those Acts inoperative.

“IV. By far the most serious of these obstacles is that which has arisen from the accumulation of the arrears of exorbitant rents. In the present state of the law, tenants weighed down by this burden—and such tenants are to be numbered by the thousand throughout the country—are hopelessly excluded from the possibility of obtaining effective redress through the Courts. The heavy indebtedness of such tenants puts it in the power of a harsh landlord to use the threat of eviction as a means of keeping back the tenant from making any application to the Court; and even in cases where the intervention of the Court is obtained, the Court, owing to its inability to lessen the debt of the arrears, is powerless to ward off from the tenant the danger of eviction. It has, indeed, jurisdiction to reduce his exorbitant rent. But it has no power to lessen in any way the heavy indebtedness which has come upon him from his inability to pay that exorbitant rent in the past. So long as this indebtedness remains he is at the mercy of the landlord.

“V. Again: there are thousands of tenants throughout the country who have been ousted from the right of having recourse to the Courts, by the service of eviction notices which have in fact altogether deprived them of their legal status as tenants.

“VI. It cannot be alleged in excuse for the continued failure to afford legal protection to the tenants in the cases we have mentioned, and in others unnecessary to enumerate here, that any serious difficulty exists in providing an adequate remedy.

“As regards the question of arrears, for instance, it is a fact of public notoriety that at the present moment there is in operation in Scotland an Act of Parliament specially devised to afford protection in this very matter to Scotch tenants.

“The actual working of the Scotch Act, to which we refer, is sufficiently disclosed by the fact stated in an Official Report recently published by the Commission by which that Act is administered. The reduction judicially granted by the Commission amount to over 30 per cent. on the rents

and to no less than 61 per cent. on the arrears, in the cases decided by them.

"A Bill for the extension of this law to Ireland has been rejected by Parliament during the present session. We are utterly unable to comprehend on what principle a difference of treatment so notably to the disadvantage of Irish tenants can be justified.

"VII. We deem it our duty to add that unless Parliament at once apply some really effective measure for the protection of Irish tenants from oppressive exactions and from arbitrary eviction, consequences the most disastrous no less to public order than to the safety of the people will almost inevitably ensue."

- ✠ MICHAEL, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland.
- ✠ WILLIAM, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland
- ✠ THOMAS WILLIAM, Archbishop of Cashel.
- ✠ JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam.
- ✠ FRANCIS, Bishop of Derry.
- ✠ JOHN PIUS, Bishop of Dromore.
- ✠ LAURENCE, Bishop of Elphin.
- ✠ MICHAEL, Bishop of Killaloe.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Meath.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Clogher.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Cloyne.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.
- ✠ FRANCIS, Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh.
- ✠ WILLIAM, Bishop of Ross.
- ✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Clonfert.
- ✠ HUGH, Bishop of Killala.
- ✠ BARTHOLOMEW, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise.
- ✠ ANDREW, Bishop of Kerry.
- ✠ THOMAS ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Cork.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Ferns.
- ✠ ABRAHAM, Bishop of Ossory.
- ✠ PIERCE, Bishop of Waterford.
- ✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Down and Connor.
- ✠ EDWARD THOMAS, Bishop of Limerick.
- ✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Raphoe.
- ✠ EDWARD, Bishop of Kilmore.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Achonry.
- ✠ JAMES, Coadjutor Bishop of Killaloe.
- ✠ JOHN, Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert.
- ✠ THOMAS, Coadjutor Bishop of Dromore.
- ✠ NICHOLAS, Bishop of Canaan.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

AUGUST, 1888.

THE BREHON LAWS.—I.

ON the 11th of November, 1852, a Royal Commission was issued to eleven distinguished jurists, noblemen, and Celtic scholars authorizing them "to direct, superintend, and carry into effect the transcription and translation of the Ancient Laws of Ireland, and the preparation of the same for publication;" and the Commissioners were further authorized "to collect such documents and writings containing the said Ancient Laws as they should deem it necessary to transcribe and translate, and from time to time to employ fit and proper persons to transcribe and translate the same."

This Commission was the result of a proposal submitted to the Irish Government in the spring of the same year by two eminent Irish scholars, who were leading members of the Commission, the late lamented Dr. Todd and Dr. Graves, then a Fellow of Trinity College, and at present Protestant Bishop of Limerick, the oldest and now the only surviving member of the original Commission.

The manuscripts of the Brehon Laws were preserved chiefly in Trinity College, the Royal Irish Academy, and the Bodleian Library at Oxford; and first of all it was necessary to transcribe and collate the manuscripts in these libraries for the purpose of translation and publication. This task was entrusted by the Commission to the most capable hands in Ireland—John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry. For many years these two most distinguished Irish scribes and scholars were employed in the difficult work of making transcripts for

publication, and the work accomplished by both was nearly equal. O'Donovan transcribed 2,491 pages, and O'Curry 2,906. The work of translation was a still more difficult task even for these accomplished scholars. The archaic text of these legal manuscripts was quite unlike anything to which Celtic students had been accustomed, so that the first translation was necessarily of a tentative character. It is most fortunate, however, that before their death these great scholars executed a "preliminary translation" of almost all the text which they had transcribed. Unhappily they did not survive to complete and revise their translations, so that here and there lacunae exist in the work of translation as it left their hands. Some idea, however, of the magnitude of their labour may be obtained from the fact that O'Donovan has left twelve and O'Curry thirteen volumes of the translation in manuscript. The work of translating these volumes was begun in 1853, and "continued regularly daily from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. at a scale of remuneration quite inadequate for the work, which no other living scholars had qualified themselves to execute." O'Donovan died in December, 1861, and O'Curry followed him to the tomb seven months later on the 30th of July, 1862, leaving thus unfinished the most difficult if not the greatest work of their lives, for which these our latest Ollaves were so poorly remunerated.

Shortly before the death of O'Donovan Dr. Neilson Hancock, ex-Professor of Jurisprudence in the Queen's College, Belfast, was associated with him in the task of preparing the work for publication. The Rev. Thaddeus O'Mahony, afterwards Professor of Irish in Trinity College, Dublin, took the place of O'Donovan and O'Curry, and it was under the joint editorship of Hancock and O'Mahony that the first volume of the *Senchus Mor* was published in 1865. A second volume of the *Senchus Mor* by the same editors was published in 1869. The illness of Dr. Hancock unfitting him for further work, the Commissioners appointed Dr. Richey, Professor of Feudal and English Law in Trinity College, to aid Professor O'Mahony in editing the third and largest volume, known as the *Book of Aicill*, which appeared in 1873. In 1879 Dr. Richey brought out a fourth volume containing several

of the smaller Brehon Law Tracts, of which the most important was the *Crith Gabhlach*, which regulates the social ranks and organization of the Irish tribes. In editing the Irish text of this volume Dr. Richey was aided at first by Professor O'Mahony, and afterwards by the distinguished scholar, Mr. W. M. Hennessy. Just as the final sheets of the fourth volume issued from the press Dr. Richey's death stopped all further progress in the work for some years. The original members of the Commission, with the sole exception of the Right Rev. Dr. Graves, had also died out, when in 1887 the Government resolved to reconstitute the Commission for the completion of the work. A fifth volume of Law Tracts, and a sixth volume containing a complete glossorial index of the entire work still remain to be published. This task has been entrusted by the Commissioners to Dr. Atkinson, Professor of Sanscrit and Celtic Lecturer in the Dublin University, who hopes that he will be able in the course of three years more to bring out these two remaining volumes. More than £10,000 has already been granted at various times for the transcription, translation, and publication of the four volumes that have already issued from the press.

We now propose to give a brief account of the origin and subject-matter of these ancient legal institutes known as the Brehon Laws.

I.

ORIGIN OF THE BREHON LAWS.

During the pre-Christian period in Ireland the customary laws by which the Celtic tribes were governed were formulated in brief sententious rhymes, which were transmitted at first orally, and afterwards, it seems, in writing by each generation of Poets to their successors. Up to the first century of the Christian era the Poets had thus not only the custody of the Laws, but also the exclusive right of expounding them and of pronouncing judgments. Even when the king undertook to adjudicate, the File, or Poet, was his official assessor, and he was guided by his advice in administering justice. The Poets were exceedingly jealous of this

great privilege, and lest outsiders might acquire a knowledge of law they preserved the archaic legal formulæ with the greatest secrecy and tenacity. So that at the time of the birth of Christ the language of the lawyers was quite unintelligible even to the chiefs and princes of the kingdom.

This was very strikingly shown in the reign of Conor Mac Nessa, King of Ulster about that period, on the occasion of a legal discussion between two rival Poet-Judges, which took place in the presence of the king and his nobles. The rival claimants for the gown of the Poet-Judge were so learned and obscure in the language which they used that neither the king himself nor any of his courtiers could understand the strange and mystic language in which they conducted the discussion. Thereupon the men of Erin resolved to put an end to this system of esoteric learning, and so it was ordained by the king and his nobles that thenceforward the office of judge should not be confined to the Poets alone, but should be open to all who duly qualified themselves by acquiring the learning requisite for the office of Brehon or Judge of Erin.

It was after this time, when the office was thrown open to all men of learning and talent who could prove themselves qualified to discharge its duties, that some of those ancient judges flourished whose names and decisions are quoted with the greatest reverence in the *Senchus Mor*. "It was Sen, son of Aighe, who passed the first judgment respecting Distress at a territorial meeting held by the three noble tribes who divided this island."¹ The gloss on this text further adds that Sen was of the men of Connaught, and that this meeting of the men of Erin was held at Uisneach in Westmeath. Another equally distinguished judge was Sencha, son of Ailell, on whose face three permanent blotches appeared whenever he pronounced a false judgment. "Connla Cainbrethach (of the Fair Judgments) was the chief doctor of Connaught; he excelled the men of Erin in wisdom, for he was filled with the grace of the Holy Ghost."² He it was who said that "it was God

¹ Introduction to the *Senchus Mor*.

² *Ibid*.

and not the Druids who made the heavens and the earth, the sun, and the moon and the sea." Morann, a great judge of the first century of the Christian era, wore a chain around his neck, and if ever he pronounced a false judgment the chain tightened around his neck, but again expanded when he came to speak what was just and true. It were well, perhaps, if Morann's chain were still to be had for some of those who sit in the judgment seat. These and other great judges of the same period were, it seems, historical characters whose wisdom and learning appeared to their successors of a later age to have been in some way divinely infused or inspired. It was a tradition amongst them that the first Poet-Judge in Erin was Amergin, one of the Milesian brothers, a distinguished poet, who it seems, adjudicated in poetic form on one occasion between his two brothers, so that posterity came to recognise him as the great founder of the order of Rhyming Brehons.

It was, however, in the third century of the Christian era, during the reign of Cormac Mac Art, that the Brehon Code seems to have been first digested and reduced to writing. Cormac, son of Art and grandson of Conn the Hundred Fighter, reigned from A.D. 227 to 267,¹ and was perhaps the greatest and most celebrated of the old Milesian kings. During his long reign of forty years the arts of war and peace flourished greatly throughout all the kingdom. He was the first king who established a standing army for the protection of his kingdom—they were the celebrated Feini, whose exploits under their great leader Finn, the son of Cumhal, are so celebrated in the romantic stories of Ireland. By their aid he curbed the power of the provincial kings during his reign, although after his death the dissensions amongst the Fenians themselves led to the bloody fight of Gavra, and greatly weakened the military strength of the kingdom. It was Cormac, too, who first introduced water mills for grinding corn into Ireland. He built the great Rath of Tara which still bears his name, and also the Great Hall of Banquets called the *Teach Midhchuarta* in

¹ Four Masters.

which the National Triennial Assembly was celebrated by him with great splendour and magnificence. The site of that splendid hall can still be traced on the Hill of Tara, and actual measurements made on the spot by Dr. Petrie prove beyond doubt the accuracy of the statements made regarding all its arrangements in an ancient Irish Poem copied into the *Book of Leinster*—a work written so far back as the twelfth century. Many writers attribute the founding of the Feis of Tara to the pre-historic times of Ollamh Fodhla; but if the Feis of Tara dates back so far, it seems to have fallen into disuse, and to have been re-established by Cormac with more than its ancient splendour.

This National Assembly of the men of Erin met every three years for a week at November Day for the three-fold purpose of enacting laws, of verifying the chronicles of Erin, and of causing them to be transcribed, when thus verified, into the Saltair of Tara, which was the official record, now unfortunately lost, of the entire kingdom, and was always kept in the custody of the High King at Tara. Cormac was himself a great jurist and scholar, and the authorship of the greater part of the *Book of Aicill* contained amongst the Brehon Laws is in that work itself attributed to the pen of Cormac, who wrote it after he had retired from the affairs of state to enjoy quiet in his old age. We may fairly assume, then, that the Pagan Code of the ancient Laws of Ireland was reduced to written form in the reign of Cormac Mac Art and from his time remained almost unchanged until the conversion of the kingdom by St. Patrick. It was then that the ancient Tracts now published by the Brehon Law Commission were subjected to a new revision and again formally sanctioned as the great code of the Irish nation. How it was brought about, we are told in the ancient Introduction prefixed to the *Senchus Mor* itself, and it is a most interesting and undoubtedly authentic narrative.

This *Senchus Mor* is the principal of all the Brehon Law treatises, and according to the old Celtic custom the place and time of its composition are first of all stated. The place of the *Senchus* was Tara “in the Summer and Autumn on account of its cleanness and pleasantness during these

seasons." But during the Winter and Spring the Revisers adjourned these sessions to "Rath-guthaird, where the stone of Patrick is at this day in Glenn-na-mbodhur near Nith-nemonnach on account of the nearness of its firewood and its water and on account of its warmth in the Winter's cold." These indications point to one of the large Rathls on the banks of the river Nith quite close to the village of Nobber in Meath, where "Patrick's stone" is still pointed out, and marked on the Ordnance Map. It was to the north of Tara, close to wood and water, and well sheltered from the bleak wintry winds to which Tara was so much exposed from its elevated situation.

The time of composition was "the reign of Laeghaire, the son of Niall, King of Erin, and Theodosius was monarch of the world at the time." The exact date of the composition of the *Senchus Mor* is not fixed in the Introduction to that venerable record, but the Four Masters fix the period:—"The age of Christ 438. The tenth year of Laeghaire, the *Seanchus* and the *Feinechus* were purified and written." So also the *Chronicon Scotorum* tells us that, "in 438 the *Senchus Mor* was written"—the year in which Auxilius Secundinus and Esserninus were sent to aid Patrick in preaching to the Irish. The work, however, really occupied three years, from 438 to 441.

The Introduction then tells us the cause why the *Senchus* was written, and the persons who were engaged in its composition. The cause was to bring the Laws of Erin and the Gospel preached by Patrick into harmony; for it was found that, as in the case of murder, so in many other laws also, the Brehon code was not in accordance with the Gospel preached by Patrick, and hence Laeghaire said: "It is necessary for you, O men of Erin, that every other law should be settled and arranged by us as well as this." "It is better to do so," said Patrick; and then was appointed by King Laeghaire the first Brehon Law Commission, consisting of nine persons, to whom was entrusted by the men of Erin the task of revising and purifying all the laws of the kingdom. The Commission consisted of Patrick, and Benen, and Cairnech, three bishops; Laeghaire, and Corc, and Daire,

three kings; Rossa, and Dubhtach, and Fergus, three poet judges.

Benen was, it appears, secretary to the Commission. He was a favourite disciple of Patrick, a skilful scribe, and a sweet singer, and afterwards became assistant bishop to Patrick, in the See of Armagh. Cairnech was the patron saint of Tuilen, now Dulane in Meath, and is said to have been a native of Cornwall. He died about the year 470.

Laeghaire was, of course, the High King of Tara; Core was King of Munster; and Daire was the King of Ulster of that name, who gave the site of Armagh to Patrick for his Cathedral Church.

Of the poets, Dubhthach was the celebrated Dubhthach Mac ua Lugair, who rose up to do honour to St. Patrick at Tara on the occasion of his first visit to King Laeghaire's court, and he afterwards became one of his earliest and most influential converts. Rossa Mac Trichem was also a poet, but his speciality was that, like Dubhthach, he was an Ollave or doctor of the Berla Feini, which was the ancient technical dialect of the lawyers. Fergus is simply described as a "poet," one of the bardic order, which was too numerous and too influential not to be represented on this Commission.

When the Commission was thus duly constituted, Dubhthach, the royal chronicler and poet of Tara, was ordered by the king to exhibit "the judgments, and all the poetry of Erin, and every law which prevailed amongst the men of Erin through the law of nature and the law of the seers, and in the judgments of the island of Erin, and in the poets." This was the ancient code existing in its rudimentary form from time immemorial, afterwards perfected and arranged by the poets and the judges, and sanctioned at various times in the great national council of Tara. Then Dubhthach, in obedience to the king's command, exhibited to Patrick and to his associates "all the judgments of true nature, which the Holy Ghost had spoken through the mouths of the Brehons and the just poets of the men of Erin, from the first occupation of the island

down to the preaching of the faith."¹ Whatever clashed with the truths of the Gospel was rejected or purified, to bring it into harmony with the Christian law; but "what did not clash with the word of God in the written Law and in the New Testament and with the consciences of the believers was confirmed in the Brehon laws by Patrick and by the ecclesiastics and by the chieftains of Erin." Hence the new code was called the *Cain Patraic* or Patrick's Law, and "was written in a book which is the *Senchus Mor*, and no human Brehon of the Gaedhil is able to abrogate anything that is in the *Senchus Mor*."

Such was the origin of this famous Law Tract, as set forth in the preface to the work itself, and corroborated by the text of the volume. This preface or introduction is not, indeed, so old as the text, but even in its present form it bears intrinsic evidence that it was written more than one thousand years ago. It is true that various objections have been raised to this account of the recension and codification of our ancient laws as set forth in the introduction to the *Senchus*. These difficulties, however, are mostly chronological, and are found to disappear on close examination.

It has been urged, for instance, that St. Benignus could not have been old enough to act on this Commission in A.D. 438, seeing that he was merely a boy when baptized by St. Patrick in A.D. 432. The answer is simple. In 438 he would have been at least a youth of twenty-one, and as we know from other sources that he was an accomplished scholar and the favourite disciple of St. Patrick, he is just the person whom the saint would naturally select to act as secretary to the Commission, and in this way he would very naturally be set down as one of its members.

Then, again, it is said that King Corc could not have been then alive, since we read that his grandson Aenghus Mac Nadfreach was baptized by St. Patrick when the latter visited Munster. But as Aenghus was quite a youth when baptized by St. Patrick, about A.D. 445, and only came to the throne in A.D. 453 according to Keating, there is nothing

¹ The oracles of natural justice are justly attributed to the Holy Ghost, who is Author of natural as well as supernatural law.

to prevent his grandfather being alive and King of Munster from 438 to 441.

Another alleged anachronism has arisen from confounding St. Cairnech of Dulane, who flourished in the fifth century, and was a contemporary of St. Patrick, with St. Cairnech of Druim Lighean,¹ who died about the year 530. There is no reason, therefore, for not accepting the deliberate opinion of our two greatest Celtic scholars, O'Donovan and O'Curry, who most carefully examined this question, that these objections against the alleged origin of the *Senchus* are not well founded, and that "there is no reason to doubt the statement that the nine authors of the *Senchus Mor* were contemporaries and were all alive at the time when the work is said to have been composed." Neither, we may add, is there any solid reason to doubt the fact of their joint authorship of this great compilation in the sense already explained, so that in the *Senchus* we have a most venerable and most authentic memorial of the laws and institutes of ancient Ireland dating in its substance from pre-Christian times, and merely digested and purified by the historic Commission presided over by our national apostle.

In another paper we hope to give some account of the subject matter of this famous volume.

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Brehon Law Commissioner.

ST. THOMAS AS A MUSICIAN.

TO many it would seem absurd that the philosophy of this the last quarter of the nineteenth century, should be dictated to by the teachings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Men like Tyndall, Huxley, Spencer, and other philosophers, regard as *puerile* the scientific knowledge of the Schoolmen; and, as a "set off," we are informed that the soul is merely "a poetic rendering of a phenomenon which refuses the yoke of ordinary mechanical laws." However, it is the

¹ Now Drumleene on the western bank of Lough Foyle near Lifford.

glory of the present Pontificate to place the greatest of all Scholastics as the guide of our schools.

Some modern critics have sneered at this "old stage-coach business," whilst the acquaintance with St. Thomas on the part of Archdeacon Farrar, and the critic of the *Times*, resolves itself respectively into the former supposing our *Angelicus* to have been a Franciscan (?), whilst the latter gentleman regards him as a "Nominalist (?)" who assailed a Realism infinitely less real than his own Nominalism."

This is not an essay on "the substantial unity of human nature," or on "the analogy of nature and grace," nor at all on the merits of St. Thomas as a Philosopher, but simply viewing him as a Musician. The Angel of the Schools has been treated as a Theologian, Philosopher, Geologist, Psychologist, and even as a Poet, but few have been ever led to think of him as a master of the *ars divina*. Not only that, but some modern writers have maintained that Philosophy and Music do not co-exist in one individual, and have instanced St. Thomas as an example. That such a statement may be termed "pure, unadulterated nonsense," I need only quote Solomon (the composer of 1,005 songs), Pythagoras (inventor of the monochord, and of the tetrachordal octave), Plato (inventor of a musical clock), Aristotle, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, St. Ephrem, (composer of the earliest Christmas carols), St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Basil, St. Athanasius, St. Augustin, St. Bede, Alcuin, Rabanus Maur, Laufranc, St. Anselm, Abelard (an excellent instrumentalist and composer),¹ St. Bernard (composer of *Jesu dulcis memoria*, and of the popular sequence *Laetabundus*)—all illustrious examples of Philosophers who were Musicians.

All must admit that St. Thomas was the author of the Office for the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, which includes the beautiful sequence *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*; whilst the *Pange Lingua*, *Sacris Solemnis*, and *Verbum supernum prodiens*, give

¹ Chaucer tells us how Nicholas, the Oxford Priest was wont to sing the celebrated sequence, *Mittit ad Virginem* composed by Abelard:—

"And all above there lay a gay sautrie,
On which he made on nightes melodie
So sweetly that all the chamber rong;
And *Angelus ad Virginem* he song."

evidence of his versification. Although it has been said that St. Thomas merely adapted the *Pange Lingua* and *Lauda Sion* to melodies previously existing (just like the immortal author of the *Irish Melodies*), yet it is now admitted that he composed the music as well. I have now before me a transcript of the *Lauda Sion*—music and words—taken from the earliest printed Sarum *Graduale*¹ (Francis Byrckman, London, 1528), which gives the melody as written by St. Thomas, and from a comparison with five different Graduals of the fifteenth century, I fully coincide with the view of Mr. Birkbeck of Magdalen College, Oxford, that no changes for the purposes of part-writing took place in the ancient melodies as given in the English choral books, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

At the epoch in which St. Thomas lived, Universities had not abandoned the time-honoured curriculum of studies known as the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, or the seven liberal arts, viz., Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectics; Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy—and we can well imagine that Peter the Hibernian² instructed his pupil in that divine art which was cultivated by the Irish “beyond every other nation.”

In the *History of Music*, written by the late Very Rev. Dr. Renahan, we read:

“St. Thomas of Aquin had resided a long time at Naples, Rome, Paris, and Cologne; he had traversed the Kingdom of Sicily, Italy, France, and Germany, before he wrote his celebrated *Summa* about the year 1270, and yet he was under the conviction that *no sort of musical instruments ever had been*, or would be, used in churches. ‘Instrumenta musica, sicut citharas³ et psalteria non assumit Ecclesia in divinas laudes, ne videatur judaizare.’”

¹ The earliest printed copy of the Sarum *Portos* is A.D. 1483, whilst the earliest Sarum *Processionale* is by R. Pynson, London, 1502.

² Mosheim gives the credit of introducing Scholasticism to the Irish Theologians of the eighth century, whilst the Leonine metre in which St. Thomas wrote most of his hymns is of Irish origin. It is interesting to add that the earliest English treatise on Music was by an Irish Jesuit, Father William Bathe, of Dublin, who was Professor in the University of Salamanca. It is entitled *The Arte of Musicke*, and a copy of it is in the British Museum.

³ Cithara is from the Greek *Kithara* (Hebrew *Kinnor*) and was a harp of nine strings. The *Psalterium* was the Greek *Psalterion* (Hebrew, *nebel*), and was an improved form of harp. David was a proficient performer on both instruments. Bartholomaeus (1398) says that “the sawtry highte Psalterium, and hath that name of *Psallendo*, syngynge.”

It is really astonishing how Dr. Renehan could have fallen into such an error as to deduce from this that "organs were not commonly used, if at all admitted into churches on the continent, before the close of the thirteenth century." He further quotes Platina and Bellarmine as against the theory that Pope Vitalian (657-672) was the first to introduce organs, but, as a matter of fact, I may state, that organs were in existence before the Christian era; were commonly used by the aristocracy in the second and third centuries, and were employed in churches in the *first half* of the fifth century. St. Thomas clearly meant *brass or string instruments*, or, in other words, an orchestra, and this is confirmed by himself—"If, in the Old Testament, *instruments* were made use of, it is because the people were hard and carnal, and because, in order to rivet the attention, there was need of employing sonorous or braying instruments so as to attract the mind towards God, and as types of better things to come." (*Summa Theol.*, 2^a 2^{ae}, Quaest. 91, Art. 4.) Evidently St. Thomas objected to orchestral instruments, as did Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 160-217), who says:—"We no longer make use of the ancient psaltery, or trumpet, or tympanum, or flute,¹ for these inflame the passions, and are of a warlike character. We use but one instrument in worshipping God—the peaceful voice alone." All such instruments were excluded from the churches by the First Council of Milan in 1565, under St. Charles Borromeo:—"Organo tantum in ecclesia locus sit; tibiae, cornua, et reliqua musica instrumenta excludantur."

Vocal praise was the only form of musical worship for five hundred years, and the *Angelicus* thus writes:—"Credibile quod post resurrectionem erit in sanctis laus vocalis." The inspired writers lead us to believe that endless songs of joy to "Him who sitteth on the throne" will constitute part

¹ The musical service in the second Temple was as follows:—"On a sign being given on *cymbals*, twelve Levites, standing upon the broad step of the stairway leading from the place of the congregation to the outer court of the priests, playing upon *nine lyres*, *two harps*, and *one cymbal*, began the singing of the Psalm, while the officiating priests poured out the wine offering. Younger Levites played other instruments, but did not sing."—(*The Talmud*, quoted by Sir John Stainer, Mus. Doc.)

of the glories to come;¹ and all readers are familiar with the choir of one hundred and forty thousand virgins mentioned by St. John (*Apoc.* xiv. 1-4).

However, the most valuable testimony we have of St. Thomas as a musician is his own treatise, *De Arte Musica*, which was discovered in the Ambrosian Library at Milan by the Abbé Guerrino Amelli in 1882. This MS. is most precious from a liturgical point of view, and reveals the great Dominican as a true exponent of the Philosophy of Music. I can only quote a few extracts which have been given me by a Parisian friend, who received them from the learned Vice-Librarian of Milan. The authenticity of the MS. is undeniable and the internal evidence is convincing, as in every section we find the triple division so characteristic of the great Doctor of the Schools.

St. Thomas defines a good singer as "one possessed of the following qualities:—1°. *Bonae vocis instrumentum*; 2°. *Artis Documentum*; 3°. *Usus exercitamentum*." He describes the constituents of the voice, the production of sound, &c., displaying profound scientific knowledge, and finally sums up the tract by the following *résumé*:—

"*Bonae vocis instrumentum tria faciunt*:—1°. *Reumatis expurgatio*; 2°. *Pectoris dilatatio*; 3°. *Oris aperitio*." In reference to the voice, it may be observed that only the lower vocal chords serve directly for the generation of sound, and the vibration of these chords in the production of sound from the ventricles is an established fact, the factors being the *glottis, larynx, trachea*,² &c.

St. Thomas continues:—"Ad artis documentum, tria sunt necessaria, ut scias—1°. *Vocem levare*; 2°. *Deprimere*; 3°. *Concordare*." These are undoubtedly three excellent rules

¹ Richard of Hampole, A.D. 1335, thus writes of the joys of Paradise:—

"And ther is greter melodie of aungeles songe,
And ther is preysing him amonge."

Certainly the occupation of the choirs of angels hereafter will not consist in "sitting on clouds and singing Tate and Brady's hymns to all eternity."—(Mallock.)

² Archbishop Walsh says, that "the chest, the lungs, and the vocal organs generally, should, as far as possible, be placed in a position of freedom."—(*Grammar of Gregorian Music*).

for all singers, and I shall merely add, with Rev. Dr. Troutbeck, that "the quality of tone—neither forced nor feeble—and the proper management of the breath, are the two great secrets in the vocal art."

"Ad usum exercitium tria sunt necessaria, ut cantet—1°. Frequenter; 2°. Diligenter; 3°. Fortiter." It is only necessary to remark that constant practice and perseverance—always remembering to sing *forte* (not, of course, destroying *just intonation* by forcing the voice)—are essential for anyone ambitioning to be a good singer.

Thus far I have treated of St. Thomas as a theoretical and practical musician, and it is to be hoped that some light has been thrown on the subject. I shall conclude with a quotation from St. Bernard in reference to St. Augustine's tract, *De Musica*:—"The treatise on music has no other end but to lead to God—the Eternal Harmony—those who know and appreciate music, inasmuch as music is a means for attaining the ineffable wonders of the Infinite." However, no pen can give a truer or better advice to all church musicians than the Royal Psalmist:—"Psallite Deo nostro, psallite; psallite Regi nostro, psallite; *psallite sapienter*."

WILLIAM H. G. FLOOD.

THE CATACOMBS OF ST. CALLISTUS.

MY last paper was principally taken up with a general description of *Roma Sotteranea*. In this I shall give a brief account of the most interesting of all the Roman catacombs, those of St. Callistus. They lie on the celebrated Appian way, known also to the ancients as the *regina viarum*. This famous road, which was constructed more than three centuries before Christ in the time of Appius Claudius "the blind," was the favourite site for monuments, and hence it is the richest of all the old Roman ways in relics of ancient times. From Rome to Albano it is lined with interesting archæological monuments, many of which still remain to be excavated. The

Sebastian gate in the wall of Aurelian is about a mile from the centre of the city, and the catacombs of Callistus a mile beyond that. Many celebrated ruins are passed on the way. As we drive along before getting outside the gates, there is the ruin of the celebrated Antoninian baths, constructed by Antoninus Caracalla, which contained one thousand six hundred bath-rooms, with luxurious halls, gymnastic-rooms, and marble porticos; all decorated in the most sumptuous manner, with masterpieces of art. We shall not delay to describe the many interesting objects—including the famous arch of Druso, bearing still on it the marks of that great aqueduct that brought a copious supply of water to the Antoninian baths—that are passed in quick succession before the Sebastian gate puts us outside the city, and again from that to the catacombs. We must hasten on over the little river Almonia, better described as a stream, in which the ancients used to dip the image of Cybele or Vesta every year, according to their strange pagan rites. We shall pause for a moment, however, on that spot, close to our destination, where tradition tells us that our Saviour appeared to St. Peter escaping from the Mamertine prison, and on the latter exclaiming, "Lord, where art thou going?" replied, "I am going to Rome to be crucified again." He then disappeared, leaving the impression of his foot on the rock, and St. Peter understood the vision to mean that he was to return to Rome to be martyred. A little church known as the *Domine quo vadis*, has been built over the spot, and a facsimile of the stone with the footprint on it is preserved there, the original being kept at the church of St. Sebastian, further on.

Not far beyond the *Domine quo vadis* Church there is an antique doorway on the righthand side of the road, with the inscription *Ingresso al Cimitero di S. Callisto*, which tells us that we have reached our destination. Having entered through this door, we ascend a sharp incline to the right, and then find ourselves in a vineyard, with ruins of sepulchral monuments scattered about, and a splendid view stretching round us in the distance. We are in the midst of the most interesting part of the *Campagna Romana*. Remnants of aqueducts, ruins, and relics of ancient grandeur are to be seen

everywhere, and tell even the illiterate that a great city must have existed there in times long past. About a mile off the Eternal City, with its hundreds of cupolas, and the giant dome of St. Peter's towering in its midst, shows us where that ancient city lay, and what new form old time has given it. It is backed by the black Sabine mountains, and to our right, ten miles off, is the volcanic mountain range of Albano, studded with pretty villages, known as the *Castelli Romani*. The country looks burnt, has but little vegetation, and scarcely a house. All this gives an air of melancholy to the whole surrounding, which seems in keeping with the huge cemeteries that lie beneath our feet.

Until the middle of this century very little was known of the Catacombs of St. Callistus. In fact, all the cemeteries on the *Via Appia* and the adjoining *Via Ardeatina* were believed to be the same with different entrances. De Rossi, after long study, concluded that all these descents led to quite separate catacombs, and that the proper access to those of St. Callistus, containing the Oratory, where the pontiffs of the third century were buried, and those of the celebrated martyrs SS. Cornelius and Caecilia had not yet been found. He therefore set to work to look for it, and it was not long before his efforts were crowned with success. In the vineyard we have just entered, buried beneath a clump of weeds, amongst a heap of debris, he found a remnant of a slab with the letters . . . NELIUS MARTYR, which he recognised as belonging to the tomb of the martyr St. Cornelius. This clue led to the discovery of the underlying Catacombs of St. Callistus. The vineyard was at once bought up by Pius IX.; excavations were begun, and an archæological commission appointed under the presidency of the Cardinal Vicar to superintend and direct the works. This took place in 1849, and since then the work of excavation has been going on, and is going on still, each year bringing new and important discoveries to light.

This vast necropolis was formed through the union of several smaller cemeteries. It was made long before the time of Pope Callistus, but took his name after he had caused it to be extensively enlarged and restored. The cemeteries that go to compose it are the crypt of St. Lucina containing the body

of St. Cornelius; those of the Caecilian family containing the tomb of St. Caecilia, which was considerably enlarged by Pope Callistus, and still more so at a somewhat later period by Pope Fabianus, who added to it the region where St. Eusebius was afterwards buried. Then there is the cemetery of St. Soter, which was united to the others at the beginning of the fourth century. Lastly, the vast cemeteries of Hippolitus and Balbinus joined to the rest in the same century. The latter, however, was excavated after the others, and though subsequently joined to them, may be looked upon as having a separate history. Prior to the fourth century, all these cemeteries belonging to different Roman families were quite distinct. About that period they became joined together, and now go to form that vast subterraneous region known as the Catacombs of St. Callistus.

The oldest of all these cemeteries was that of St. Lucina. It has been ascertained almost to a certainty, that it was founded in the apostolic age, by a certain Roman Matron named Lucina, evidently of a very noble family. De Rossi has found documents and inscriptions giving good reason to suppose that this matron was no other than the celebrated *Pomponia Greцина*, wife of Aulus Plautus, the Conqueror of Great Britain under Claudius, whom Tacitus in his *Annals* records as having been converted to Christianity. About the beginning of the third century the Caecilian family, which had property in the vicinity of the crypt of Lucina, excavated another crypt for their family and friends. It was in this that the body of the celebrated noble virgin and martyr St. Caecilia, a member of that family, was laid. In that cemetery also the bodies of all the Roman pontiffs of the third century from Zephyrinus to Melchiades were interred, together with many holy bishops and other personages.

St. Soter, a noble matron who suffered martyrdom under Dioclesian, founded another vast region towards the end of the third century, which was subsequently joined to the others, and, perhaps, surpasses them all for the number of arcosoliums, oratories, and decorations. Lastly, there is the cemetery known as the *arenarium Hippoliti*, where the bodies of St. Hippolitus and his Grecian companions were interred,

before they were transferred to the Papal crypt. We have said that about the fourth century all these cemeteries became joined together. As time went on they increased immensely in extent, and though, as we have seen, in origin quite distinct, they have been known under the common name of the Catacombs of St. Callistus. Though a great deal has been unearthed in these cemeteries, and many very important regions brought to light, still the work proceeds but slowly, and much remains to be done yet. Some parts are almost entirely unexplored, and some of those parts that have been explored contain little of special interest. Hence, instead of entering into a description of each part, I shall select the most interesting oratories, which are found for the most part along the beaten track by which visitors are conducted through the catacombs.

In the vineyard that we have entered there is a little antique chapel known as the Oratory of SS. Sixtus and Caecilia, which was built about the end of the third century, and into which the bodies of Pope Zephyrinus and the young martyr Zarsicius were transferred in the seventh century. This chapel is built directly over the tomb of St. Caecilia and the Papal oratory of the catacombs, and its erection is attributed to St. Zephyrinus himself, the first of the popes of the third century who were buried in that oratory, and whose body was afterwards transferred to the chapel above. It is in a deplorable state of dilapidation. This, and another similar chapel over the cemetery of Soter, even still more dilapidated, are the only remaining relics of the many oratories that were built over the catacombs from the fourth to the ninth century, in honour of the glorious martyrs whose bodies were interred beneath. In these the early Christian pilgrims of the seventh and eighth centuries paused to pray before visiting the catacombs.

I mentioned in my first paper on *Roma Sotteranea* that the Christians abandoned the underground cemeteries after they had been desecrated by the barbarian hordes in the ninth century, and the bodies of the saints had been removed inside the city; so that they took to burying their dead above ground. This little chapel is the centre of these over-

ground cemeteries. Round it in every direction we find deep graves built with bricks, and so formed that they could be separated into several compartments with stone slabs supported on projecting bricks, so that oftentimes as many as eight or ten bodies were buried one over the other. In one of these an inscription was found to the memory of a woman who had been buried in her baptismal robes, within the octave of her baptism :—

“Concordiana deposita in stolis suis.”

Close to this chapel three flights of steps were discovered leading down to the catacombs, all in a very dilapidated condition. The centre flight was restored by the Archæological society, according to the old traces. The other two were left in the state in which they were found. These were some of the entrances made after the peace of Constantine to facilitate access to the martyrs' tombs. In making them some of the passages already existing had to be cut through, and some of the *loculi* or graves removed. Having descended two flights of steep steps, we enter a little vestibule from which the passages begin to branch off in all directions. As soon as our eyes begin to get accustomed to the light of the wax tapers we hold in our hands, curiosity induces us to examine more closely the vault in which we are standing. It is small, irregularly shaped, but high. The walls are plastered, and covered with scribbling. These graphite inscriptions were made by the pilgrims visiting the catacombs at various periods from the fourth to the ninth century, and they are of great archæological importance. They can be classified according to the styles and expressions of the different periods, and they all tend to show that the same spirit animated all those who at different periods visited the catacombs—a spirit of love and veneration for the saints, and a feeling that a long cherished hope of visiting their shrines was at last realized; a feeling which often caused them to leave joyful exclamations written on the walls, for the edification of future generations. Many of these inscriptions are found repeated over and over again in the same handwriting in other parts of the catacombs. Thus we find

in one place: *Semphronia* (vivas) *in Domino*, and in another *Semphronia dulcis semper vivet Deo*; "Oh sweet Semphronia you shall always live with God." And almost the same words are repeated in other places.

At a short distance from the entrance we come to the celebrated *Crypta Papale*, the most precious of all the monuments in the catacombs. This crypt, known to the ancient Christians as that of St. Sixtus, by whom it was made, and whose name is frequently invoked in the pilgrim inscriptions on the walls, contained the bodies of the fourteen popes of the third century—all saints—from Zephyrinus to Melchiades. At the entrance to it the inscriptions become so numerous that they cover the whole wall. Some used to call on the saints to pray for themselves and their families, others contented themselves with writing a word or two expressing praise or admiration for their favourite saint. All are full of a great spirit of fervour and piety. One person compares this crypt to the heavenly Jerusalem, because of the number of martyrs and saints buried in it: *Gerusalem civitas et ornamentum martyrum Domini*. It consists of an oratory or cubiculum, about four yards broad and five long. At the end there is a marble step, which approaches an altar supported on four little marble pillars. The principal tomb is behind this altar. The chapel was evidently decorated in sumptuous style, with stucco-work, frescoes, and coloured marbles; but of these only the traces remain.

Amongst the debris found in the crypt were some marble slabs with the names of some of the Pontiffs in Greek characters. Traces of the mortar with which they had been attached to the tombs still remained on them. After the name, two or three letters were inscribed indicating that they were martyrs; but of a different and evidently more recent style, less carefully done, and not so deeply inscribed. De Rossi gives this as a proof of the formal canonization of the saints in those early ages. The martyrs were not venerated immediately as such, but only when the Church had declared them saints after a process of canonization. Hence the title of martyr was not inscribed on the tomb till some time after their death. Professor Armellini tells us

that this is one of the oldest and most important monuments we have to prove the canonization of saints in the early ages.

Many other very interesting inscriptions were found here also, with the names of others of the popes of the third century. At the end of the crypt there is a huge marble slab containing the most beautiful of all the celebrated poetical inscriptions with which Pope Damasus decorated the catacombs. I quoted two lines of it in my first paper, but it will be interesting to put it in full here :—

HIC CONGESTA JACET QVAERIS SI TVRBA PIORVM
 CORPORA SANCTORVM RETINENT VENERANDA SEPVLCHRA
 SVBLIMES ANIMAS RAPVIT SIBI REGIA COELI
 HIC COMITES XYSTI PORTANT QUI EX HOSTE TROPAEA
 HIC NVMERVS PROCERVVM SERVAT QVI ALTARIA CHRISTI
 HIC POSITVS LONGA VIXIT QVI IN PACE SACERDOS
 HIC CONFESSORES SANCTI QVOS GRAECIA MISIT
 HIC JVVENES PVERIQVE SENES CASTIQVE NEPOTES
 QVIS MAGE VIRGINEVM PLACVIT RETINERE PVDOREM
 HIC FATEOR DAMASVS VOLVI MEA CONDERE MEMBRA
 SED CINERES TIMVI SANCTOS VEXARE PIORVM

[If you seek information regarding these tombs, know that here beneath the bodies of a great number of saints lie collected together. These venerable shrines contain the bodies of those whose pure souls the kingdom of heaven has taken to itself. The companions of Xystus, who conquered their enemies, rest here. Here the line of Supreme Pontiffs who guard the altar of Christ. Here also is laid that Pontiff who lived during a long term of peace. Here the holy confessors who were sent amongst us from Greece. Here young men and youths, the old and their grandchildren, who preserved intact their virgin purity. Here I myself, Damasus, I confess have desired to be buried, but I have feared with my presence to disturb the ashes of the saints.]

In the first part of these verses he evidently alludes to a great number of martyrs buried together in this crypt during the persecutions, a fact that is confirmed by some of the old martyrologiums. It probably contained the ashes of thousands of martyrs burned to death during the Dioclesian persecution. By the companions of Xystus he alludes to those young deacons who were martyred with that pontiff

during the eighth persecution under Valerian in the year 258. In the fifth line he alludes to the line of pontiff saints of the third century already spoken of which terminates with St. Melchiades—" *longa vixit qui in pace* "—the first who ruled the Church after the peace of Constantine. The Grecian confessors were St. Hippolitus, Adria and companions who were martyred together with SS. Eusebius and Marcellus and buried in the Catacombs of Callistus, in the part known as the arenarium of Hippolitus. This important slab had been smashed into one-hundred-and-twenty-five pieces, which were all found amongst the debris of the crypt. Fortunately copies of the verses taken by pilgrims of the fourth and fifth centuries were found in some old manuscripts, and with the assistance of these it has been possible to put the broken fragments together. Pope Damasus also wrote the following beautiful inscription for the tomb of St. Sixtus II. in the same crypt of which only a few broken fragments have been found, but copies of the verses were discovered in the same manuscripts:—

TEMPORE QVO GLADIVS SECVIT PIA VISCERA MATRIS
HIC POSITVS RECTOR COELESTIA JVSSA DOCEBAM
ADVENIVNT SVBITO RAPIVNT QVI FORTE SEDENTEM
MILITIBVS MISSIS POPVLI TVNC COLLA DEDERE
MOX SIBI COGNOVIT SENIOR QVI TOLLERE VELLE
PALMAM SEQVE SVVMQVE CAPVT PRIOR OBTVLIT IPSE
IMPATIENS FERITAS POSSET NE LAEDERE QVEMQVAM
OSTENDIT CHRISTVS, REDDIT QVI PRAEMIA VITAE
PASTORIS MERITVM, NVMERVM GREGIS IPSE TVETVR.

[When the sword (of persecution) pierced the mother's breast (the Church) I the supreme pastor used to teach the precepts of God from this throne. All of a sudden soldiers rush in on us, and seize me whilst sitting (on my throne). The faithful around me put themselves between me and the sword, but their pastor, knowing that he was the victim they sought for, gave himself up willingly to the assassins, lest others should suffer. Christ, who rewards the merits of the pastor with an eternal life, shall himself take care of the flock.]

This is a beautiful account of the martyrdom of St. Sixtus, who, as is well known, was beheaded in the catacombs whilst seated in his episcopal chair.

A little low narrow passage, leads us from this celebrated crypt to another of scarcely less renown—that of St. Caecilia. It is much larger and illuminated by a deep skylight in the vault which gives it a gloomy dungeonlike appearance. The holy martyr to whom this crypt is dedicated was condemned to death, after she had brought her spouse and brother-in-law to the faith of Christ, for which they also had been put to death. Because of her high condition and noble birth the prefect of Rome feared to execute her publicly, and tried to do away with her privately by suffocating her in the bathroom. This was unsuccessful. He then ordered her to be beheaded, but the executioner could not sever the head from the body. After she had commended the poor whom she had taken under her protection to the care of Pope Urban she died from the wounds inflicted. The pope had her body placed in a cypress coffin, and removed to the catacombs by night, where it was laid in the crypt of her family, which we have just entered.

On the wall close to the door there is an antique painting in fresco representing a young female saint, richly dressed, adorned with gold and gems, and standing amidst roses and flowers, with her arms extended in the old attitude of prayer. This figure represents St. Caecilia, and close to her, painted somewhat lower down, there is an image of a pontiff with the name of St. Urban, who was so intimately connected with her life. In a recess under the image of the saint there is a picture of our Saviour, holding the Book of Gospels in his left hand, whilst his right is in the attitude of blessing. The body of the saint was removed from the catacombs by Pope Pascal I., who transported it to the church of St. Caecilia in the trans-tiberal part of Rome. There are many other paintings and inscriptions of less note round the crypt. The style of the frescoes is traced to the fifth or sixth centuries. From some other sepulchral inscriptions found there, it is clear that other members of the family of St. Caecilia were buried in the same place. Professor Armellini observes¹ that the poor blind woman represented in Cardinal Wiseman's

¹ *Roma Sott.*, c. 10.

Fabiola as living in the time of Dioclesian is an imaginary personage. St. Caecilia was martyred under M. Aurelius, and as we have said was of a very noble family. On her feast every year this little chapel is illuminated and beautifully decorated with flowers, whilst Masses are celebrated there all the morning accompanied with music, at which the faithful can assist. The scene is most devotional, and brings one back in thought to those first centuries of the Church when the faithful were wont to assemble there in times of terrible persecution.

Emerging from this crypt through an opening in one of the corners of it, we get into one of the most intricate labyrinths of the catacombs. After passing through a few passages to the right, and then following another to the left, we come to five *cubicoli* opening from one to the other, known as the rooms of the Sacraments. They are celebrated for the very interesting frescoes with which they are decorated. They are all symbolic of the Sacraments, but such as to be understood only by the initiated because of the *disciplina arcani* by which it was prohibited to the faithful to reveal the mysteries of religion to the heathens; a discipline founded on the words of Christ, "*nolite dare sanctum canibus neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos.*"

Hence in the first room we find a picture of Christ raising Lazarus from the tomb, symbolic of the remission of sins. Lazarus is represented standing up before Christ with his arms and legs already freed from the winding sheet, which represents the bonds of sin. Close to this seven men are seated at a table with dishes containing loaves and fishes before them, of which they are partaking. Five baskets heaped with loaves are beside them. This is intended to represent the apparition of Jesus to the seven disciples at the Sea of Tiberias—as recounted in the last chapter of the Gospel of St. John—when he told them to cast out their net, "and they were not able to draw it in for the multitude of fishes," and he then invited them to dine, and "gave them bread and fish to eat." All this was symbolic of the Holy Eucharist, Christ himself, the Christian *Ιχθύς*, being represented in the fish. This scene is frequently found in the

catacombs. Another picture in the same room shows Moses striking the rock with his rod, and a stream of water flowing from it. This figure represents Peter, and the rock on which the Church was founded, and the water of eternal life that flows from the Sacraments.

In the fourth of these rooms there is another picture representing Moses striking the rock, and here it is still more clear that Peter is the real person whom they wished to represent—the Moses of the Christian Church. In fact a very copious supply of water flows from the rock that he touches with a long rod. Close by, a fisherman is drawing a little fish caught on a hook out of the water that flows from the rock, and another person is represented baptizing a child in the same water. It is not difficult to see that these three persons must be intended to represent Peter the representative of Christ; the fountain of all graces; the *piscator hominum* who by baptism brings souls—*pesciculi qui in aqua nascuntur*—to Christ.

Another very interesting fresco in this room represents a table with a loaf and a fish laid on it. A woman stands close by with her arms stretched out in the attitude of prayer. A man wearing the *pallium* raises his hand to touch the bread and fish. Close to this there is the usual repast of the seven disciples. This picture is symbolic of the Holy Sacrifice. The man is the priest about to consecrate, that is, to change the bread into the fish or Christ, the *Ιχθὺς noster Jesus*. The woman represents the Church inviting the faithful to prayer, and the seven disciples the Christians partaking of the Holy Eucharist.

In the fifth room there is a repetition of some of these pictures, with others representing Jonas devoured by the whale, and rejected after three days; symbolic of the death and resurrection of Christ. Over this there is a picture on the ceiling of the Good Shepherd, a symbol of Christ himself, according to his own words, "*Ego sum pastor bonus.*"

Up to this we have been exploring the shrines in the second storey of the catacombs. We shall now make our way through a long, straight passage, to a flight of steps that

will bring us up to the first flat underground. At the first landing of this flight, passages run off to the right and left. Following one of those to the left we find ourselves at once in a very interesting part of the catacombs, which dates back at least to the Dioclesian persecution. Many of the graves are still untouched, and the inscriptions quite legible. Amongst the latter is one over the wife of a Roman Senator—*Clarissime femine*—placed in an humble tomb amidst her poorer fellow Christians. As we go through these passages, we find that in many places they have fallen so much into ruin, that they had to be newly constructed at a much later period, so as to lose much of their original appearance. There are several *cubiculi* with *arcosoliums*. In one of the former there is a stone pillar, with the bottom of a glass basin used for holding oil, in which it was customary to burn tapers in honour of the saint. These are often met with in the catacombs, near the principal shrines, and generally belong to the periods subsequent to the peace of Constantine. The pilgrims visiting the catacombs used often to provide themselves with a little bottle of that oil to carry to their homes. On one of the *arcosoliums* alluded to, there is a very interesting picture representing the trial of two intrepid martyrs before the Roman Prefect, who is represented with a crown of laurels on his head; a Pagan priest is seen close to them insolently turning his back at them. Some very rare specimens of glass were found in this part of the catacombs, amongst them two, representing SS. Peter and Paul.

Returning by the same staircase to the second flat again, we follow a long, straight passage to the left, which brings us straight to the crypt of St. Eusebius. This was evidently one of the most beautiful and richly ornamented crypts of the catacombs. There are traces of marbles and frescoes representing scenes from the Holy Scripture all round it. It was to this oratory that in the year 311, the early Christians carried the body of St. Eusebius, which they had brought from Sicily. A very important slab was discovered there, containing the following beautiful poetic inscription,

by Pope Damasus, which leaves no room for doubt as to the origin of this crypt:—

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DAMASVS. EPISCOPVS. FECIT.

HERACLIVS VETVIT LAPSOS PECCATA DOLERE
 EVSEBIVS MISEROS DOCVIT SVM CRIMINA FLERE
 SCINDITVR PARTES POPVLVS GLISCENTE FVRORE
 SEDITIO CAEDE BELLVM DISCORDIA LITES
 EX EMPLO PARITER PVLSI FERITATE TYRANNI
 INTEGRA CVM RECTOR SERVARET FEDERA PACIS
 PERTVLIT EXILIUM OMINO SVB JVDICE LAETVS
 LITORE TINACRIO MVNDVM VITAMQVE RELIQVIT
 EVSEBIO. EPISCOPO. ET MARTYRI.

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It begins with the words "*Bishop Damasus erected*" in large letters, and ends with "*To Eusebius Bishop and Martyr,*" in the same big letters. Eight lines of Latin poetry in smaller type intervene giving in a few words a history of the church during the life of Eusebius, and his connection with it.

At the sides of the slab a number of letters written one beneath the other, give the following lines:—

DAMASIS PAPPÆ CVLTOR ATQVE AMATOR
 FVRIVS DIONYSIVS FILOCALVS SCRIPSIT.

Filocalus was a great admirer of Pope Damasus, who invented a very beautiful style of letters for his sepulchral inscriptions. The letters of this slab not being of that beautiful style, De Rossi began to suspect that this was not the original one, but a copy made at some later period after the original had been broken. He was confirmed in this belief by finding on the reverse of the slab a Pagan inscription to the Emperor Caracalla, showing that they had made use of the reverse of an old Pagan slab to take the copy. He found also amongst the debris some small fragments of

the original, with the ornamental letters of Filocalus. Opposite to this oratory there is a very large apartment with traces of stuccoes, frescoes, and marble decorations. This was evidently made about the same period, and served to accommodate large numbers of people drawn thither to venerate the relics of St. Eusebius.

A labyrinth of very irregular passages containing a great number of cubicoli with interesting paintings and inscriptions lie between the crypt of St. Eusebius and that of St. Cornelius. Since they are all much in the same style, it would be tiresome to describe them; hence, leaving out all that part, I shall conclude this sketch of the principal monuments in the catacombs of St. Callistus, with a few words about the crypt of St. Cornelius. It is worth mentioning however, that on the way there, we pass a very interesting arcosolium with frescoes in the style of the latter part of the third century. It is important because amongst those pictures there is one of the oldest images of the Blessed Virgin in the catacombs. It represents the adoration of the magi. The Blessed Virgin is represented seated in a chair with the infant in her arms.

The crypt in which the body of St. Cornelius was placed towards the end of the third century, is situated in one of the most remote angles of the catacombs of St. Callistus. He is the only one of the popes of that period who was not buried in the papal crypt. His family, having possessed a special cemetery, evidently preferred to have him buried there amongst his relatives. The shrine is in one of the larger passages, afterwards enlarged, to accommodate the great numbers of the faithful who flocked there, so as to take the appearance of a large oratory. The tomb is cut out of the tufa in the form of an urn surmounted by a stuccoed arch. A marble slab bears the simple inscription *Cornelius Martyr Ep.* Under and over it there are remnants of verses written by Pope Damasus, but De Rossi has searched in vain for the parts that are wanting, nor could he find a copy of the words in any of the old manuscripts. On the wall to the right of the tomb there are two frescoes representing the bishops St. Cornelius and his contemporary

St. Cyprian, each holding the Gospel in his hand. Both are represented with a halo of glory round their heads. The paintings are of the Byzantine style of the ninth century. These two celebrated martyrs are represented together because having been martyred on the same day—though in very different places, one in Africa, the other in Italy—they have always been venerated by the faithful on the same day—the 16th of September. A sort of stone table, in front of these two figures, probably served as an altar where the Holy Sacrifice was celebrated. There is a graphite inscription also, in this oratory, that records the burial there of twenty-one martyrs with SS. Cerealis and Salustia—“*Cerealis et Salustia cum XXI*”—and their burial there has been confirmed by other documents. Many other inscriptions surround the crypt, amongst them the following completed by De Rossi:—

*Ιχθύς Αλίφθορων σότηρ.
O fish saviour of the world.*

This is a well-known and already explained symbol. Not far from the shrine of St. Cornelius there is a long flight of broad steps made by Pope Damasus to facilitate access to this celebrated crypt, which leads us through two stories of the catacombs to the open air.

Here ends this paper on the catacombs of St. Callistus. I have omitted much that would be of interest to a student of archæology, partly because, as already stated, a repeated description of the same class of monuments would become too monotonous and tiresome, and partly because it would draw this descriptive paper beyond its rightful bounds. Enough however has been said to give the reader some idea of the catacombs as they exist to-day. But there is a something that cannot be described, which one feels when passing through those holy places, sanctified by the bodies of so many thousands of saints, a something that speaks to the heart alone. It was that feeling that prompted the early Christians to paint heavenly scenes in those homes of the dead. It was that also that urged the pilgrims of the early ages to leave perennial marks of their feelings on the walls,

and to call the catacombs the "Jerusalem, city, and ornament of the Lord."

There is a holy quiet and tranquility about those graves, with altars scattered here and there, where the first priests of the Church used to offer up the spotless Lamb, that contrasts strangely with the proud overground cemeteries of modern times, with their gorgeous monuments, and rich decorations. In these the busy hum of men, passing too and fro, admiring all that they can see, is heard from morn till night, and they carry off with them the memory of all save of those in whose memory all was built. On the contrary in the catacombs all is simple and uniform, all is peaceful, and one's thoughts are naturally drawn to contemplate the saints in that happy home where their names shall be registered for ever. There we see their bodies buried in peace. There we know their names are written in the book of life. *Corpora sanctorum in pace sepulta sunt, et vivent nomina eorum in aeternum.*

M. HOWLETT.

A TRANSLATION OF THE "*DIES IRAE*."

[We have very much pleasure in publishing the following translation of the *Dies Irae* from the pen of a venerable Prelate of Munster. The accompanying letter was not written for publication, but as it contains the poet's criticism of the special merit of the best known and most excellent of all the Sequences, and his conception of what a translation of it should be, we presume to make it public for the benefit of our readers. It is also the most fitting introduction to the Translation.—ED. I.E.R.]

VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I send you the enclosed in compliance with your request. It was written about four years ago after reading some articles in the *Dublin Review* on fifty versions of the *Dies Irae*. It struck me after reading those versions that none of them adhered strictly to the original throughout, and being laid up in my room at that

time, the thought occurred to me of occupying my enforced idleness in an attempt to give a more literal translation of the whole of this hymn than any of those there given. The task I set myself I found more difficult than I anticipated, but being debarred from any active exercise at the time I persevered in it until I had finished. The result is now before you, and you can judge for yourself how I have succeeded or whether it is worthy of a place in the RECORD. I am aware that strict adherence to the wording of the original is not always a merit in a metrical translation, but if it be so in *any* case, it strikes me, that the exception is to be found in a literal translation of the *Dies Iræ*. The great merit of this sublime sequence, and the extraordinary popularity it has attained is, it seems to me, attributable to the simple grandeur of the thoughts and images it presents to the mind, the passionate earnestness of its pleadings for mercy and the naturalness and appositeness of the language in which they are clothed. The more literally therefore these are reproduced in a translation, the more likely they are to produce in the reader's mind the effect intended by the author. I have endeavoured also to adhere to the metre as closely as I could, with the exception of the double rhymes at the end, which I found it impossible to preserve without departing too widely from the line I laid down for myself of adhering strictly to the sense and language of the author. The greatest difficulty I experienced was in the effort to avoid any appearance of plagiarism which in a hymn that has been so often translated is an almost impossible task, though I tried to guard against it as much as possible.

Yours most sincerely,

THE TRANSLATOR.

DIES IRÆ.

Dies iræ, dies illa,

Solvat sæclum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla.

The day of wrath, that day of
gloom,¹

The world to ashes shall consume,
Thus Seer, and Psalmist, bode
its doom.

¹ Dies tenebrarum.

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|-------------------------------|---|
| Quantus tremor est futurus, | What dread shall seize on nature then, |
| Quando Judex est venturus, | When Christ as judge shall come again, |
| Cuncta stricte discussurus ! | Strictly to sift the acts of men ! |
| Tuba mirum spargens sonum | The trumpet pealing its dread tone |
| Per sepulchra regionum, | Thro' sepulchres of every zone |
| Coget omnes ante thronum. | Shall gather all before the throne. |
| Mors stupebit et natura, | Nature and death shall stand amazed |
| Cum resurget creatura, | When they shall see the dead upraised. |
| Judicanti responsura. | That their past lives may be appraised. |
| Liber scriptus proferetur, | The written scroll shall forth be brought, |
| In quo totum continetur, | Wherein for all that it has wrought |
| Unde mundus judicetur. | Shall judgment on the world be sought. |
| Judex ergo cum sedebit, | And when the Judge his seat shall gain, |
| Quidquid latet apparebit, | Guilt shall conceal itself in vain, |
| Nil inultum remanebit. | Nothing unpunished shall remain. |
| Quid sum miser tunc dicturus? | What am I, wretched, then to say ? |
| Quem patronum rogaturus ? | What patron to protect me pray ? |
| Cum vix justus sit securus. | When scarce the just feel safe that day. |
| Rex tremendae majestatis, | King of tremendous majesty, |
| Qui salvandos salvas gratis, | Who the saved savest without fee; |
| Salve me fons pietatis. | Oh save me fount of clemency. |
| Recordare Jesu pie, | Remember Jesus then I pray, |
| Quod sum causa tuæ viæ, | For me thou trodst thy toilsome way ; |
| Ne me perdas illa die. | Do not destroy me on that day. |
| Quærens me sedisti lassus ; | Weary, you rested, seeking me ; |
| Redemisti crucem passus ; | Redeemed me dying on the tree ; |
| Tantus labor non sit cassus. | Let not such travail useless be. |
| VOL. IX. | 2 Y |

Juste iudex ultionis,
Donum fac remissionis,
Ante diem rationis.

Ingemisco tanquam reus ;
Culpa rubet vultus meus ;

Supplicanti parce Deus.

Qui Mariam absolvisti,
Et latronem exaudisti,

Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

Preces meae non sunt dignae ;
Sed tu bonus fac benigne,
Ne perenni cremer igne.

Inter oves locum præsta,
Et ab hædis me sequestra,

Statuens in parte dextra.

Confutatis maledictis,

Flammis acribus addictis,
Voca me cum benedictis.

Oro supplex et acclinis,
Cor contritum quasi cinis ;
Gere curam mei finis.

Lacrymosa dies illa,
Qua resurget ex favilla
Judicandus homo reus ;
Huic ergo parce Deus ;
Pie Jesu Domine,
Dona eis requiem.

Amen.

O righteous judge who dost assign
To guilt its punishment condign,
Before the reck'ning day purge
mine.

I groan as one of guilt aware ;
Guilt's crimson flush my features
bear ;
Spare then, oh God, the suppliant
spare.

Thou who Mary hast forgiven,
And the thief didst promise
heaven,
Thou me also hope hast given.

My prayers unworthy are I know ;
But oh good Jesus mercy show,
Lest to eternal fire I go.

Among the sheep, grant I may
stand,
Me from the goats sequesterate,
and
In safety place at thy right hand.

And when th'accursed, their
pleadings vain,
Into fierce flames are cast amain,
'Then call me with the blest to
reign.

I suppliant pray, thus lowly bent,
My contrite heart to ashes spent ;
Thine aid at my last end be lent.

On that sad day of tears and sighs,
When from his ashes shall arise
Poor guilty man his judge to meet,
Spare him, oh God, spare, I entreat ;
Loving Jesus, with the blest
Grant them everlasting rest.

Amen.

REPRESENTATIVE SAINTS.

IN St. Mark we read—"and the ship was in the midst of the sea, and Himself alone on the land; and seeing them labouring in rowing, for the wind was against them, He cometh to them walking upon the sea. And immediately He spoke with them and said—have a good heart; fear ye not, it is I. And He went up to them into the ship, *and the wind ceased.*" In one of his beautiful homilies, the Venerable Bede declares that this single fact of Sacred Scripture contains an epitome of the long history of the Church. In the labouring of the Apostles, rowing against the wind and waves, he finds a type of the Church, struggling against its sensible and spiritual enemies. In the withdrawal of our Blessed Lord from the Apostle's company for a time and His re-appearance "in the fourth watch of the night," he finds a type of the apparent defeat of the Church and of its subsequent conquest and triumph.

A long and unremitting one the Church's warfare has been. Homer has the Greeks sitting down before Troy for seven long years and they pine for their Achaian homes. Ancient and modern history supply instances of long continued wars. All these have come to an end, but the Church's never. The centuries give a long list of her enemies and her wars. In the first century she had to meet the Pagan world with its intellectual philosophy, its depraved morals, its gigantic power, and its tigerish blood-thirstiness; and even from the Church's own bosom came enemies, the followers of Simon Magus, Cerinthus, and Ebion. In the second century arose the Gnostics, the Marcionites, the Montanists. In the third century, the Sabellians, the Novatians, the Manicheans. In the fourth century the Donatists, the Arians, the Protinians. And all this time, like the Jews at the rebuilding of the Temple, she was working with the trowel in one hand and the sword in the other, building and defending, enlightening and refuting, attracting to and casting away. On one side was ranged the inert mass of Paganism, heavy and unwieldy as

the huge bulk of the Muscovite army in the days of Napoleon; on the other the small but dangerous band of deserters—dangerous because of practising her own admirable discipline, trained in her own warfare, and using her own arms.

Ecclesiastical historians and even theologians (when it becomes their province) look upon this period as the first great epoch of the Church's history; that is to say from the days of Peter till the time of the Arian controversy. For the present view of the question, it will be more convenient to end the first epoch with the time when Rome ceased to be a Pagan power, and instead of the imperial eagle floated the Christian standard. During that time there were seventeen popes. The larger number of these received the martyr's crown. Five of them found themselves forced to condemn heretics. St. Peter condemned the Menandrians, Victor I. (185-197) condemned Sabellius, Noetus, and Valentine. Pope Zephyrinus, his successor (197-217), condemned Proetus and the Montanists. Cornelius, his successor, condemned Novatian. Felix I. (269-274) condemned Paul of Samosate. During all this time the Church was suffering ten furious persecutions.

It always helps the memory to fix upon one personage who may be said to be representative of the time, and around him to group the facts of the period. In that first epoch the beautiful figure of Polycarp seems to stand forth in singular prominence, typical of all that was heroic, devoted, or sublime in the Church of the early ages.

¹ See Perrone, *Synopsis Histor. Theol.*

² In two interesting works of light literature the story of those early ages is told. In one (*Fabiola*, by Cardinal Wiseman) the reader is taken to the Church of the Catacombs; and the times of the hidden Mass and the days when the laity were permitted to take the Blessed Sacrament home with them and administer it with their own hands to themselves are pictured with a fascinating grace and charm. In the other (*Callista*, by Cardinal Newman) the scene is laid on the African shores of the Levant, the time is the third century, and the tale of the Pagan carnival, and the fearful sorceries of those days as well as the description of the locusts plague, and the fetid prisons with their three gradations into which the Christians were thrust, are given with a rugged majesty and power that captivate and all but appal the reason and the imagination.

I.—ST. POLYCARP.

Not an Apostle and yet not an ordinary Christian, "seeing and hearing those who had heard and seen the Lord," and receiving both his doctrine and his episcopal consecration from "the beloved Disciple's" hands, he forms a link between the days of the Apostles and those of level ordinary Christian times. Guileless, learned, fervent, zealous, he combines all the virtues of the simple faithful. Obstinate in holding what was for the present an undecided point, namely, the celebration of Easter day, which he held might be celebrated on a ferial until Pope Anicetus (156-173) declared that it should be held on a Sunday; he thus shows that what is doubtful may be advocated without charity being wounded, sanctity sullied, or unity destroyed. Faithful, unwearied, and apostolical in "declaring the word" (according to the solemn request, "*by the coming of Christ and by His kingdom I beseech thee preach the word*") he finds time to preach to the followers of Marcion and Valentine in Rome, while he is there, advocating his side in the Easter dispute before Pope Anicetus, and wins multitudes of them to the truth. Stern and touchy in his orthodoxy—he meets Marcion in the streets of Rome, and to his query "Dost thou not know me, Polycarp?" with bowed head and pitiful heart he gives the reply—"I know thee for the first-born of the Devil,"—not proudly and not scornfully was the answer returned, for no man may throw a stone till the day God calls him. "Finally, in his old age when his hair is white, the cry of the Christians to the lions" is heard. The Fourth Persecution has broken out. Among the prisoners at Smyrna is the aged bishop of the city. The pro-Consul and the whole populace are in the amphitheatre. Amusement must be procured. A fire is lighted. The old man is brought and bound to the stake. Pagan hands clap, Pagan lips applaud. The poor old bones crumble amid the flames, but "blessed is the man that suffereth persecution, for when he hath been proved, he shall receive the crown of life." Polycarp received his crown A.D. 166.

II.—ST. ATHANASIUS.

The last of the Pagan Cæsars was dead, the first of the Christian Cæsars reigned. Two ill-mated sisters, Church and State, for a time walked hand in hand; the one thoughtful and subdued, the other "fair to the eye," but haughty and superficial. It was not in the nature of things that these two should remain at peace. Cinderella should be scorned and smitten, and, if she had any little hoarding, plundered also. The gaudy streets and the public thoroughfares where gorgeous splendour rolled were no place for her. The kitchen downstairs was place meet enough. Arius was the knight beloved by the haughty lady. Athanasius cast in his lot with the persecuted sister. And since the rack, the stake, and the dungeon had been forbidden, no trial ever came that was so destined to tax the strength of that much persecuted one as now in the opening hour of public freedom was awaiting her.

Arius was an ecclesiastic. He was brought up in the practice of severe discipline, and this severity of morals shed a lustre of sanctity round him. He was deacon in Alexandria. The patriarch of Alexandria was Peter, who was afterwards martyred. St. Peter banished Arius from his church. Achilles, the successor of St. Peter, was induced to recall him, to ordain him priest, and to appoint him to the care of an important district. On the death of the patriarch Achilles, Arius expected that he would be selected to succeed, but Alexander being appointed, he felt hurt. This was the turning point. Immediately he promulgated his false doctrines as a challenge flung down to his opponents. Alexander had to notice these new doctrines. In a council of about sixty bishops they were condemned, and Arius had to fly. This was the year 319. In the year 325 the Council of Nice was held, and undoubtedly the two most prominent figures in that assembly of holy bishops—many of whom had been maimed or imprisoned for the faith—were Arius on the one side, and on the other a young deacon who had come with the patriarch Alexander, and whose name was Athanasius.

A double defeat came upon Arius and his party. They

were condemned in the Council, and they were exiled by the temporal power. For these six years the arm of the empire was with the Church. But it was a little too much to expect from the world, or from its master, Satan, that it would continue so. In a few months after the council St. Alexander died, and with his dying lips he feebly whispered the name of Athanasius, recommending him to the clergy and people as his successor. He was elected. The thunder clouds were gathering. On the side of Arius were Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Caesarea, Flaccilus of Antioch, Theognis of Nice, Maris of Chalcedon, Narcissus of Neronias, Theodorus of Heracleu, Patrophilos of Scythopolis, Ursacius of Syngidon, George of Laodicea, Valens of Mursa, and many others. Able men were among this list, nay even some who had been imprisoned for the faith. Among them there was one, the craftiest of all as history testifies, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and to him was entrusted the task of winning the temporal power to their side. He was bishop of Nicomedia, the imperial court was then sitting at Nicomedia, so that nothing could be more convenient. After a short time the name of Athanasius, instead of being received with encomiums, as it had been, was mentioned hesitatingly and with grave suspicion. *Facilis est descensus Averni*. At length charges were openly broached against him. The emperor examined into them and found them groundless. Notwithstanding in a few months after a triple charge of sacrilege, adultery, and murder was laid against him. A council was summoned at Caesarea, and Athanasius was required to appear before it, which, after some hesitation, quite natural on his part, seeing that it was an assembly of his opponents, he did. With St. Athanasius came a number of bishops, among them the venerable Paphnutius, who had lost an arm, and St. Potamon who had lost an eye, in the persecutions.

On the first charge, that of permitting one of his priests to break a chalice while it was in the hands of the Meletian priests at the altar, he was acquitted on the report of the deputies who had been sent to examine it.

On the second—a woman stood before the council. Timothy, a priest, pretending that he was St. Athanasius,

looking in her face, said—"Did I ever lodge at your house? Did I ever offer you violence?" The woman thrown off her guard, replied—"Yes, you are the man that I charge." The council at once saw the imposture.

On the third, the murder namely of a Meletian bishop, his accusers for corroboration produced the hand of a man which they alleged was lopped off the bishop. The bishop was not dead, but was secreted. St. Athanasius was aware of the fact, and came provided with letters attesting it. But his friends to make certainty doubly sure, induced Arsenius, the bishop said to be murdered, to come himself. He was brought into the town by night, and was secretly lodged at a friend's residence. On the day of accusation, St. Athanasius asked if any present had ever seen Arsenius. Numbers of them had seen him. Did they remember his features and appearance? Distinctly. Then let him be produced said St. Athanasius, and to the bewilderment and utter discomfiture of Arius and his party Arsenius stood before them extending his two hands, showing that he was neither murdered nor maimed. Arsenius very soon after became a Catholic. St. Athanasius returned by Constantinople, and notwithstanding his innocence the emperor refused to see him; instead, on a further charge made by his enemies, St. Athanasius was sent into exile to Gaul. One twelve months barely elapsed however when the emperor himself was summoned to meet the Judge of all. On his death the empire was divided, and Constantius, who was favourably inclined to the Arian party, got as his portion all the East, including Asia Minor and Egypt. Constantine, the eldest, sent Athanasius from Gaul to Alexandria, and gave him most recommendatory letters. But Constantius would have nothing to do with him.

The tide had now in the East fully turned in favour of the Arian party. Rome and the West were to be sure with Athanasius. Neither could it be said that all the East was with Arius. In a controversy however like this Rome counted for authority, but for little else, and the whole Western Church had as yet no great names to win for it even a respectful hearing. The East, on the other hand, was one

vast school of keen disputation and subtle modes of thought. St. Athanasius made use of the temporary foothold he got in Alexandria to summon a council of bishops, and having published the orthodox doctrine he set out for Rome. Pope Julius received him with veneration and gladness, and kept him three years. All these three years were years of bloody persecution in the Eastern Church. The Emperor Constans at length threatened war on his brother Constantius, who was then engaged in a very doubtful struggle with Persia. Athanasius was thereupon permitted to return. He held a council of bishops, and endeavoured to repair the damages that had been done in his absence. Once again in the midst of his labours came evil news, Constans was assassinated, and Constantius was become master of all the West after having overthrown the murderer of his brother. Thus did the tide set in anew in favour of the Arian party. At councils convened on their behalf at Arles and Milan, St. Athanasius was once more condemned, and sentence of exile passed upon him. But the worst of all was yet to come. Rome itself was to condemn him. It is a long story. Pope Liberius, on being solicited to condemn him, absolutely refused, and with scorn rejected presents and promises that had been made to win him, and even went voluntarily into exile rather than censure him. Being there about two years, broken down, worried, and tormented he at last put his hand to the death warrant—he condemned the heroic African bishop. It was an hour of weakness, and no sooner did the old pope return to Rome than he bitterly repented of what he had done, recalled the holy prelate's deposition, and restored him to his see, as well as defended him against his enemies. While the Emperor Constantius was in the West he set the whole Church in confusion by banishing bishops from their sees, clergy from their charges, and expelling from office all who would not profess the Arian creed. Having returned into the East he gave orders to his governors to persecute in like manner the orthodox clergy and faithful. As may be expected Alexandria did not escape. On the eve of the Feast of St. Thomas the people were in the church with the archbishop and his clergy. The governor with five

hundred soldiers surrounded the place. They broke in the doors and windows, they interrupted the prayers, insulted the prelate and clergy, and shot darts among the people. Towards morning the governor ordered all to leave. The people hastened out of the church, and in the crowd the archbishop was carried safely through the lines of soldiery and hurried to a place of retreat.

Never was temporal power so vast exercised on behalf of any heresy. Not even Protestantism in its day could boast of the support of a ruler who was at once so partisan, so determined, and so extensive. In November, 361, Constantius died, and with him fell the temporal strength of Arian heresy. His nephew and successor, the apostate Julian, permitted all the exiled bishops to return. St. Athanasius thereupon came back to his diocese, but once again his stay was not long. All might be permitted back, but not he. Another and last time therefore he was banished, nay even sentence of death was declared against him. It was at this time occurred the memorable scene on the river, when on being questioned by his pursuers he told them that Athanasius was not far off.

Good news came at last. He had a visit in his desert retreat from St. Theodanis, and he told him he should soon return to Alexandria, for God had informed him that Julian, the emperor, was dead. That day indeed Julian had died in Persia—it was June 27th, 363. St. Athanasius immediately returned, and never more was driven from his see. He spent the remaining portion of his life in preaching, teaching, and healing, and after an episcopate of forty-six years was called on the 2nd May, 373, to a life where there is no persecution and no exile.

III.—ST. BERNARD.

In the twelfth century the Church had a new and an exceedingly formidable enemy to meet. A very different thing in outward form and appearance was the Church of the twelfth century from that of the second or the fourth. It was no longer as in the early ages hiding from the strength of the powers that ruled, nor again did it confine its influence to

friendly suggestion or request as in the days of Constantine, but it ruled the powers that were. Across the broad face of Christendom it held final and absolute sovereignty. Nations revered its majesty, and monarchs feared its frown. But away in the East from the seventh century a power was growing up, conquering, converting, and consolidating, that now in the twelfth was to challenge this supreme potency in Christendom. Broadly speaking all the East floated the crescent; the West, the cross; the Byzantine emperor taking up no belligerent position.

Evermore the sacred land of Palestine had been changing masters. It belonged in turn to some one of the triple races of Shem, Ham, or Japhet—that privileged land over whose mountains and streams the heavens opened, on whose fields the divine Saviour trod, and in whose bosom He was laid in death. On its surface therefore were solemn and attractive landmarks, and many a pious as well as many a conscience-stricken heart from western lands bent their way thither. But what a place for a Christian man to turn to! His religion flouted, his country's courage aspersed, the epithet daily and hourly flung at him, "a Christian dog," his wants unattended to, his footsteps unguided, and his life threatened! Such a pilgrim, returned to his native land, told the story of his wanderings, and the Christian knight of the period buckled on his armour, kissed the hilt of his sword, and vowed that he would rescue his Saviour's country from this degradation.

The knighthood of Western Europe did rescue it. Godfrey of Bouillon was appointed its king, and a handful of French knights was left as his bodyguard. These knights from their superior prowess, and relying on the justice of their cause, wrought wonders, so that it came to be a settled feeling in men's minds that victory was to be evermore with the Christian host, and defeat was never to be thought of. For something like half a century it had continued so; but in 1144 a rude awakening came. The Mussulmans had invested Edessa, and Edessa had fallen. Then was consternation! It was but a woman—the widow of Falk of Anjou—that reigned in Jerusalem. The terrible brutality of the Sultan of Bagdad in his capture of Edessa made Antioch

and Jerusalem quake with fear, and the cry of distress they raised reached to the distant and sympathetic West. Strong men's hearts were wrung, and women wept when the pitiable tale was told. Ballads and pious rhymes were at the time coming into being, and the holy palmer with his story was welcome in hut as in hall. From the palace gates therefore to the remotest cottage door there was one unanimous wail of sorrow. Princes and ministers however were not so easily roused, and the exigencies of State oftentimes barred the way. Louis VII. was then King of France. Young, romantic, and goaded on by an uneasy conscience he desired to go. But the Chancellor Ségur could not see where the expenses were to come from; and so the year 1145 passed away, notwithstanding the wail from the East, notwithstanding the tales and rhymes of pilgrim and romancer, and notwithstanding the urgent letters from the Pope.

It is a question whether it ever struck the leading minds of Christendom, that this was a fight, not alone for the possession of Jerusalem and the Christian settlements, but (humanly speaking) for the very existence of Christendom itself. At any rate on the last days of that year (1145), on the Feast of the Nativity, "Louis, King of France, held his Court at Bourges, to which he summoned the bishops and lords of his kingdom." His business with them was to confer about a new crusade. A crusade now was quite a different thing from what it was in the days of Peter the Hermit, when the red cross was for the first time donned on the warrior's coat of mail. An expedition to Palestine over the blue waves of the Mediterranean and through the sunny isles of Greece had lost its novelty in the first place; and in the second, experience had taught that the journey was long, taxing, and full of peril. No one openly opposed the king's wishes, but few espoused them with heartiness, and so "it was decided that a larger assembly should be called together at Vezelay, in Burgundy, at Easter, so that on the very feast of the Lord's Resurrection all those who were touched by his grace might concur in the exaltation of the Holy Cross."

They met. Pope Eugenius III. was expected to preside.

Tidings were brought that he was unable but that he was sending a representative. A man of about fifty-four years of age appeared. The whole assembly rose and greeted him with marked respect. He was a monk wearing the habit of his order. He was tall, his features were regular and handsome, and the cloister had not wholly robbed him of that stateliness and grace that belonged to his younger days. But now "he was so attenuated and weakened by sufferings, that his life seemed prolonged by a miracle. He could scarcely support himself on his feet. For three years previously he had not left the bounds of his monastery. He was almost dead, and you would have thought he was about to breathe his last." This was the famous Abbot of Clairvaux, the great St. Bernard, a monk who from his cell of pain exercised in the world outside an influence rivalling, if not surpassing, that of the pope himself.

The place of assembly was on the brow of a hill. There sat the king and his vassals, Queen Eleanor, and several prelates and knights as well as men of all ranks; for, "neither the large church, nor the castle, nor the public square, could contain the multitudes that flocked together from all sides; such vast crowds had the fame of the sacred orator drawn to Vizelay;"—so writes the old chronicler, and he thus continues—"fortified by Apostolic authority and his own sanctity, St. Bernard ascended the platform, having by his side the young King Louis, who already wore his cross. The preacher raising his voice gave utterance to the plaintive accents of the Holy City and conjured the French princes and the Christian people to arm for the defence of the Sepulchre of Christ."

The multitude interrupted him, crying out "it is the will of God—it is the will of God!" The king cast himself at the feet of the saint, and vowed to go to the assistance of the Holy Land. The queen asked for the cross, and received it. Several bishops followed, and then an immense number of lords and barons crowded round the platform and asked for the cross. The supply was insufficient, and St. Bernard had to tear up his habit to make crosses. Next day and the succeeding saw the enthusiasm greater and greater. The

movement had begun in earnest. The Spirit of God seemed to prevail. All private animosities were forgotten. The Christian princes signed treaties of peace; one thing alone was uppermost in the minds of all, how to rescue the Tomb of Christ from the infidel, and thus save their brethren in the East, as well as cover all Christendom, but especially the faithful land of France, with honourable renown.

By the advice of St. Bernard, Louis sent ambassadors to Roger, King of Sicily, to obtain vessels and provisions. Other ambassadors he sent to Emperor Conrad and the King of Hungary to request a safe passage; and still others to the Emperor, the knavish and double-dealing Michael Comnenus, at Constantinople, apprising him of the undertaking. All this being done he appointed the following spring as the time for departure and then dismissed the assembly.

France being thus thoroughly roused where was the saint to betake himself next, or in what country was he likely to find support? England, France, and Germany, were the three great European powers of the day. Spain was herself groaning under the yoke that afterwards was to be so brilliantly flung off by the pluck of a woman's sword and brain—Isabella of Castille. As far as England was concerned, no prospects could be held out to him. The sons and grandsons of the Norman conquerors were but fixing themselves in the strongholds that their fathers had forcibly grasped, and what with a sullen nation of oppressed and persecuted bondsmen about them, and what with international quarrels among themselves, they had little temptation to go fight abroad. These things however, characteristic of the period as they were, might have been overcome by the persuasive eloquence of the saint; but the king wearing the crown (Stephen) was weak and womanish; whereas a woman with manly energy and thought (Matilda), backed up by large support outside the island, and by not a little within, claimed the crown, and thus put it beyond possibility for England to give any appreciable support to the cause; and so the saint did not try.

In Germany things looked almost as unpromising. The

Emperor had quarrelled with the Holy See, and the two great parties of Guelphs and Ghibbelines scarcely ever sheathed the sword. Yet St. Bernard would trust the brave Teuton nation. Before, however, setting foot on their territory, he, by the advice of the pope (who was indeed one of St. Bernard's own monks) addressed a public letter "to our dear lords and most reverend fathers, the archbishops, all the clergy, and frank people of Germany and Bavaria, Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, wishing they may abound in the Holy Ghost . . . : . . . The Christian world is disturbed, the whole earth is troubled, for the God of Heaven has begun to destroy the country where He once made himself visible to men and conversed among them for more than thirty years,—that country rendered illustrious by His miracles, consecrated by His blood, and verified by the fruits of His Resurrection; and now, because of our sins that promised land is devastated by a sacrilegious people, the enemies of the cross God desires to be regarded as your debtor that He may repay you, and grant you His forgiveness and eternal glory. Hasten then to display your zeal and take up arms in defence of your Christian names, you whose provinces are teeming with young and valiant warriors, if I am to believe public report. . . . Blessed is he who raises the standard of the cross! Blessed is he who hastens to arm himself with this saving sign!"

It was about the end of the Autumn of this same year (1146), that he set out for Germany. His journey was a continued series of miracles. His breath, his blessing, his prayer, his very presence, wrought prodigies. All these miracles were so well attested, that even Sismondi in his *History of the Franks* has not questioned the accuracy of their relation, nor their occurrence, but confines himself to showing that fanaticism was the agent. To this it has been well answered that a person born blind must, indeed, be endowed with an extraordinary amount of credulity, when the scales will fall from his eyes, and he be enabled to see. And furthermore, those critics have been very fairly challenged to produce an equal amount of this useful fanaticism, so that

the blind may see, the lame walk. On the Catholic people of Germany this continuation of miracles had an extraordinary effect. "A blind man was brought to him, virtue went out from our holy father—not from him, however, but from the word of the sign of life, and sight was restored to the man's eyes." "This morning, fourth feria, after mass, I presented to him a girl who had a withered hand. He cured her on the spot." "I saw him restore speech to a child deaf and dumb from his birth." "I myself spoke to the child at the moment when the sign of the cross was made upon him, and he heard and answered me distinctly." "A mother brought her little blind child. The sign of the cross restored his sight; but what was the mother's surprise when the child stretched out his hand to an apple which I offered to him." These and such like miracles are given in abundance by those who witnessed them.

He found the Emperor at Frankfort-on-Main. Some years previously the saint had befriended him, and this gave him hopes; but his interview with the monarch showed that all his hopes were vain. The emperor even on one occasion answered very curtly that nothing was further from his mind than to go on a crusade; and, indeed, considering the position of political affairs, it was hard to blame him. He was the nominee of the Ghibbeline party, and the Guelphs gave but a scant and enforced recognition to his rule. St. Bernard, therefore, commenced his journey homeward. The bishop of Constance, however, prayed him to stay and preach the crusade through his diocese. The saint assented. From the latter end of October till the 22nd of December, he continued going through the diocese, preaching moreover in Zurich, Basle, Winterthur, Strasbourg, and all this time miracles continued.

The emperor had called the Diet to meet in the city of Spires, on Christmas Day. St. Bernard promised to attend. He reached Spires on Christmas Eve. "The bishop, the clergy, and the citizens came to meet him, with great solemnity with crosses and banners, and the members of the various guilds carrying the badges of their profession. He was conducted through the city amid the sound of bells and

sacred hymns to the door of the Cathedral, where the Emperor and the German Princes received him with all the honour due to the pope's envoy. There was an immense crowd of people—some of whom had come from a great distance to see and hear the saint, and to behold the countenance of the wonder-worker. The procession advanced from the great door of the cathedral to the choir, chaunting joyfully to the Queen of Heaven the hymn *Salve Regina*. Bernard, conducted by the emperor himself, walked in the middle of the procession, surrounded by crowds of people; but when the last accents of the hymn to the Virgin had died away through the sacred aisles, after these words—*Filium tuum nobis post hoc exilium ostende*, the holy abbot, transported by his enthusiasm, added the three-fold aspiration—*O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Virgo Maria*. These sweet and tender words which flowed spontaneously from Bernard's heart were thenceforth added to the hymn; and plates of brass were laid down on the pavement of the church to mark the footsteps of the man of God to posterity, and the places where he so touchingly implored *the clemency, the mercy, and the sweetness* of the Blessed Virgin Mary."

The monarch seemed to be moved by the reception, and asked for two days to deliberate. On St. Stephen's Day the Holy Abbot celebrated Mass before the emperor and his court, and turning towards the people, he pronounced an impassioned discourse on the woes of the Holy Land. In the midst of his sermon he addressed himself directly to the emperor, and, full of divine aspiration, cried out in a voice of thunder:—"O man! what wilt thou answer in the day of judgment?" Conrad, struck with terror demanded the cross of Christ. "I am willing," he said, "to devote my life to the Lord." The people raised their hands to heaven and filled the church with acclamations. The princes knelt at the feet of the holy preacher and asked for the pilgrim's cross. Barons and knights followed the example of their lords. Ancient feuds were forgotten. Even the Guelph party, the heads of which had met in Bavaria, hearing St. Bernard's letters read, demanded the cross. The Duke of Bavaria himself was the first, and then came a great many

barons and prelates. Well may the latest biographer of the saint in his notable work cry out—"The Abbot of Clairvaux was truly the man of his age. He gave the impulse to the crusades; and the movement begun in France was propagated from province to province across the vast countries of Germany from the Rhine to the Danube. All Europe was shaken, and Asia trembled to its foundation. A new era opens on us; a complete regeneration wrought out with all the agony of a painful childbrith. The east and west are making themselves ready for the battle; and out of the bloody shock shall the modern world arise."

The German army was entrusted to the emperor; the French to the King of France. The people wanted St. Bernard to be their leader, but he reminded them of what had befallen the first crusade under the guidance of Peter the Hermit. On the 4th January, 1147, he set out from Spire to return to his monastery. The people, with the emperor, accompanied him. Suddenly a poor crippled child threw himself before the saint. He made the sign of the cross over him, and the child arose perfectly cured. Then addressing the people he spoke in a wonderful manner of the divine mercy, and his words were "not human but angelic." The crusaders left; Constantinople proved treacherous, and but the remnants of the two brilliant armies returned with drooping flags to Europe. St. Bernard watched by the cradle, and he wept over the bier of the second crusade.

R. O'KENNEDY.

¹ The Abbé Ratisbonne. He was suddenly and miraculously converted from Judaism on the 20th January, 1842, at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the Church of St. Andrew at Rome. "I have seen *her*! I have seen *her*!" was his one exclamation. His *Life of St. Bernard* is one of the most remarkable works in Catholic literature.

COURTSTOWN CASTLE.

UPON the Conquest of South Wales by the Anglo-Norman nobles, Gerald Fitzwalter de Windsor acquired extensive possessions there. He was a descendant of that powerful nobleman, who in the reign of Edward the Confessor was styled a Baron, and whose son Walter-Fitz-Otho, was appointed by the Conqueror Castellan of Windsor, and Warden of the forests of Berkshire. Shortly after settling down in Wales, some of the younger branches of his descendants resolved to embark in the Irish enterprise, to which they were induced by ample promises of land, and recompenses by the King. The expedition was planned by that cruel and criminal character Dermid McMurrrough, aided and abetted by the English King, Henry the Second.

Maurice Fitzgerald, the De Barris and Fitz Henrys, headed by an able and ambitious man, after enlisting what forces they could, set sail for Ireland. They had hitherto been condemned to a life of inaction, which dissatisfied impatient spirits that pined for the field of battle. Large grants of land were guaranteed to all adventurers of knightly rank. Dermid knew well that the natural genius of the Normans for war had been sharpened and perfected by their campaigns in France and England, and in the first and second crusades. They had brought home with them from those foreign expeditions all that could be learned of military science in other countries—all that Italian skill, Grecian subtlety, or Saracen invention could teach, they knew and combined into one system.

Many of them had won their spurs on well contested fields. Their armour excited the wonder as well as the fear of their opponents; for over a hauberk of netted steel, all men of family wore costly coats of satin, and cloth of gold emblazoned with their arms. In their hands they carried the dangerous and deadly cross-bow, which would kill point blank at forty or fifty yards, and the best at fully one hundred.

The cavalier, with sword in hand or lance at rest, wore a

helmet, covered by a crown or crest of some champion he had overthrown. Among those whose deeds of daring secured success for the expedition was Raymond De Carew, surnamed le Gros, who has sometimes been styled the Achilles of the Irish expedition. His conspicuous services encouraged him to seek the hand of Basilia De Clare, sister to Strongbow, the leader of the enterprise. Everything belonging to the perfect equipment of the little Welsh fleet being now ready, they set sail without delay, and approaching the Irish shore, ran into a creek of the bay of Bannow, and within ten days of their landing were drawn up within sight of the walls of Wexford.

The historian tells us that the townspeople, having burned down an exposed suburb, closed their gates and manned their walls.

By the advice of the bishop and clergy, the town surrendered on honourable terms. Having subdued Wexford, and divided the country round among his most sturdy adherents, Strongbow, aided by Dermid, with a force of 3,000 men, marched into the adjoining territory of Ossory, chastised its Chief, Donough Fitzpatrick, and bestowed the richest portion of that principality on Raymond, which, denominated from him, was known afterwards as the "Cantred of Grace's Country." It embraced a very wide tract of land, comprehending the three contiguous baronies of Crannagh, Galmoy and Shillboghger, extending northwards by the liberties of Kilkenny and the River Nore to the borders of the Queen's County; and thence southwards by the borders of Tipperary and the Munster river to the liberties of Callan, forming a district between ten and eleven miles in length, and six or seven in breadth. This rich territory lay within the Pale, and when Strongbow had secured a confirmation from the King in his immense possessions, all the natives were expelled, so as not one Irish family had as much as one acre of freehold in all the Five Counties of the Pale, as we learn from Sir J. Davies. Hence it was not difficult for the adventurers to come into possession of vast estates, which Strongbow divided among them as prizes for their services in the Irish expedition. Hence too, we need not feel astonished that he lavished the

most liberal endowments on Raymond, his brother-in-law, whose deeds of valour on the battlefield were surpassed by his strategic craft in the council chamber. His new possessions covered one of the richest tracts of land that fringed the southern boundary of the pale. A considerable portion of it still continues to commemorate its former lords, not only in its general outline, but in its particular denominations.

We shall see this later on when I give the county surveys in and round Tullaroan.

With this wealthy possession was coupled the honour of Constable and Standard-bearer of Leinster, together with the lands of Fethard, Odrone and Glascarrig. The early magnitude of the territorial possessions thus acquired, and long held by the lords of Grace's Country may be inferred from a deed preserved among the evidences of the Ormonde family, in Kilkenny Castle, respecting a partition made the 3rd of May, 1247, between the five daughters of William, Earl Marshal of the Counties of Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Kildare, and Leix. In 1176, Raymond le Gros was appointed sole viceroy of Ireland, which high office he had previously held in conjunction with Earl Strongbow, his brother-in-law. William Fitz Raymond le Gros, his eldest son, succeeded him as Lord of Grace's Country, and was Governor of the Palatinate of Leinster in 1202 for William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, son-in-law and representative of Strongbow. During succeeding centuries we find several members of the same family employed in various services by the Crown, whether as ambassadors to foreign courts, or leaders of various expeditions against the native Irish, and bringing reinforcements to Edward in his invasion of Scotland. Like the other Norman chiefs who fixed their homes in Ireland, they naturally modified their policy. They desired to live in friendship with the natives, and even to protect them from new aggressors. The succeeding generation came to have some affection for the country and the people, they often took Irish wives, and their children were fostered in Irish families.

Their heirs, we are told, spoke the native tongue, wore the national mantle and barret, and called themselves by

native names, cherished the legends and laws of the Celts, and at their hospitable board entertained bard and brehon. To check those tendencies a law was passed later on forbidding those relations with the natives under penalty of death, and to adopt "any guise or fashion of the Irish" involved the forfeiture of all lands. Hence we need not feel astonished if the relations between the two races, through these law-enforced enactments, became of a very unpleasant character. The Normans were by race and habit energetic and ambitious; they could fight but did not care to trade: they had learned the lesson of the Gospel, with little love for the arts of life, and, though cruel and dissolute, they were exemplary in the maintenance of religious worship. In the early stages of their career they marshalled every host with Norman skill, made war and bore defeat with Norman fortitude. Invincible in France, Italy, and England, those proud intractable nobles harassed and impoverished whatever of the native race lay on the borderland of their vast estates. Greed and ambition nourished in their breasts a thirst for the border foray, and the season during which the fields did not require the presence of the cultivators sufficed for a short inroad and a battle. These operations, too frequently interrupted to produce decisive results, yet served to keep up among the people a degree of discipline and courage which rendered them not only secure but formidable. History informs us that the archers and billmen of those middle ages, with provision for forty days left the field for the camp.

Men covered with iron from head to foot, armed with ponderous lances, and mounted on horses of the largest breed, composed the strength of an army, wherein the individual had to make it a study to manage the ponderous weapons with which he was loaded. And what was the indispensable duty of the common soldier to make himself acquainted with, became the amusement of a large class of country gentlemen.

It was the service by which they held their lands, and the diversion by which, in the absence of mental resources, they beguiled their leisure. On the walls of the entrenched towns cross-bows hung, with a store of arrows ready to shoot;

and when the city horn sounded twice, burgess and bachelor vied with each other in warlike haste. It was only in the time of peace the stranger Celt was welcome in the streets; he was free to buy and sell, and to admire the fair dames who walked the quiet ramparts, clad in mantles of green, or russet or scarlet. Thus writes Friar Michael in his poetic picture of the town of Ross two centuries after the Norman invasion. Save in particular places and with few exceptions, there was little hope that the two races would blend in on. Their common religion might be expected to soften down the differences of race and the fierceness of manners and barbarous customs; but even here the distinctions of nationality were carried into the sanctuary and the cloister. War was renewed as regularly as the seasons. No sooner was the husbandman in the field than the knight was on the road. The pike, the battle-axe, the sword and skein, had soon become weapons well known to the Normans, which they wielded with great skill and invincible courage. The country was thickly studded with the ancient forest, and so netted with rivers, protected and fringed by their guardian woods, that it needed very accurate knowledge, for the missing or finding of a ford often determined a campaign just as much as the skill of a chief or the courage of a battalion. The chief expedient for subsisting an army was driving before them herds and flocks; free quarters for men and horses were supplied by the tenants of allied chiefs within their territory, and for the rest the simple outfit resembled that of the Scottish borderers, who cooked the cattle they captured in their skins, carrying a broad plate of metal and a little bag of oatmeal trussed up behind the saddle. The invaders, however, soon became jealous of each other's prowess and wealth, and with a view to define the limits of their sway, as well as to defend the territory they had won by the sword, they raised up those rival castles which exhibited the spirit of powerful chieftains as well as the taste of a feudal age. Their halls of hospitality and social intercourse became no less attractive than their bulwarks of defence. Courtstown Castle formed no exception in the superior importance of its architectural character to any of those surprising edifices, whose remains in our day

only excite the curiosity of the scholar and the antiquarian research of the historian. It consisted of an outward ballium or envelope, having a round tower at each angle, and also at each side of an embattled entrance to the south, which was further defended by a portcullis. Within this area stood the body of the castle, whose general figure was polygonal. A massive quadrangle tower projected from the centre of the south front, directly opposite to the embattled entrance of the exterior area above mentioned. From the side of this great square tower two wings extended, which terminated on the east and west with round towers. The east front consequently exhibited on its southern angle one of those round towers, and further northwards stood a similar tower, flanking a portal, which led into the inner court, formerly furnished with a portcullis. The north front consisted of a high embattled wall, connecting two square towers, and enclosing the inner area on that side. The western front externally corresponded with the eastern. A communication led to the inner court by a gallery, and, in the centre of it the traces of a draw-well are still visible; as are also the vestiges beyond the outside walls of the bowling green, cock-pit, fish ponds, &c., &c.

Courtstown Castle long continued to possess great dignity of appearance, from the extent of its area, the height and massive thickness of its walls, the picturesque and skilful disposition of its towers, the embattled gateway, and the works of circumvallation, by which it was defended. Within sight of the ancient Castle of Courtstown, stands in ruinous beauty, Grace's Chapel, adjoining Tullaroan Church, which was erected by Sir John Grace Fitz-John, Baron of Courtstown. Over a Gothic doorway appear the two following inscriptions, in *alto relievo*, profusely decorated with sculpture. "Orate pro anima Baronis Gras Joannis filii olim qui me fieri fecit. Et pro anima Onorin brenach (*Walsh*) uxoris ejus, Anno Domini 1543." A lion rampant, the armorial bearings of the family, here forms a conspicuous ornament, as it does upon the monumental remains in the inside of this chapel. This same crest of the family may be seen upon some arch or doorway in the more important structures which

were raised by the pious zeal of the house of Courtstown. The little monastery and church of Tullaroan, as well as the neighbouring religious edifices of Rathely-Grace and Killaghy, all in the cantred of Grace's country, together with Castle Grace Church, near Clogheen, owed their origin at various intervals, either to the immediate head, or to some of the opulent branches of this house. Rossbercon monastery, seated on the river Barrow, and opposite the town of Ross, was likewise founded by this family, in conjunction with that of Walsh "Succinit Alemandus addens extinctum fuisse coenobium hoc ab Hibernico-anglicanis familiis de Grace et de Walsh."—(See *Hibernia Dominicana*, page 270.) The munificent piety that suggested those foundations was, in many respects, most usefully directed. In countries already decorated by literature, they assisted the cause of neglected letters, both in their preservation and culture; while, in ruder regions, and under circumstances of revolution, the only place of security to be found for the weak, the aged, and the helpless, was beneath their protecting roofs. About a mile to the north-east of Courtstown Castle, on the cross-road, in the village of Tullaroan, two very ancient stone crosses, erected by the Grace family, are still to be seen. The one exhibits in the centre, in *alto relievo*, a figure of our Lord, with a cloth round his waist, and on the shaft the mutilated remains of an inscription, from which nothing can now be gathered. The other has also in *alto relievo*, a figure of a virgin, or of some female saint, in long flowing drapery. Of this latter cross, a tradition prevails, that a French lady, of high rank and exquisite beauty, having followed one of the Grace family from France, and finding he was married, built this cross, as well to reproach his inconstancy, as to evince the piety of her resignation to disappointment. It is also added that on returning to the continent, she sought forgetfulness, by retiring to a cloister. A third cross is still remaining. It stands on the roadside, near Bonnetstown, between the village of Tullaroan and the city of Kilkenny, and about two miles from the latter. It is said to have been designed to commemorate the fate of a young man of the family of Courtstown, who had been only two days married,

when he was killed on this spot by a fall from his horse. On the west of this pedestal is a shield, with a lion rampant impaling a chevron between three arrows, and under the shield the names of Edmund Grace and Catherine Archer in *alto relicto* Gothic characters. On the south side is inscribed in the same characters, "chill· is· death· remember· and· think· upon· this· cross· which· thou· dost· see· and· pray· for· them· that· build· this· cross·" On the east side may be deciphered "12 of an—1619—Catarin Archer als—deceased· the—that· build· this· cross·" The only words discernible on the north side are, "Sacr—monumentum·" About half a mile to the west of this cross is a stone with some rude unintelligible characters, said to be Irish. The peasantry call it "Clogh Grasogh," Grace's stone, and say that from that spot the funeral procession of some popular member of this family extended to Kilkenny; and those who happened to be in the rere stood here while the ceremony of interment was performing in the Cathedral. Many local traditions of ancient date mingle with the stories of border forays, in the days of black rent, coyne and livery, and are partially perpetuated in fragments of verse and prose. The war-song of the Barons of Courtstown, and the "Gearlaidir-aboo" of the house of upper Ossory—those martial signs of the times, handed down by tradition, have been commemorated in several pieces of poetry by no means destitute of merit. Among the ancient Irish the chieftain was distinguished by a soubriquet, derived from some noted place or exploit, or from some accident or quality in mind or body, which contributed to the accuracy as well as the interest of these bardic traditions, which are still found to be the oral records of the more popular exploits of their feudal lords, who

"Were of fame and had been glorious in another day."

We also find that the house of Courtstown, besides the sway it exercised in the civil affairs of the country and its martial powers on the field of battle, gave to the Church many men of distinguished rank and learning. Three of the Grace family were bishops of that remarkable See of St. David's, Wales. Richard le Gras, abbot of the Mitred Abbey of Eve-

sham, in Worcestershire, and keeper of the Great Seal of England, died bishop of Litchfield. William le Gros, the Augustinian prior of Christ Church, sat as a baron in the Irish Parliament; whilst Oliver Grace, was abbot of that noble relic of faith and piety—Jerpoint Abbey, in south Kilkenny—at the time of its suppression by Henry the Eighth.

We must hasten to associate ancient history with the extinction and downfall of the house of Courtstown. Another conqueror reached the Irish shores to complete by pillage and murder, what Strongbow had begun by the sword. Leinster yielded very soon to that successful butchery, which accorded with the cruel spirit of the age and the iron hand of the merciless tyrant. In two years Cromwell was undisputed master, driving out by beat of drum, as Duffy tells us, the entire Catholic population of “three provinces, excepting only hinds useful to hold the plough, or herd the flocks of the conqueror.” Aged men and women, feeble and sickly persons, as well as peers and knights, who had fought for the king, were driven across the Shannon, and their lands divided among the soldiers of the Lord *Protector*. If they returned they became liable to be hanged without trial. The admitted aim of Cromwell was to extirpate the Irish race, and readers of Father Murphy's *Cromwell in Ireland*, in which he has painted the singular promptitude and savage sternness of Oliver's character in colours that will not fade, can easily gather from the resources at the general's command, and the stupidity and hypocrisy of the leaders opposed to him, how quickly and successfully he carried out his mission. On the subversion of Royalty, the Courtstown estates were seized by the Commonwealth, and were officially surveyed, for the purpose of distribution among the soldiery, as forfeited land. The spoliation and cruelties inflicted during this unjust and violent intrusion were marked by more than republican savagery. Every description of property found within the walls of Courtstown Castle, including even pictures, books, and title-deeds, was either plundered or wantonly destroyed. Tradition has also preserved many particulars, exhibiting the ruthless spirit of the fanaticism, avarice, and oppression, to which the inhabitants of Grace's Country were the victims,

In the *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars* in Ireland, by Lord Clarendon, it is incidentally mentioned that, at this period, "some soldiers of the king's army being taken in a village in Grace's parish, Colonel Daniel Axtell caused all the inhabitants of the said village to be apprehended, hanged three of them, and sold the rest to Barbadoes." This ancient patrimony was, however, again recovered by John Grace, after an alienation of nearly two years, owing to the personal interposition of the Protector. Two private letters, of his own writing, in 1655, besides three official orders on the subject, are still extant; and to his son-in-law, the Lord Deputy Fleetwood, he strongly, though guardedly, thus expresses himself.

"DEARE CHARLES—The bearer, Mr. Grace, having obtained an ordinance from ourselfe and counsell, in reference to his compounding for his estates, and being by reason of sickness, hindered from going over into Ireland to prosecute the same, the perfecting of his commission hath been restored; and, being now going over thither, hee hath besought me to recommend his case to you, that he may have a speedy and favourable dispatch of that business; which I earnestly desire of you, upon the merits and equity of his case, hee being, I think, the only person that the late Lord Deputy did see particularly recommend to favor, upon the account of his forwardness and readiness to assist the English forces and interest.

"I rest, your loving ffather,
"OLIVER C."

WHITE HALL, August 9, 1655.

Cromwell had previously interfered to diminish the amount of composition-money which was imposed, and to lengthen the time stipulated for its payment. The noble bearing, generosity of character, and prepossessing appearance of the Baron of Courtstown, are said to have excited in his regard a most fortunate interest; so that Ludlow observes, "that he was restored to his great estates by Cromwell himself," who was not displeased with his manly defence of them. Later on a liberal indemnity in the province of Connaught was offered in exchange for the Courtstown estates, and though urged with hostile deeds and threats, was rejected by the owner with a bold, perhaps hazardous firmness.

During the progress of this eventful struggle, the Baron of Courtstown was assisted by the advice and influence of the

Duchess of Ormonde, whose personal courage and noble fortitude secured her a loftier distinction than the gifts of fortune or the prestige of rank. Cromwell treated her with the utmost respect, and through the influence of this friendship, she was enabled to secure for the Baron of Courtstown, the retention of his property up to the restoration of the Royal family, when he was confirmed in its possession by a clause in the Act of Settlement, passed by the Irish Parliament of 1662. "Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the commissioners for the execution of this act shall forthwith restore unto John Grace, of Courtstown Castle, and Colonel Richard Grace (of Moyally Castle,) and their respective heirs, all and singular, the messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments &c., &c., and that both shall hold and enjoy the lands so restored, anything in this or the said former act contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

In the year 1686, the head of the house of Courtstown was appointed High Sheriff, and Lieutenant-Governor of the County of Kilkenny, and in three years afterwards, he represented the same county in Parliament.

J. DOHENY, C.C.

(To be continued.)

AN ABBREVIATE OF THE GETTING OF IRELAND. AND OF THE DECAY OF THE SAME—II.

Summa ; 868 h., 10 bat., 3,740 k.

1. McWilliam Bourg, called M'William Enghter, L. of Keni-kekehe (McWilliam Iochtar of Balinecarre?), 200 h., 3 b., 300 k.
2. M'William Bourg, L. of Clanricard, 120 h., 2 b., 300 k.
3. McDavy Bourg, L. of Clinkene (Glinnsce) 24 h., 40 k.
4. McShiertan, called Depehter ¹ L. of Gallin, 12 h., 60 k.
5. The Lord Brimingham, L. of Konnykedonnere, 14 h., 40 k.
6. McKemile (McEvily) L. of Kerr (Kenturk), 120 k.

¹ MacSuretan, Lord Desert, *alias* Jordan de Exeter—*Campion*.

7. Nang, L. of Clyncosteh (Nangle of Clann Costilach), 12 h., 40 k.
8. McPhelippim Bourg., L. of Oyel (of Brehe), 40 k.

Summa ; 382 h., 5 b., 940 k.

Both the said Lord Bourgs, called either of them McWilliam, be mortal enemies; and the Irishmen be severed with them; and will be of no better condition than Irishmen, wearing Irish apparel, and so friended and allied with them, that they take their part against the king's subjects, hating the king's laws.

ULSTER.

1. O'Nele, L. of that portion, Tyrone, with his blood and kinsmen, 200 h., 3 b., 300 k.
2. O'Donil, L. of Tirconil, 100 h., 4 b., 300 k.
3. Conn McHugh Buy,¹ L. Clanybuy, 200 h., 3 b., 200 k.
3. McMahound, L., of the Irish Uriel (Monaghan) (40 h., 2 b., 300 k.)²
4. McMahan, L. of Loghtec (Lochtie), 40 h., 1 b., 300 k.
5. McGennis, L. of Iveagh, 60 h., 1 b., 200 k.
6. O'Kahan, L. of Yraghticapari (Oireacht Ui-Chathain) 60 h., 1 b., 100 k.
7. M'Flony (McSorley), L. of the Clinnes (Glinnes), 20 h., 100 k.
8. McWilliam (McGuillin), L. of the Rooke (Route), 20 h., 100 k.
9. O'Hanlin (O'Hanlon), L. of Oria (Orior), 24 h., 60 k.
10. McKartane, L. of Kinalertes (Kinelearty), 6 h., 60 k.
11. McGuire, L. of Trughes (Fermanagh), 10 h., 40 k.
12. McRawel, L. of Kinalard (McRorie of Kilwarlin), 8 h., 40 k.

In the Ard dwelleth Canage (Savage), an Englishman, (with) 24 h., 1 b., 60 k., so environed, that he is almost expelled out of the country.

Sum : 811 h., 15 b., 2160 k.

MIDTH.

Wherein be these Irishmen, none whereof obeyeth the king's laws :

¹ Slain in 1482.

² I gather this from the *Summa*.

1. O'Malaghlin, L. of Clincolman (Clann Colmain), calling himself Prince of Meath, 24 h., 100 k.
2. O'Mulmoy (Mulloy), L. of Ferial, 20 h., 100 k.
3. McCoglan (McCoghlan), L. of Delha (Delbhna), 8 h., 120 k.
4. Magoghigan, L. of Kinaleagh, 24 h., 80 k.
5. Sinnagh (The Fox), L. of Montirhagan (Muintir-Tadhgain), 6 h., 40 k.
6. O'Brinn, L. of Brahone (Breaghmhaine, Brawney), 60 k.
7. McCawbe, L. of Katrie (McAwley of Calry), 4 h., 24 k.

Summa : 86 h., 524 k.

Summa totalis : Galoglas 41 bat., Horse 3345, Kerne 15704. A bataile of Galoglas be 60 or 80 men harnessed on foot, with sparres (battle-axes), every one whereof hath his knave to bear his harness, whereof some have spears, some have bows. Every Kerne hath a bow, a shriene (scian), or three spears, a sword and a skene, without harness ; and every two have a lad to bear their gear. Every horseman hath two horses, some three, a jack, well harnessed for the most part ; a sword, a skene, a great spear, and a dart. Every horse hath a knave, and their chief horse is ever led ; and one of his knaves rides always and bears his harness and spears, if he have harness.

They be for the most part good and hardy men of war, and can live hardly and suffer great misery. They will adventure themselves greatly on their enemies, seeing time to do it ; (they are) good watchers in the night, and as good soldiers by night as others by day. These Irishmen hate the king's laws and subjects mortally ; and notwithstanding all gifts and other (things), when they see their time, they do their best for their advantage. They use always to make themselves strong, and all the goods of the subjects they take, when it pleases them, for their proper goods.

When a lord dieth, the strongest and best is made lord after him, and captain ; and seldom doth any of the sons succeed his father.¹ Their sons learn to be men of war from the age of 16 years, and be continually practised in (the) toils thereof,

¹ I omit five lines, which might give offence, and which, I think, are calumnious.

but God provided (for us by) setting continual dissensions and mortal war.¹

The inheritance of the Captains of Ireland goeth not by succession, but by election and forte main ; so that he who is strongest ever succeedeth ; by reason whereof there is almost always rebellion against the Lord. The Captain or Lord keepeth none of his lands in his own hand, but giveth to his followers, by whom he is maintained with all things necessary, or what pleaseth him to take, for all that they have is at his commandment.

James of Desmond, grandfather to him that now is, about fifty years ago, put first coyne and livery on the king's subjects in his countries ; whom the rest followed till all was come to nought, the king's laws being exiled, and the king's subjects no better than Irishmen. The abominable use of coyne and livery was brought into the four English counties—Midth, Lowth, Dublin, and Kildare, by James, Earl of Desmond, son to the foresaid James, being then Deputy, and (he) was put to death therefor. Then ensued coyne and livery, Boone² (Cuddwe, Carliggcariages, journeye, and other impositions.

The Englishmen become Irish be these:—The Earl of Desmond, the Knight of Kerry, FitzMorishe (of) Kerry, Lord Cogan, Lord Bared, Sir Thomas of Desmond, Sir Gerald of Desmond, the White Knight, the Knight of the Vale, Lord Barry, Lord Roache, Sir Gerald Desmond's sons, Yog Lord Barry (i.e., Barry Ôg.), Lord Courcy, the Powers of the County of Waterford, Sir William Bourg of the County of Limerick, Sir Piers Butler, and all the Captains of the Butlers in the County of Kilkenny and Federt (Fethard ?).

In Connaght, Lord Bourg of Comkeghoule, Earl of Clanricard, Lord Brimigham of Aurie (Athenry), Sir Miles Stanton's sons, Sir Jordan Stanton's sons, Lord Nangill, Sir Walter Barrett's sons, of Tirauley. In Ulster, Lord Savage of Lecale, Fitzhowten of Tuskard, and FitzJohn Liased

¹ I omit ten lines on the " Passes which are to be cut," as the nomenclature is corrupt, and as the subject might not interest the reader.

² Bonnacht ; see *Haynes' Observations*, I. E. RECORD, vol. viii., p. 1120.

(Bisset) of the chinnes (Glinnes). In Midth, the Dillons, Daltons, Tyrrels, Dallamares.

English counties paying yearly tribute to the wild Irish :
The Barony of Lecale to the Captain of Clanybaye (Clandeboy), 40 li.

The County of Uriel (Louth) to O'Nele, called black rent, 40 li.

Midth to O'Conor Opholy (Faly), 300 li.

The County of Kildare to O'Cogh (O'Conor Faly) black rent, 20 li.

The County of Wexford to McMurghowe and Art Buy 10 li. (40 li.)

The Counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary to O'Carri], (O'Carroll), 10 li. (40 li.)

County of Limerick to O'Brene, 40 li.

The same to O'Bren Aragh, 10 li. (40 li.)

County of Cork to Cormac McTeag (Teig), 40 li.

The Exchequer to McMorghu, 80 marks.

Summa, 740 li.

[To complete Nowel's picture of Ireland in the 16th century I will add a few touches from the 2nd volume of the State Papers of the reign of Henry the Eighth :—"To make His Grace understand, there bin more than 60 countries, called Regions, in Ireland, inhabited with the king's Irish enemies; some regions as big as a shire, some more, some less unto a little; some as big as half a shire, and some a little less. Where reigneth more than 60 chief Captains, whereof some calleth themselves Kings, some King's Peers in their language, some Princes, some Dukes, some Archdukes, that liveth only by the sword, and obeyeth to no other temporal person, but only to himself that is strong: and every of the said captains maketh war and peace for himself, and holdeth by the sword, and hath imperial jurisdiction within his realm, and obeyeth to no other person, English or Irish, except only to such persons as may subdue him by the sword. Also, there is more than 30 great Captains of English noble folk, that followeth the same Irish order, and keepeth the same rule; and every of them maketh war and

peace for himself without any licence of the king or of any other temporal person, save to him that is strongest, and of such that may subdue him by the sword. Here followeth the names of the counties that obey not the king's laws, and have neither justice nor sheriffs under the king :—

“ The counties of Waterford, Cork, Kilkenny, Limerick, Kerry, Carlow, Uriel (Louth), Meathe; half the counties of Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford; the countries of Connaght and Ulster. All the English folk of the said counties be of Irish habit, of Irish language, and of Irish conditions, except the cities and walled towns.

“ Here followeth the names of the counties subject unto the king's laws :—Half the counties of Uriel (Louth), Meath, Dublin, Kildare and Wexford.]”

EDMUND HOGAN, S.J.

LITURGY.

BENEDICTION OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT.

II. WHEN THE CELEBRANT IS ATTENDED BY A DEACON AND SUB-DEACON.

When the Officiant is assisted by a deacon and sub-deacon he must vest, as has been already stated, in amice, alb, girdle, stole, and cope. The vestments of the deacon and sub-deacon are the same as are used in Solemn Mass, with the exception of the maniples. The Officiant and the ministers having finished vesting, all make a profound inclination of the head to the Cross of the Sacristy, and proceed to the Altar. The thurifer goes first; he carries the thurible and the incense-boat. The thurible should contain fire, but no incense. After the thurifer follow the torch-bearers, two and two, with the master of ceremonies in their rere, and lastly the Officiant between the deacon and sub-deacon, who raise slightly the borders of the cope. When the thurifer arrives in the sanctuary he takes his place before the centre

of the Altar, at some distance backward from the steps, the torch-bearers arrange themselves right and left of thethurifer so as to form, with him in the centre, a line parallel to the sanctuary rail. When the sacred ministers reach the foot of the Altar they hand their berrettas to the master of ceremonies, and all genuflect *in plano*. The sacred ministers then kneel on the first step of the Altar, and having said a short prayer the deacon rises, and without either genuflection or inclination of the head or body, either before he ascends to the predella or after he has ascended, proceeds at once to the centre of the Altar, and extends the corporal. He opens the tabernacle, retires a little towards the Epistle side, and genuflects facing the Gospel corner of the Altar, that he may not have his back to the Officiant. The deacon should always observe this rule when genuflecting on the predella. Having taken the lunette from the tabernacle he closes the door, with or without a previous genuflection according as the Blessed Sacrament is or is not in the tabernacle.

The deacon next places the Monstrance on the corporal, secures the Host in it, and having turned the front part of it towards the people genuflects as before, and *on one knee only*. When he has placed the Monstrance on the thronè he again genuflects on the predella, and descends to his place at the right of the Officiant, taking care not to turn his back on the Blessed Sacrament.

Immediately after the deacon has knelt beside the Officiant, all the sacred ministers make a profound inclination of the head, and rise to put incense in the thurible. The deacon presents without *oscula*¹ the spoon and incense-boat; the sub-deacon raises the border of the cope at the right of the Officiant. All again kneel; the deacon receives the thurible and hands it without *oscula* to the Officiant, who with the other ministers makes a profound inclination of the head before and after the incensation.

When the Officiant rises to sing the prayer the book is held before him by the deacon and sub-deacon, who, however, remain kneeling.

¹ Gardellini, *Inst. Clem.*, Sect. 19, 13.

When the choir has responded *Amen* at the conclusion of the prayer the deacon without any inclination whatsoever¹ rises, goes up to the Altar, genuflects on one knee² on the predella, takes down the Monstrance from the throne and places it on the corporal with the back part towards the people, again genuflects on the predella on one knee, descends³ and kneels in his place. While the deacon is taking down the Monstrance, the master of ceremonies puts the humeral veil on the Officiant's shoulders. As soon as the deacon has knelt in his place, the Officiant, deacon, and sub-deacon rise and ascend the Altar. The deacon and sub-deacon kneel on the edge of the predella, and remain moderately inclined during the benediction. The Officiant placing his hands on the altar, genuflects on one knee, and covering his hands with the ends of the veil, takes the Monstrance,⁴ and gives benediction with

¹ In some places the deacon makes a profound inclination of the head before rising to take the Monstrance from the throne. We cannot find any authority for this inclination; and, moreover, as the other sacred ministers certainly *do not* make any reverence at this time, that uniformity on which the Rubrics so strongly insist, would seem to demand that neither should the deacon.

² Baldeschi (part 6, ch. 3, 13), directs the deacon to make a profound inclination when he has ascended to the predella instead of a genuflection. But as we have already shown both analogy and the practically unanimous opinion of the best Rubricists are in favour of the genuflection.

³ The directions here given by some Rubricists would seem to imply that the deacon, after taking down the Monstrance from the throne, should not descend to the foot of the Altar, but should remain on the predella until the Officiant and sub-deacon have ascended. Wapelhorst (n. 218, 40) says, "Diaconus suppedaneum conscendit, genuflectit, et ostensorium super altari in medio corporali deponit tunc genuflectit in suppedaneo a latere aliquantulum versus cornu Epistolæ; et celebrans surgit, conscendit suppedaneum simul cum sub-diacono, qui in extremitate suppedanei genuflectit." The great majority of Rubricists, however, recommend the directions given above. Gardellini in his justly celebrated commentary on the *Instructio Clementina* says, "Quando autem Sacerdos ascendit ad altare cum eo ascendant etiam sacri ministri" (Sect. 31, n. 12.) De Carpo is still plainer. "Quum Sacerdos," he says, "benedictionem daturus ad altare ascendit, diaconus quoque et sub-diaconus ascendant cum eo." (Part iii., n. 192.) So also De Herdt, vol. ii, n. 27, 40; Favrell, Part iii., ch. 4, Art. 1, n. 19, etc., etc.

⁴ Here again the directions given by Rubricists vary. Some lay it down that the deacon should hand the Monstrance to the Officiant; but by far the greater number recommend the directions given above. The former opinion has more support from the Rubrics; the latter is sanctioned by custom, and by the authority of the greatest Rubricists. It is quite certain, that on the occasion of the processions on Corpus Christi, and during the

it in the manner already described. He genuflects on one knee after replacing the Monstrance on the corporal, the humeral veil is removed by the master of ceremonies, and the Officiant together with the deacon and sub-deacon, rises, goes down to the foot of the altar, and kneels as before on the first step.

The deacon,¹ however, does not kneel, but immediately

Quarant' Ore, the deacon should hand the Monstrance to the officiating priest. This is especially stated in the Roman Ritual (ch. 5. n. 3.), the *Instr. Clementina* (sect. 12.), and the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* (ch. 33. n. 20.). Again, even those who direct the Officiant himself to take the Monstrance from the altar make an exception when the Officiant is a Bishop. In that case the deacon, they say, should hand the Monstrance to the Bishop. Baldeschi, for example, says, "The Bishop receives the Monstrance from the hands of deacon" (loc. cit. n. 15. note), though he lays down quite clearly, that when the Officiant is a priest, he is to take the Monstrance from the altar himself, and to replace it there (*ibid.* 13-15).

To us it seems that even when the Officiant is a Bishop, he is not *obliged* to receive the Monstrance from the deacon, or to hand it back to him after having blessed the people with it. We draw this inference from the *Caeremoniale*, ch. 33, n. 27. On the other hand, we must say that it is perfectly lawful, not only for a bishop, but even for a priest to have the Monstrance handed to him as described, for the Sacred Congregation of Rites on August 12th, 1854, decreed. "Ad benedictionem populo impertiendam fas esse sacerdoti e manibus diaconi ostensorium accipere sumptum ex altari ac post benedictionem illud diacono praeberere super altare denuo collocandum."

We append from De Carpo (loc. cit.), an extract, in which he describes how the Monstrance is to be given to the Officiant, and received from him again by the deacon.

"Ubi in more sit positum ut celebranti ad dandum benedictionem ostensorium a diacono porrigatur id hac ratione perficitur. Sacerdos accepto velo humerali altaris gradus ascendit, et cum subdiacono utroque genu flectit in ora suppedanei. Diaconus vero suppedaneum conscendit et simplici facta genuflexione paulisper ad cornu Epistolae, ostensorium utraque manu prehendit, et stans celebranti tradit; tum repetita genuflexione erga SS. Sacramentum, e suppedaneo descendit, ac in ejus ora genuflectit, ut supra imuimus. Celebrans interim se erigit, et ascendens suppedaneum per dextram suam se vertit ad populum, eique benedictionem impertit, qua data per cornu Evangelii se convertit, ad altare, et stans facie versa ad cornu Epistolae, Diacono in suppedaneo genuflexo SS. Sacramentum porrigit, et continuo eidem (*ibidem*) peracta genuflexione in plano cum subdiacono descendit ac super infimum altaris gradum genuflectit. Diaconus autem facta a celebrante genuflexione surgit ac SS. Sacramentum in tabernaculum reponit."

¹ More commonly, the deacon is directed not to ascend the altar with the Officiant and sub-deacon, but to descend to the predella at once to place the Blessed Sacrament in the Tabernacle. Uniformity, however, is better secured by the directions given above, and besides, we have with us many eminent Rubricists. Thus De Carpo (loc. cit.) says, "Celebrans . . . facta genuflexione descendit cum sacris ministris ante infimum altaris gradum super quem genuflectit cum eis . . . Tum diaconus ad altare conscendit, etc."

reascends the altar, genuflects on one knee on the predella, taking care, as before directed, not to turn his back on the Officiant, removes the lunette from the Monstrance, and returns it to the tabernacle with the proper reverences. He next folds the corporal, restores it to the burse, and having made a profound inclination of the head to the cross, descends to his place beside the Officiant. The master of ceremonies hands their berettas to the sacred ministers, all genuflect in *plano*, and return to the sacristy in the same order in which they came to the altar.

III. WHEN THE CELEBRANT IS ASSISTED BY A PRIEST WHO EXPOSES THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.

When the Officiant is assisted by a priest instead of by a deacon and sub-deacon, he may vest in either of the two ways before mentioned. The assistant priest should vest in surplice, and while actually engaged about the Blessed Sacrament, in stole as well. The duties of the assistant are precisely the same as those of the deacon, and need not therefore be repeated.

D. O'LOAN.

RULES REGULATING THE MASS TO BE SAID "IN ALIENA ECCLESIA."¹

SUMMARY.

By an *Aliena Ecclesia* is meant a church of seculars, or regulars, or of nuns who say the Office in choir, either in the diocese of the Celebrant or out of it, in which a different Office and consequently a different Mass from that of the Celebrant is prescribed.

A private oratory, or the chapel of nuns who do not celebrate the Office in choir, or the chapel of a seminary is not an *Aliena Ecclesia*, and consequently the rules given below do not apply to them.

General Principle. The Mass is conformable to the Office of the Celebrant.

Rules for Mass in *Aliena Ecclesia*.

I. When the Celebrant's Office is a Duplex, and the Office of the *Aliena Ecclesia* also a Duplex, the Celebrant—

(a) Should say his own Mass, if his colour is the same as that of the Church.

¹ Taken from the *Ephemerides Liturgicæ*, (No. 4, p. 245, April, 1888. Romæ.

(b) Should say the Mass of the Church, if his colour is different.

II. When the Celebrant's Office is Duplex, and that of the *Aliena Ecclesia* a Semiduplex or Simplex, the Celebrant should say his own Mass, no matter whether his colour is the same as that of the Church or not.

III. When the Celebrant's Office is a Semiduplex or Simplex, and the Office of the Church a Duplex, the Celebrant—

(a) Will say his own Mass, if his colour is the same as that of the Church.

(b) But the Mass of the Church if the colour is different.

IV. When the Celebrant's Office is a Semiduplex or Simplex, or that of the Church a Semiduplex or Simplex, the Celebrant will say his own Mass, or Requiem Mass, or Votive Mass, as he would in his own church.

NOTANDA.

In the following cases the Mass of the *Aliena Ecclesia* must be always said. Hence the above Rules do not apply to them:—

1°. When the *Aliena Ecclesia* is celebrating a Feast *cum solemnitate et concursu populi*.

2°. When the Celebrant says the Parochial Mass, as substitute for the Parish Priest, or the Community Mass in a convent of nuns bound to the choral recitation of the Office.

3°. When he celebrates a High Mass or Missa Cantata.

4°. When the Celebrant's Office is of a *Beatus* not included in the Calendar of the *Aliena Ecclesia*.

5°. When he celebrates in the church of Regulars who have the privilege of requiring all priests celebrating there to conform to their calendar.

CRITICA LITURGICA DE NORMA CELEBRANDI MISSAM IN ALIENA ECCLESIA.

In Ephemeride satis per Italiam diffusa, quae prodit bis in unoquoque mense Savonae sub nomine *L'Avvisatore Ecclesiastico*, inter alia utilissima pro Italico Clero, quae in ea eduntur, nonnullae quaestiones de re morali et canonica, ac etiam Liturgica, proponuntur, ac dein a Consociatis solvuntur. In Numero qui in lucem venit die 1 Februarii huius anni, data fuit cuidam quaestioni solutio, quae nobis neque recta, neque S. R. C. decretis conformis videtur. Ut ergo error dignoscatur, in Ephemeridibus Liturgicis Romanis dignum duximus

illam solutionem ad trutinam ponere, ut *Normam* tutam et in praxi tenendam pro *celebranda Missa in aliena Ecclesia*, perspicue edoceamur.

Sit ergo quaestio, quae in citato Numero pag. 324 proponitur et solvitur:

“Quaeritur 1. An Sacerdos in Ecclesia aliena celebrans, sese illi conformare teneatur, et 2. quatenus affirmative, quomodo ab eo *Missa celebranda*.”

Quibus quaestionibus sequens solutio data fuit a quodam Io. Ghirardelli Archipr. Dioec. Genuensis.

“Ad 1. Sacerdos celebrans aliena in Ecclesia illi se conformare tenetur ad tollendos abusos in variatione Missarum, ut in festis ibi duplicibus. 22 Mai. 1683, 3023. Coeterum Sacerdos tenetur celebrare Missam officio conformem, in quacunque Ecclesia, quia mater Ecclesia dirigens Officium et Missam ad honorandum mysterium aut Sanctum eundem, vult non dimidiari cultum, et quantum possibile est, Officium debet Missae concordare. Ideoque si ritus illius Ecclesiae permittit, ut in semiduplicibus, debet Missam Officio conformem etiam in aliena Ecclesia celebrare.”

“Ad 2. seu quatenus affirmative ut supra. Debet celebrare ut praescribitur in Calendario ipsius Ecclesiae, et uti debet Missali Romano, ut ex decretis S. Sedis.”

Quin verba hic faciam de responso *inadequato*, et de locutionibus parum accuratis, facile est cuicumque vix in re liturgica edocto, hanc solutionem *imperfectam, erroneam*, et S. R. C. resolutionibus *contrariam* iudicare. Si enim libros De Herdt, vel Bouvry, vel etiam libellum quemdam, editum Savonae anno 1864, a P. Caelestino a S. Ioanne Carmelita, cui titulus: *Norma celebrandi in aliena Ecclesia*, egregius solutor legisset, aliam et correctionem solutionem dedisset. Decretum enim, quod ille citat 22 Maii 1683, non pro Omnibus Ecclesiis valet, cum privilegium contineat pro Benedictinis: quod eruitur perspicue si cum plurimis decretis infra a nobis citandis illud conferatur.

Error tamen et imperfectio dictae solutionis clarissime patebit ex solutione, quam hic nos dabimus ad propositam quaestionem.

Ante omnia hoc principium in tuto ponendum est, quod *Missa debet, quoad fieri potest, cum Officio convenire*.

Rubricae enim Missalis in initio habent: *Missae quotidie igitur SECUNDUM ORDINEM OFFICII*; et alibi (Tit. IV, § 3): *Missae quoad fieri potest CUM OFFICIO conveniat*. Hoc autem propter rationem a cl. solutore expositam, *Missae* enim, iuxta S. Congr. Concilli decr. 9 Iunii 1714, *est pars Officii, et quidem praecipua*.

Sacerdos porro, in aliena Ecclesia celebrans, sequentia animadvertere debet, ut recte et secundum Ecclesiae mentem se gerat.

Cum autem dicitur *aliena Ecclesia*, in casu nostro intelligitur quaecumque Ecclesia, tam eiusdem quam diversae dioecesis aut civitatis aut loci, tam regularis quam saecularis, aut monialium, in qua peragitur Officium diversum ab illo, quod Sacerdos ad illam accedens recitavit; quando enim Officium concordat, nulla quaestio est, et Sacerdos celebrare omnino debet ut in sua Ecclesia.

Quibus expositis sit norma iuxta diversos casus.

1. Sacerdos habens Officium *duplex*, et celebrans in Ecclesia ubi fit aliud Officium *duplex*, si color est idem pro utroque Officio, tunc *debet omnino* celebrare Missam sui Officii: si color est diversus, tunc *debet omnino* celebrare Missam iuxta Calendarium Ecclesiae (S. R. C. 7 Maii 1746, N. 4181, ad 13, et 7 Sept. 1816, N. 4526, ad 18).

2. Si autem Sacerdos habet Officium *duplex*, et celebrat in Ecclesia ubi fit de *semiduplici* aut *simplici*, concordet vel discordet color, Missam sui Officii omnino celebrare debet (S. R. C. 7 Maii 1746, sup. cit.). Quia conformitas cum Officio recitato, a Rubrica praescripta urget in hoc casu; neque dicere potest Missam votivam (S. R. C. 7 Sept. 1816, sup. cit. ad 20), neque defunctorum, etiamsi in illa Ecclesia agantur exequiae praesente corpore (S. R. C. 7 Maii 1746 sup. cit. Cavalerius t. 3. app. ad decr. 68. decr. 1, et De Herdt p. 1, n. 35, Resp. 3 in fine). In hoc casu Sacerdos, qui habet officium *duplex*, jus habet ad exigenda paramenta sui coloris.

3. Cum vero Sacerdos habet Officium *semiduplex* aut *simplex*, et celebrat in Ecclesia ubi fit de *duplici*, si color concordat, potest dicere Missam propriam: si color non concordat, *Missam* celebrare *debet* de Officio Ecclesiae, neque dicere

potest votivam aut defunctorum, etiam praesente corpore (S. R. C. 9 Iunii 1668, N. 2438, 11 Sept. 1847, N. 5116 ad 3, et 7 Maii 1746 sup. cit.)

4. Quando denique Sacerdos habet Officium *semiduplex*, et celebrat in Ecclesia ubi fit de alio *semiduplici*, Missam pro lubito celebrabit, tanquam si esset in propria Ecclesia.

5. Hae autem regulae valent pro veris Ecclesiis alienis non pro oratoriis privatis, vel sacellis monialum, quae chorum non habent, et seminariorum, in quibus Missa debet semper concordare cum Officio recitato, nisi ritus semiduplex aliud permittat (S. R. C. 17 Mai, 1853, N. 5184 ad 14).

Secundum autem de Herdt, excipiendus est dies festivus Patroni loci, de quo etiam in oratorio privato Missa celebranda est, quia hoc festum totum locum afficit, censet ille (loc. cit. *Resp.* 4). Cum omni tamen tanto viro reverentia, puto id evenire vix posse, cum dies Patroni sit unus ex illis, in quibus Missae in oratoriis privatis prohibentur (Benedictus XIV *Encycl.* 2 Iunii 1751, § 12).

6. Item regulae praedictae semper valent in Ecclesiis alienis, exceptis casibus sequentibus, in quibus Sacerdos *semper debet* celebrare Missam Ecclesiae, in qua Sacrum facit.

I. Quando in illa Ecclesia agitur festum cum solemnitate et concursu populi (S. R. C. 29 Ian. 1752, N. 4223, ad 10).

II. Quando Sacerdos supplens vicem Parochi, legit Missam parochialem: vel in Ecclesia monialium, quae ad Officium divinum tenentur, legit Missam conventualem (S. R. C. 11 Iunii 1701, N. 3588, ad 1, et decr. gen. 1 Dec. 1717, N. 3904).

III. Quandocumque Missam celebrat in cantu (S. R. C. 29 Ian. 1752, N. 4223. sup. cit.).

IV. Quando Officium habet alicuius Beati, in Calendario illius Ecclesiae non comprehensum (S. R. C. 7 Sept. 1816, N. 4526 ad 17).

V. Quando Ecclesia, in qua celebrat, est Regularis, et privilegium Apostolicum habet, ut omnes Sacerdotes illuc confluentes ad Missam celebrandam, sequantur illius Calendarium; quo privilegio donatae sunt Ecclesiae Eremitarum S. Augustini ex indulto Clementis XIV 18 Iunii 1773, Fran-

ciscalium ex indulto Pii VI 6 Sept. 1775, et Carmelitarum ex indulto eiusdem Pii VI 14 Aug. 1777.¹

Ex quibus resolves :

1. Sacerdos habens Officium *duplex* minus, et celebrans ubi fit de *duplici* 1 *classis* absque solemnitate, et concursu populi, si color concordet, Missam suam celebrare debet.

2. Qui habet Officium *de Dominica*, et celebrat in Ecclesia ubi fit de eadem *Dominica*, sed cum colore diverso propter occurrentem octavam, Missam legat cum colore Ecclesiae.

3. Cum quis legit Missam alienae Ecclesiae, nequit commemorationem agere proprii Officii, sed ad Calendarium Ecclesiae se conformare tenetur.

4. In Ecclesia Regularium, qui Missale habent ritus particularis, ut Carthusiani et Predicatores, item in Ecclesiis ritus Ambrosiani, Sacerdos extraneus Missam legat iuxta supra traditas leges, sed cum Missali Romano (S. R. C. 1 Dec. 1717, N. 3904.)²

5. Sacerdotes celebrantes in Ecclesia Monialium, chorum habentium, etiamsi ad commodum ipsarum, sed non conventualem, propriam Missam legere debent si color concordat.

6. Sacerdos habens Officium alicuius Beati, quod in Calendario illius Ecclesiae, in qua celebrat, continetur, etiam sub die diverso, si color concordat, propriam Missam celebrare potest. Si autem Officium illius Beati in illa Ecclesia non habeatur, licet in fine Missalis Missa Beati existat, non tamen potest Sacerdos extraneus de illo celebrare.

7. Sacerdos celebrans in Ecclesia ubi fit de Beato, de quo ipse nil agit, nequit eo neque alio die, si color cum proprio non concordat, Missam de illo Beato celebrare non

¹ Idem teneas de ceteris; et S. R. C. decreta in contrarium, explicanda sunt *iure liturgico ordinario*. Etenim citra dubium quoque est, tali *iuri* per peculiaria Indulta esse derogatum. Constat ex omnibus Bullis Beatificationis, saltem a Benedicto PP. XI usque ad praesentem aetatem. Hoc sensu, de *iure* scilicet *ordinario*, intelligenda sunt ea super re Decreta, tam particularia quam generalia a S. R. C. edita, et a variis liturgicis auctoribus citata (*V. Quaest. Liturg. Romanae Quaest. 2, hoc num. 4 praes. anni 1888, pag. 203 et seq.*).

² Excipe casum, in qua Missa propria, cuius dicendae ius habet exterius Sacerdos, non reperiatur in alio Missali illius Ecclesiae.

potest stricto iure, et *alibi celebrare* mandavit S. R. C. 11 Iunii 1701, N. 3588 ad 2.

Si autem illo in loco, alia non habeatur Ecclesia vel oratorium, in quo propriam Missam celebrare possit, et *Missae celebratio necessaria sit*, tunc S. R. C. decreto 13 Aprilis 1867, N. 5377 Missam de Beato illius Ecclesiae celebrare permittit. Et sane, quia in hoc casu valet axioma: *Quod non licet in lege, licitum facit necessitas*.

Ex quibus probe noscitur, quam *imperfecta, inadaequata, et erronea* fuerit solutio propositae quaestionis, in Ephemeride l'*Avvisatore Ecclesiastico* relata.

A. P. P.

CORRESPONDENCE.

QUID MIHI ET TIBI EST, MULIER? S. Joannes ii., 4.

VERY REV. SIR,—The very able commentary on the above difficult text, by Fr. O'Brien, in your last issue, is deserving of all praise, both for its lucid treatment, and for the collation of parallel passages. However, I would respectfully beg leave to offer some remarks.

Most authors maintain the view that Our Lord meant "more or less of reproof," whilst some others say that the phrase means "an expression of great respect." In the *Noctes Atticae*, by Aulus Gellius, we find the following words: "*τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοὶ ἄνθρωπε,*" "What have we to do with you, man?" whilst Epictetus offers a most striking parallel to the words of St. John: "*τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ, ἄνθρωπε,*" "What is it to me and to thee, man?" i.e., "It does not concern us." In his *Eutropia*, Fr. Pius Devine quotes another passage from Anacreon which bears out the meaning of respect intended to be shown.

I would rather incline to the opinion that Our Lord, in reply to the observation (not a *request*, or explicit suggestion) merely meant: "What is that to us," or "How does that matter affect you or me?" To try and distort the meaning to: "What is there common to me and to thee?" or to Fr. O'Brien's: "*What an unsuitable thing to*

me and to thee," is rather out of keeping with the obvious literal interpretation, viz: "What to me and to thee is this matter?"

We must take the whole verse in order to interpret it accurately, and understand that though the Blessed Mother made no request explicitly or implicitly to her Son, yet our Lord answered her remark on the supply of wine having failed, by saying: "How does that matter affect you or me?" but immediately (knowing the solicitude of His Blessed Mother, and that her remark was an *implicit* suggestion to have Him show forth His kindly power) added: "My hour is not yet come."

WILLIAM H. G. FLOOD.

PROBATE OF WILLS, AND LETTERS OF ADMINISTRATION.

In the I. E. RECORD (Vol. viii., Third Series, p. 853), reference has been made to a recent Act of Parliament on the above subject. The following few notes, in explanation of doubts that have arisen, will be probably found useful.—M. C.

"Some provisions in the new Customs and Inland Revenue Act bearing on Probate and Letters of Administration deserve to be widely and popularly known, especially by those mixed up with the administration of small estates. Under the new arrangement no duty need be paid on estates not exceeding £100 in net value, and 15s. is sufficient to cover court fees and expenses in procuring administration. For estates over £100 and not exceeding £300, 30s. is the amount of stamp duty, making the total charges only £2 5s., provided probate is obtained in the prescribed way. In the ordinary course, £6 would be paid for this amount besides legal expenses, but by following the regulations mentioned in Section 33 of the new Act, giving notice to the Registrar of the Court, or to the Inland Revenue authorities, mentioning full details on a prescribed form as to the various legacies, bequests, and effects, any person can directly obtain letters of administration without further trouble or expense. No doubt, in some cases it will be deemed advisable to have legal assistance, but this simplification will prove a boon in the case of small estates, hitherto all but swallowed up by the tedious and expensive process of passing through the Probate Court. The principal Registrars of the Probate and Matrimonial Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland, in communication with the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, are charged with issuing the prescribed forms and giving necessary instructions. Some important and beneficial changes

are made in the new Act. Hitherto the practice has been to pay probate duty on the gross amount of an estate, repayment for debts and expenses being afterwards obtainable only by a tedious, cumbersome process. Now, all such deductions, including funeral expenses, will be made at once, and duty paid only on the net amount. In cases of over-estimates, remissions could not formerly be obtained unless claimed within six months, but henceforward such deductions can be applied for whenever the errors are discovered. In case of an under-estimate, duty on the whole estate and a penalty were formerly exacted, but now duty only on the new estate, and interest on such amount at five per cent. will be demanded."

DOCUMENTS.

LETTER FROM THE POPE ADDRESSED TO THE IRISH BISHOPS ON THE IRISH QUESTION.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS EPISCOPIS HIBERNIAE LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES,

SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Saepe Nos ex hoc apostolici muneris fastigio curas et cogitationes ad catholicos cives vestros contulimus; animusque Noster haud semel est publicis consignatus litteris, e quibus, quemadmodum sumus erga Hiberniam affecti, cuius sine dubitatione appareat. Praeter ea, quae superioribus annis sacrum Consilium christiano nomini propagando, auctoritate Nostra, de Hibernia providit, satis epistolae loquuntur, quas ad Venerabilem Fratrem Cardinalem Mac-Cabe Archiepiscopum Dublinensem semel atque iterum dedimus; itemque oratio, quam nuperrime ad catholicos e gente vestra non paucos habuimus: a quibus quidem non modo gratulationes et vota pro incolumitate Nostra, verum etiam grati animi significationem accepimus ob perspectam in Hibernos Nostram voluntatem. His ipsis proximis mensibus, cum templum in hac alma Urbe exædificari in honorem Patritii, magni Hibernorum Apostoli, placuerit, consilium quidem maxima animi propensione adiuvimus, reque pro viribus adiuturi sumus.

Nunc vero paterna ista caritas cum in Nobis eadem perseveret, dissimulare non possumus, gravia Nobis ac permolesta accidere, quae

novissimo tempore istinc afferuntur. Inopinatam concitationem animorum intelligimus, inde repente coortam, quod ea dimicandi ratione, quam *Plan of Campaign et Boycotting* nominant, pluribus usurpari coepta, sacrum Consilium perduellibus Ecclesiae vindicandis uti decrevit non licere. Atque illud dolendum magis, non paucos numerari, qui populum ad conciones turbulentas vocare insistant; quibus in concionibus inconsideratae iactantur periculosaeque opiniones, nec auctoritati decreti parcitur: quod ipsum longe alio, quam quo revera spectat, commentitiis interpretationibus detorquetur. Immo vero obediendi officium gigni ex illo negant, perinde ac verum propriumque Ecclesiae munus nequaquam sit de honestate et turpitudine actionum humanarum iudicare. Ista quidem agendi ratio distat plurimum a professione christiani nominis, cuius profecto illae sunt virtutes comites, moderatio, verecundia, potestati legitimae obtemperatio. Nec praeterea decet in caussa bona, videri quodammodo eos homines imitari qui, quod non iure petunt, tumultuose adipisci contendunt. Et haec quidem eo sunt graviora, quia Nos omnia diligenter circumspectimus ut liceret rerum vestrarum statum ac popularium querelarum causas penitus et sine errore cognoscere. Auctores habemus, quibus iure credatur: vosmetipsos coram percontati sumus; praetereaque superiore anno legatum ad vos misimus virum probatum et gravem, qui veritatem summa cura exquireret, et ad Nos ex fide referret. Nominatimque de hac providentia populus Hibernus gratias Nobis publice agendas curavit. Num igitur non in eo temeritas inest, quod aiunt, de caussa Nos iudicavisse non satis cognita? praesertim cum res improbaverimus, in quibus improbandis consentiunt aequi viri, quotquot, ista dimicatione vestra non impliciti, pacatiore iudicio de rebus existimant.

Illud pariter non vacat iniuria suspicari, parum Nos Hiberniae caussa moveri, et quae sit apud vos fortuna populi, non admodum laborare. Contra sic afficit Nos Hibernorum conditio, ut neminem magis: nihilque tam vehementer cupimus, quam ut tranquillitatem adepti prosperitatemque meritam ac debitam, aliquando respirent. Nullo tempore recusavimus, quominus pro melioribus rebus suis contenderent: sed illudne ferendum videatur, aditum in contentione ad maleficia patefieri? Quin immo ob id ipsum, quod, interjectis cupiditatibus politicarumque partium studiis, permixtum fas atque nefas una atque eadem caussa complectitur, Nos quidem constanter studuimus id quod honestum esset ab eo secernere, quod non esset honestum, catholicosque ab omni re deterrire, quam christiana morum disciplina non probaret. Quamobrem consiliis tempestivis Hibernos monuimus,

meminissent professionis catholicae, nihil unquam naturali repugnans honestati, nihil divina lege non concessum susciperent. Recens igitur decretum non iis debet praeter opinionem accidisse: eo vel magis, quod vosmetipsi, Venerabiles Fratres, anno MDCCCLXXXI, Dublinum congregati, Clerum et populum cavere iussistis, quaecumque essent ordini publico caritative contraria, cuiusmodi illa sunt, nolle quod iure debeat reddere, nolle reddi: personam, vel bona cuiusquam violare: legibus, vel etiam iis, qui fungantur munere publico, vim opponere: in clandestina foedera coire, et cetera generis eiusdem. Quae quidem praecepta, plena aequitatis maximeque opportuna, laudata Nobis ac probata sunt.

Nihilominus cum populus inveterato cupiditatum fervore transversus raperetur, nec deessent qui novas quotidie faces admovent, intelleximus, praecepta requiri magis definita, quam quae generatim de iustitia et caritate retinenda antea dederamus. Pati Nos prohibebat officium, tot catholicos homines, quorum Nobis est in primis commissa salus, viam insistere praecipitem et lubricam, quae ad evertendas res potius duceret, quam ad miseras sublevandas. Rem igitur ex veritate aestimari oportet: animumque illum Nostrum in eo ipso decreto Hibernia recognoscat amantem sui, optataeque prosperitati congruentem, quia causae quantumvis iustae nihil tam obest, quam vi et iniuriis esse defensam.

Haec quae scribimus ad vos, Venerabiles Fratres, magisterio vestro Hibernia cognoscat. Concordia sententiarum et voluntatum, ut oportet, coniunctos, nec vestra tantum, sed et Nostra auctoritate fultos, multum vos confidimus assequuturos: illud praecipue, ut cupiditatum tenebrae non diutius tollant iudicium veri, maximeque concitatores populi temere se fecisse poenitent. Cum multi sint qui ad deserenda officia vel certissima aucupari causas videantur, date operam, ut de vi eius decreti nullus relinquatur ambiguitati locus. Intelligant universi, eam omnem rationem, quae ne adhiberetur interdiximus, adhiberi omnino non licere. Honestas utilitates honeste quaerant, potissimumque, ut christianos decet, incolumi iustitia atque obedientia Sedis Apostolicae; quibus in virtutibus Hibernia quidem omni tempore solatium simul et animi robur invenit.

Interea caelestium munerum auspicem et benevolentiae Nostrae testem vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero populoque Hiberno apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XXIV. Iunii An. MDCCCLXXXVIII. Pontificatus Nostri Undecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

INDULGENCE OF 300 DAYS GRANTED ONCE A DAY TO THE
RECITAL OF THE "AVE MARIS STELLA."

EX S. CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM
RESCRIPTUM, QUO CONCEDITUR INDULGENTIA TERCENTUM DIERUM
RECITANTIBUS HYMNUM LITURGICUM "AVE MARIS STELLA."

BEATISSIME PATER,

Vincentius Leo Sallua Archiepiscopus Calcedonen. humiliter provolutus ad Pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae exorat, ut benigne concedere dignetur omnibus fidelibus, qui, corde contrito ac devote recitaverint Hymnum—*Ave Maris Stella*—in honorem B. Virginis Mariae, ceu iacet in Breviario Romano, Indulgentiam *Tercentum* dierum, semel lucranda in quolibet die.

Quam gratiam etc.

EX AUDIENTIA SANCTISSIMI, DIEI 16 Ianuarii 1888.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. benigne annuit pro gratia iuxta preces. Praesenti in *perpetuum* valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Datum Romae ex Secretaria Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 17 Januarii 1888.

(L. ✠ S)

CAIETANUS CARD. ALOISI MASELLA, *Praef.*
ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS OENSIS, *Secretarius.*

INDULGENCE OF 50 DAYS THRICE A DAY GRANTED TO THE
RECITAL OF THE "DE PROFUNDIS" WITH VERSICLE.

RESCRIPTUM QUO CONCEDITUR INDULGENTIA QUINQUAGINTA DIERUM
RECITANTIBUS PSALMUM "DE PROFUNDIS" ETC.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Antonius Grasselli Archiep. Colossen. humiliter provolutus ad Pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae exorat, ut concedere dignetur aliquam Indulgentiam fidelibus cunctis, quoties corde contrito ac devote recitaverint psalmum—*De Profundis*,—cum versiculo in fine—*Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis.*

Quam gratiam, etc.

EX AUDIENTIA SANCTISSIMI, DIEI 2 FEBRUarii 1888.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus, qui corde saltem contrito ac devote recitaverint praedictum psalmum cum adnexo versiculo—*Requiem aeternam dona*

VOI X.

3 B

eis Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis—benigne concessit Indulgentiam, defunctis quoque applicabilem, *quingenta dierum*, ter in die lucranda. Praesenti valituro in *perpetuum* absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 3 Februarii 1888.

(L. ✠ S.)

CAIETANUS CARD. ALOISI MASELLA, *Praef.*
ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS OENSIS, *Secretarius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

MONOTHEISM: THE PRIMITIVE RELIGION OF ROME. By the Rev. Henry Formby. London: Burns & Oates (Limited). New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

THE purpose of this work is to show that the views set forth in the ordinary text books of Roman History, about the origin and character of the early religion of Rome are false; that the early religion of the Imperial City was not polytheistic but monotheistic; and that Monotheism as introduced by Numa Pompilius, who before becoming king went to Jerusalem, where he learned the fundamental truth that there is but one God, as well as other truths of religion from the Law of the Hebrew legislator. We freely concede to the writer the merit of originality, not so much in his conclusions as in his arguments; we admit that he shows an intimate knowledge of the history of the Jewish people, and also of the writings of the Fathers, and the ancient classic authors: we also agree with him in holding that Monotheism was the primitive religion of Rome; for, did not St. Augustine go much farther when he said that Monotheism was the religion of Rome up to the coming of Christ, that "the various gods and goddesses of Rome all centred in one God, Jupiter¹"? We cannot, however, admit the conclusiveness of the arguments by which he seeks to prove that Numa visited the Holy Land, and there learned from the Mosaic Law the leading features of the religion which he established in Rome, or that he ever came into

¹ *De civitate Dei*, i. 19.

immediate contact with the Jewish people. Let us take a few specimens of the reasonings pursued. He says that, according to the economy of God's dealings with mankind before the advent of the Redeemer, the Jewish people was brought into contact with each nation, as it became the Imperial power: thus the Jews were brought successively in contact with the Chaldeans, Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks. Why then, it is argued, should they not be brought into contact with the Romans? We say, Yes; but not till Rome became the Imperial power, which it did not become till at least 500 years after the time of Numa Pompilius. He bases another argument on the following passages, taken from the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans¹ "For when they knew God, they did not glorify Him as God, or give thanks, but failed to remain steadfast in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened . . . They changed the truth of God into a lie, and served the creature rather than the Creator who is God, blessed for evermore . . . And as they did not approve of retaining God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate sense, to do the things that are not becoming." It appears from these passages that the Romans did at one time know God. But how is it shown that it was through the Mosaic Law? On the contrary, the Apostle appears to be speaking of the knowledge of God, that is acquired by reason and not by revelation; for in the passage² immediately preceding that quoted, St. Paul says: "For the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." The only direct argument that can be added in favor of the Jewish origin of the Roman religion, is an extract from the writings of Clement of Alexandria, viz.:—"Numa the king of the Romans was a Pythagorean, and assisted by the doctrines derived from Moses, he prohibited the Romans from making an image of God in the likeness of either man or beast. This extract is so vague, and contains a statement so obviously false, that very little importance can be attached to it. In the first place Numa did not belong to the Pythagorean sect, as such a sect did not exist until about 200 years after his death. And secondly, Numa might have learned some doctrines of the Hebrew religion, without having gone to the Holy Land, or even being brought into immediate contact with the Jewish people, as different parts of their revelation must have been known to the many peoples with whom from time to time they came in contact.

In conclusion, we think that it is a very strong argument against

i. 21, 25, 28.

i. 20.

the writer's opinion, that no classical authority can be quoted in its favor. We cannot admit the explanation given of the absence of such authority, as many Roman writers, especially Cicero, gave expression to opinions that were just as much at variance with the prejudice of the Romans as the Jewish origin of their religion. T. G.

THE DIVINE OFFICE CONSIDERED FROM A DEVOTIONAL POINT OF VIEW. From the French of M. l'Abbé Bacquez, Director of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris. Edited by the Rev. Ethelred L. Taunton, of the Congregation of the Oblates of St. Charles. With a Preface by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. London: Burns & Oates (Limited). New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

THIS book, which is addressed directly to Priests and Ministers in Holy Orders, is an adaptation rather than a translation from the French of the Abbé Bacquez. In treating of the Divine Office, the Author points out its excellence and sanctity, and the fruits which its recital ought to produce; and laying bare the faults which may spoil its effect, he indicates their cause, and proposes a remedy. By way of antidote for the careless he recalls "the respect with which it inspired all holy priests; the care they took to acquit themselves of their duty in regard to it; the dispositions which they brought to its performance, and the pious practices which arose from its use." Taking the Prayers we recite each day, the Author shows their meaning and beauty, and unlocks the treasures of wisdom and piety which they contain.

St. Leonard of Port Maurice, when asked by a priest for a rule of life, said: "Say your Mass and your Office well." And Cardinal Manning tells us in the Preface that, "to say the Divine Office as it ought to be said would fill us with inexhaustible matter for mental prayer, for it is the work of the Holy Ghost and of the Saints."

To all who desire to achieve this happy result we commend the perusal of this excellent and edifying work. P. M'D.

TEMPERANCE SONGS AND LYRICS. By the Rev. J. Casey, P.P.
Dublin: Keating and Co.

FATHER CASEY'S latest contribution to the temperance literature of the day will be welcomed as a help and a blessing by the advocates of temperance all the world over. No one that understands the

powerful influence of music over the minds of the young can fail to appreciate the good effects these limpid and exhilarating verses are calculated to produce. It is well known that the members of the Wesleyan communion, of the Salvation Army, and of a hundred other Anglican sects, are kept together only by the fascinating influence which their songs, sung simultaneously by all present at their meetings, have upon their minds. Fr. Casey acts wisely in not disdaining to take a hint from the armoury even of such deluded "Soldiers of the Cross," and industriously aims, by means of these excellent *Temperance Songs and Lyrics*, at producing somewhat analogous effects in our temperance societies and schools. We earnestly hope to see his wishes realised. In many dioceses in Ireland it is usual at present to administer the pledge, for a definite number of years, to children on the occasion of their presenting themselves for Confirmation. We cannot see why the custom should not become general, nor can we imagine any easier or more practical means of keeping the children so pledged united in the strong and sacred bonds of fellowship than to bring them together at stated times—say after catechism on Sundays—and have them sing a selection of songs from Fr. Casey's excellent little book. Many of the shorter poems would be admirably suited for such a purpose, nor would their effect be lessened by the facetious irony which has manifestly inspired some of the best of these effusions. For instance :—Set to the music of "One bumper at parting" we find an austere admonitory "Temperance Lyric;" to the air of "John Anderson, my Jo, John," we meet lines instinct with a spirit of remorse, beginning :—

"John Jameson, mavrone, John,
I love your sight no more, &c." ;

to the notes of "Nora Creina" we get "Whiskey hath a winning smile;" and where we should naturally expect "Fill the bumper fair" we are treated to the much more salutary sentiment :—

"Fling the cup aside
If intoxicating;
Shun the yellow tide,
'Though exhilarating," &c.

Innumerable other specimens might be cited, all well adapted for the purpose we have referred to; and in giving them to the world at a time like the present, when the temperance movement is once more taking practical shape, Fr. Casey has, we believe, conferred a boon upon society. No doubt, the gifted author, with characteristic modesty, disclaims the honour of being dubbed "The Laureate of Water

Drinkers," the "Tyrtæus of Teetotalism;" but it seems to us that his able advocacy of temperance, both by voice and pen, during a lifetime of active missionary work, gives him a title to the laurels which few will venture to dispute. His "close proximity to the melancholy river whose reedy banks no Naiad ever haunted" may perhaps, as he insinuates, be a circumstance in a certain sense to be deplored; yet we are not quite so sure that, after all, this is not the very circumstance on which, from the poet's point of view, he is chiefly to be congratulated. May it not have largely contributed to generate within his soul that strange "philohudorous" passion in which he never seems to tire of revelling, and which is as good a substitute for the "fine frenzy" of the poet as the process of "bodying forth the forms of things *so well* known" may be supposed to require? Nor is our author's genius of the kind which needs such adventitious aids as the Nymphs of Helicon were supposed to furnish. If we may claim the privilege of accommodating one of his own neat stanzas, we should say that:—

" — men of sense
Can well dispense
With 'such' creative power; "

and Fr. Casey appears to us to be pre-eminently a man of sense. Every idea in his little book, though couched in the choicest language and flowing in the smoothest measures of poetry, seems inspired by a large experience and a rare common sense, which is an additional proof of the usefulness of the work. We feel justified, therefore, by anticipation, on the part of the many who are sure to be benefited by these *Temperance Songs and Lyrics*, in thanking their author for giving them to the world at such an opportune time; and we beg to express the hope that the prolific pen which has already done so much for the temperance movement may long continue to labour in the good cause which our "Laureate of Water Drinkers" seems so thoroughly to have made his own.

J. J. C.

TRACTATUS DE SS. EUCHARISTIAE MYSTERIO. In Auditorum usum exaratus Opera Petri Einig, S. Theol. et Philos. Doctoris; Eiusdem S. Theol. in Seminario Treverensi Professoris. Treveris: Ex Officina ad S. Paulum.

As may be well remembered the German "Culturkampf" was, in great part, intended to strike a blow at the Catholic education of the clergy. On the false pretence that the education given to ecclesiastical students in the episcopal seminaries did not answer the re-

quirements of the times, the government attempted to enforce the State education provided in the Government Universities as obligatory even for the students of theology. Victory, however, was on the side of the Church. And not the smallest share in this victory is due to a little book published in Treves, under the title of *Themistor*, of which the Prussian Cult-Minister declared that it had thwarted his plans. In consequence, the episcopal seminaries were re-opened, not excluding that of Treves itself.

A book written by a professor of the seminary of Treves will, for this reason, receive greater attention. By its dedication it purports to be a work in honour of the Sacerdotal Jubilee of our Holy Father Leo XIII. The author intended it for the use of the audience attending his lectures; but we believe that its usefulness makes it worthy of a wider circulation.

A detailed review of its contents may here be dispensed with, as it embraces the usual compass of subjects contained in dogmatic textbooks, but instead we should like to call attention to some of the special features of excellence that recommend the book.

The author not only furnishes a thoroughly correct exposition of Catholic dogma, but also with regard to points, controverted among theologians, he adopts as a rule those opinions, which are theologically more sound. In the next place, we would note the completeness of the treatise. Besides, it was the author's aim to make the book more readable by the appropriate division, order and perspicuity in his manner of arranging and developing its several parts.

He everywhere shows himself a true scholar of St. Thomas, whose authority he often calls to aid. By way of appendix various admissions from the works of Luther are given, by which even this heresiarch bears testimony to the truth of Catholic doctrine.

As regards the method, it is a noteworthy feature of the book, that it sets forth the various points in concise theses. The bearing of the several questions and the "status quaestionis" are made clear by explanations subjoined to the theses. Then follows the theological proof, together with the refutation of any objections that might be raised. The Latin diction is pure and flowing, though none the less simple and intelligible. We would be gratified to see the author treat the entire range of dogmatic subjects in the same thorough and masterly manner.

T. B. S.

DE SPIRITU SOCIETATIS JESU. Auctore Julio Costa Rossetti, ejusdem societatis sacerdote. Friburgi Brigoviae, Sumptibus Herder. 1888.

THIS volume aims at giving a brief accurate exposition of the "Spirit of the Society of Jesus," to show how far the order of Jesuits agrees with, and in what it differs from, the various other religious orders.

The plan adopted is admirably suited to attain this end. The work, consisting of two parts, treats first of the essentials of religious life, common to all orders; secondly, it discusses the peculiar character of the Society of Jesus. Under this latter head may be found interesting articles on "the final and efficient cause of the Society," as well as on the notes or marks which are so peculiarly its own.

LIFE OF MOTHER ST. JOHN FONTBONNE. Translated from the French of the Abbé Rivaux. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THE *Life of Mother St. John* is a very interesting story of a saintly and heroic life. Mother St. John was the foundress of the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Lyons. In the year 1651, Mgr. de Maupas, Bishop of Puy, and Father Nudaille, of the Society of Jesus, established in the diocese of Puy, an association of pious ladies under the patronage of St. Joseph. This association was intended to carry out the idea St. Francis de Sales had in instituting the Sisters of the Visitation, but which he was obliged to forego when he decided on giving them the rule of enclosure. The constitutions of the association, as we read on page 62, "tended to lead the new Institute to a triple end: the sanctification of its members by prayer and union with God; the Apostolate, by teaching; and charity to the neighbour by external works."

Jeanne Fontbonne—afterwards Mother St. John—was born in the province of Velay in 1759, and with her elder sister, Marguérite, entered the Sisterhood of St. Joseph in 1778. At the age of twenty-six, Sister St. John was chosen Superioress of the house of Monistrol. In this capacity she continued until 1791, when the convent was broken up and the sisters dispersed by the impious ruffians of the Revolution. For refusing to assist at a Mass celebrated by one of the "constitutional" priests Mother St. John, and her sister, Sister St. Teresa, were cast into prison. The fate they expected, and hoped for, was death. But God had work for

them to do on earth, and their desire was not to be gratified. One day they were told by their jailer that on the morrow they should be summoned to the scaffold. "To-morrow! oh to-morrow will be the happiest day of our lives" joyfully exclaimed the holy sisters. The morrow came and—

"Those wise virgins eagerly awaited the coming of the Bridegroom, that with Him they might enter in to the wedding-feast of the Lamb. Suddenly the door was thrown open. Starting to their feet they were preparing to go forth to that scaffold, which they regarded as the stepping-stone to Heaven, when they heard the words, 'Citizens you are free, Robespierre has fallen; your chains are broken.' At this news, which to many of their fellow captives was 'tidings of great joy' Mother St. John exclaimed sorrowfully 'Ah, my sister, we were not worthy the grace of dying for our holy religion. Our sins have been the obstacle to so great a favour.'—(p. 96.)

The years between 1791 and 1807 Mother St. John spent in the house of her childhood, discharging towards her aged parents the duties of a loving daughter, and at the same time observing most strictly the Rule of her beloved institute. In the latter year she was asked by Father Cholleton, Curé of the parish of St. Etienne, in Lyons, who had been commissioned by the Archbishop of Lyons, Cardinal Fesch, to re-establish the congregation of St. Joseph in that city. Though through sincere humility she at first refused, yet convinced afterwards that the call was from on high she consented, and in a short time found herself surrounded by quite a number of 'zealous self-denying ladies, whom she trained in the severe discipline to which she had been accustomed. One little anecdote of this time is worth recording as it serves as an illustration of the austerities these fervent souls practised under the experienced guidance of Mother St. John.

"Two young postulants having on one occasion been sent by Mother St. John to inform a venerable priest, deeply interested in them, that they were about to receive the religious habit, he very kindly inquired if, under the strict rules of the house, sufficient food, at least, was given. 'Oh, don't be at all uneasy about that, Father,' they answered merrily 'at dinner we always have *five* courses,' which however they failed to specify. The courses were, soup, a dish of vegetables, a piece of cheese, bread, and water mingled with a little milk. The priest satisfied that five courses were, at least enough for the dinner of a religious, inquired no further. Coming in that day after the community meal was over the two novices found on the kitchen grate their share of a plate of macaroni all covered with cinders, which had fallen unperceived. Happy to imitate those saints who had mixed ashes with their food in order to diminish its savour they contented themselves with picking off the biggest cinders, and cheerfully ate the rest. 'Another time,' said they laughingly, 'we shall be able to say, truthfully, that our dinner comprises *six* courses.'—(p. 115.)

In November, 1843, when nearly eighty-five years of age, sixty-four of which she had spent in religion, Mother St. John, was called, to receive the reward of the labours and sufferings she had undergone for the sake of her Beloved. Before her death the congregation of which she was the Mother-General extended over eighteen dioceses in France. In addition to this a house had been founded in Rome in 1839, and in 1836, in compliance with the pressing invitation of the Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, a brave, pioneer band of the Sisters of St. Joseph, had established themselves in that far off western city. -

This translation of the Abbé Rivaux's Life of their holy foundress comes from the community established in Philadelphia in 1847. They have rendered, they tell us in the Preface, the Abbé Rivaux's text freely, taking the liberty to add or curtail where fuller and later information seemed to render it necessary. We hope for their sake that the following specimen of historical and geographical knowledge is not one of their additions -

"In Great Britain the Saxons, Britons, Picts, Scotch, and Irish, united by religion despite their natural and national antipathies, won for their country the immortal title of 'The Island of Saints!'"—(p. 35.)

D. O'L.

SPIRITUAL RETREATS. Notes of Meditations and Considerations, given in the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Roehampton. By the Most Rev. George Porter, D.D., Archbishop of Bombay. London: Burns and Oates, Limited, New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

THOSE engaged in a course of Spiritual Exercises will find Dr. Porter's work to be an interesting and useful companion. The subjects chosen for meditation are practical, and are presented in a pleasing and attractive style. The simple, yet convincing manner in which the various points are developed, greatly enhances the value of the work, and renders its perusal a pleasant and easy task.

We strongly recommend this volume to the ordinary faithful, to whom, we feel sure, it will prove a source of profit and instruction.

THE COURT OF RATH CROGHAN. By M. L. O'Byrne.
Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

THE Court of Rath Croghan deals with a period of Irish History of particular interest just now, the period of the Norman Invasion. The reader is introduced to all the men of mark in the Irish History

of the time, Laurence O'Toole, Roderic O'Connor, McMurrough, Strongbow and the rest. The portraits of these and the other chief actors in the great events of the time are drawn with characteristic power. One scarcely knows which to admire more in the authoress, her wide and accurate knowledge of the manners and customs of which she writes, or the skill with which she weaves her narrative. Those who wish to live for a while with the Irish of the 12th century should read Miss O'Byrne's book. M. O'D.

LIFE OF BLESSED FATHER JOHN FORREST, O.S.F. By Rev. Father Thaddeus, O.S.B., author of "The Pilgrim's May-Wreath," etc. London and New York: Burns and Oates. Limited.

FROM rather scant materials, Father Thaddeus has given us a most interesting outline of the life and martyrdom of Blessed John Forrest.

The subject of the memoir lived in the reign of Henry VIII., whose hatred he incurred, on account of his fidelity to Queen Catherine, as well as by his undying devotion to the Catholic religion. By order of the king, he was cast into prison in 1533, condemned to death in 1535, while three years later he received a martyr's crown.

This sketch of his life will be read with pleasure and profit, and will serve to perpetuate the memory of one, who proved himself a noble champion in the cause of virtue and religion.

THE FLOWER OF HOLYWELL. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

The Flower of Holywell (a drama) is a contribution to a class of Catholic literature which does not receive the attention it deserves. The play will be found admirably adapted for representation in schools and among societies of young people. The dialogue is lively and interesting, the characters well conceived and well developed and the whole tone of the play edifying.

ELEMENTS OF ANALYTIC GEOMETRY. San Francisco:
A. Waldteufel.

THIS volume will be of service to the student passing to the study of higher mathematics. More than half of the first part is devoted to curves of the second degree (now very properly treated as a part of Analytic Geometry), after which a chapter is given to the analysis of the equation of the second degree between two variables,

This analysis shows that every such equation when capable of geometric construction represents an ellipse, an hyperbola or a parabola.

The volume also contains an outline of geometry of three dimensions and a chapter on surfaces of the second degree. A table of logarithms of the natural numbers from 1 to 12,500 and of the circular functions for every minute of a degree to seven places of decimals completes this useful book.

M. O'D.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL. By Henry Edward, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

We gladly welcome a Second Edition of this admirable work, in which, within a narrow compass, the history of the Vatican Council is narrated from authentic sources. A chapter is devoted to a vindication of the motives which led Pius the Ninth to convoke the Council; its antecedents are briefly discussed; its acts are explained; and the effects which followed from it are traced.

THE AVE MARIA. A Catholic family magazine devoted to the honour of the Blessed Virgin. Edited by a Priest of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. Notre Dame, Indiana.

The compiler and editor of this magazine deserves great praise for the care and discrimination with which he has performed his task.

It contains articles on very interesting subjects, which are treated in a style well suited to furnish young people especially with amusement, and, at the same time, supply solid and useful information.

As the title of the work sufficiently indicates, most of the articles of this magazine are devoted to the honour of the Mother of God. They treat of the origin and advantages of the Holy Rosary, the Month of Mary, the favours of the Queen of Heaven, &c. But we have also articles and stories, chosen for their suggestiveness and beauty, from the writings of the greatest authorities of the Catholic Church in the United States, on subjects of pressing interest, and questions of every day occurrence.

It is a magazine that should be in every Catholic family.

It is published half-yearly in book form. The publishers have done their work well, and produced volumes which would be an ornament to any centre table.

W. M.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS. Auctore Augustino Lehmkuhl, S.J.
Vol. II. Editio Quarta. Freiburg: B. Herder.

FR. LEHMKUHL'S whole work has now reached a fourth edition. For a theological treatise, this surely is rapid circulation. But in a few years hence we anticipate a still larger demand for this excellent repertory of moral science. A work on the "*Ars artium*," which commands unanimous commendation from the religious press, has already passed its period of trial and entered on an era of conquest. Fr. Lehmkuhl deserves it all, and we trust he may find leisure to supervise the different editions of his work, as they issue from year to year, with the same care he has bestowed on that before us.

LIFE AND DEATH OF THE VEN. EDMUND GENNINGS.
London: Burns & Oates, Limited.

THIS is a short and exceedingly interesting history of one of Elizabeth's martyrs. It is reprinted from an old quarto volume, the quaintness of expression of the time of its authorship—1614—being retained, and the old woodcuts reproduced. The book will well repay a perusal. The publishers, Messrs. Burns & Oates, deserve credit for the admirable way in which their part of the work has been done.
M. O'D.

AN ABRIDGED HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By John R. G. Hassard, LL.D., with an Introduction by the Right Rev. J. L. Spalding, D.D., Bishop of Peoria.
New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co.

THIS is an abridgment of the larger work of the author on the same subject. The larger work has been for a considerable time before the reading public and has found favour with those who have read it. The author recognises as history not merely the biographies of the great leaders of the people but also the story of that people's progress; and, relating to us that story, he portrays for us the religious and moral as well as the material advancement of the nation whose history he writes. Whilst he relates to us the almost magic growth and unbounded prosperity of the United States, he never forgets to sketch the rise and progress and social position of our Church in the great republic.

The large work contained many details which might be well omitted in a history for schools. The volume before us has been drawn up to meet the wishes of many teachers who desired a book they could use with profit in their schools. In this abridgment the

author hopes that in relieving the scholar of many details nothing of permanent importance has been neglected.

When we examine the work we can say that the author's expectations have been realized. We find the work well suited for its purpose. It treats the narrative in a brief and orderly manner, it graphically describes interesting events. Its style is plain and its language simple. The narrative is wisely broken into paragraphs, numbered and furnished with titles in distinctive type. This will be of vast assistance to the mind by enabling it to keep easily a mental picture of the pages of the work. Numerous illustrations of prominent personages and events are scattered through the book. To each chapter we have a set of questions on the subject-matter of the chapter. A map of the United States is prefixed and a number of useful appendices are added to the volume. In one of these appendices—the list of Presidents, &c., we notice the absence of Garfield and Arthur from the collection. An Index of the principal events, &c., might, we think, be added with advantage.

We willingly subscribe to the opinion of Dr. Spalding:—
“Through the whole book there breathes the spirit of candour and truth The writer is a Catholic and is therefore able to rise above the spirit of party.”

The publishers deserve a word of praise for the manner in which the book is produced.

We can recommend this work to teachers as a truthful history told in a mode well fitted for those for whom it is written.

THE ENGLISH READER. Edited by Rev. Edward Connolly, S.J. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The Reader is a series of extracts from the principal English writers in prose and verse of every description, from Sir John Mandeville (1300-1372) down to our own time.

The principal object of the book is to supply pupils of advanced classes in schools with short pieces suitable for exercises in reading. It is not for us to offer any remarks on the necessity of training boys in the art of reading well. Father Connolly has done his part of the work by providing very suitable pieces for this training. All who read the *English Reader* will, we think, agree with us in saying that the selection is excellent notwithstanding the great difficulties that had to be surmounted, not the least being the amount of matter from which he had to choose, and at the same time limit the book to 450 pages. Whilst affording the best specimens of the style of the most approved English writers, the *Reader* contains a lot of information of

a **varying** and most interesting kind. The masters as well as pupils of "advanced classes," have reason to be grateful to Father Connolly for editing this book, and also to the eminent firm of publishers for the admirable way in which it is brought out.

MEMOIR OF BISHOP WILLSON, First Bishop of Hobart, Tasmania. By Bishop Ullathorne. London: Burns & Oates (Limited). New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

UNDER the above title Dr. Ullathorne has given to the public a short sketch of the life of Bishop Willson, "the founder of the Catholic Church in Nottingham; the Episcopal founder of the Church in Tasmania; the effectual reformer of the management of deported criminals in our penal settlements."

Few in modern times have done more to advance the cause of religion, to raise the standard of morality, and to alleviate human suffering than the saintly subject of the present memoir. We cannot but admire his unbounded zeal, his humility, his benevolence, but above all, that self-sacrificing spirit which characterised his whole life.

The execution of the work has fallen into the hands of one eminently suited for the task, who, by reason of his intimate knowledge, can give us a faithful portrait of one who lives in the memory of his people.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, OR A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS LEADING TO THE MARRIAGE AND CONVERSION TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH OF MR. AND MRS. MARLOW SIDNEY, of Cowper Hall, Northumberland. To which are added a few incidents in their life. By their Grand-Daughter. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

A DESIRE to preserve "the memory of what may be called a very striking and wonderful conversion," has induced the authoress to present to the public a narrative, written at first for private circulation.

From its perusal we can form some idea of the intolerant spirit which existed in England a hundred years ago, when Catholics could not, with safety, openly profess and practice their religion. The conversion of Mr. and Mrs. Marlow Sidney has been clothed in beautiful language, the various incidents being described in a manner which reflects the highest credit on the authoress.

DEVOTIONS FOR CONFESSION AND COMMUNION. London:
Burns & Oates, Limited.

THIS book is intended for the *use of convent schools*. We would, however, be very sorry to see its use confined within that limit, as it may be used with immense profit by those outside convent schools. It gives an admirable explanation of Contrition, and cannot fail to be of the greatest assistance in helping children to perform the to them hard and sometimes unpleasant task of preparing for Confession. It will be sufficient to say of the part relating to Communion that it is taken from the writings of Mgr. de Ségur, and is stamped with the imprimatur of Cardinal Cullen, and also of Cardinal Manning. We wish for this little book a wide circulation among our children.

ABANDONMENT; OR ABSOLUTE SURRENDER TO DIVINE PROVIDENCE. By Rev. J. P. Caussade, S.J. Translated by Miss Ella McMahon. New York: Benziger Brothers.

FATHER CAUSSADE in writing this little treatise on the virtue of abandonment addresses himself principally "to souls advanced in perfection," and his object is to point out to them how they may still attain higher perfection. But whilst accomplishing this end, he also gives some very practical lessons for souls who are only beginning to aspire after perfection. He points out most clearly that the secret of perfection consists simply and solely in *absolute submission to the will of God in all things*, and without this disposition of mind all our good works will avail us nothing. To become perfect we have only to perform faithfully all the duties of our state in life; these duties being "the most certain indications of the will of God." Father Ramière, S.J., by whom the work is revised and corrected, in a preface of some length, adds a "succinct exposition of the rules which should guide us in a matter so delicate," in order to preserve the reader from the danger of misunderstanding the just limits of this virtue. He also ably defends Father Caussade from certain attacks that have been made upon him.

The book has lost none of its charms at the hands of the translator.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SEPTEMBER, 1888.

THE PSALMODY OF THE CHORAL OFFICE.

TO everyone who has had to do with the training of ecclesiastical students in the ecclesiastical chant, it must frequently have occurred as a matter for regret that in the ordinary works upon this branch of the liturgy so little attention is devoted to one most important section of it—the Psalmody, or method of singing to the Gregorian Tones the Psalms and the Canticles of the choral offices of the Church. I refer especially to the arrangement of the syllables of the verses to the notes of the various Tones.

A natural consequence of the general neglect of this matter by the writers whose works are generally accessible to us in this country is, that choirmasters and teachers, when they venture to deal with the subject at all, deal with it only in a tentative and half-hearted way. It is left, then, to the students or other singers, without even the faintest glimmer of a principle to guide them, to deal with it as best they can. The result almost invariably is that which might naturally be expected to follow from such untutored effort. I have not unfrequently been present at the chanting of Vespers by a body of ecclesiastical students in a church where I know the greatest care to have been taken to secure a correct, and even artistic, rendering of the Antiphons and other special portions of the liturgical chant, but where, at the same time, that which constitutes the life and soul of such a function—the choral singing of the Psalms and of the Magnificat—was left practically to take care of itself. There

was, no doubt, a splendid body of sound. In the verses, then, where no special difficulty is to be met with, the effect was necessarily good. But in those other cases, and they are by no means few, where some little difficulty exists in the fitting together of words and music, or where some special beauty of the Psalmody may be marred by defective rendering in this respect, the result of the untrained vociferation of so large a body of singers was, to say the least of it, depressing.

In the state of things as they existed in Ireland, almost until the present day, no one really was to blame for this. It happens, indeed, that in the particular case to which I have referred, if blame were to fall on anyone's shoulders, it should fall upon my own. But there was, in truth, no room for blame. Those who were most fully alive to the existence of the drawback were also most fully aware of the practical impossibility of removing it.

The Church has laid down no authoritative rules upon the subject. She has prescribed, with the utmost definiteness, the words and syllables that are to be sung in the Choral Office. She has prescribed, with equal definiteness, the notes to be rigorously adhered to in the singing of that office. But, except within certain wide limits, she has not prescribed in what way the syllables and the notes are to be combined. This, however, by no means implies that she approves of each individual singer being left to deal with the Psalmody as he individually may think fit. It indicates merely that, in the case of each great school of liturgical observance, she has left it to the care and judgment of those responsible for the suitable rendering of the liturgical chant, to adopt some definite method of Psalmody—whichever might best commend itself to their judgment, out of all those to be found within the wide range which she has left open to their choice—putting upon them, at the same time, the responsibility of seeing to the observance of that method by all the members of the choir for the use of which it has been adopted.

In some, at least, of the Religious Orders, this system has worked to perfection. In more than one of these the

most minute care is given to the training of the students and novices of the Order, in the Psalmody as in every other section of the music of the Church. I may mention, for instance, that in a work on liturgical chant, which I know to be in constant use among the novices of one of the most ancient of the religious Orders, this subject is most comprehensively treated. In the work to which I refer, a special section, extending over no fewer than twenty pages, is devoted to the exposition of a minutely-detailed code of rules, determining the note to which each syllable is to be assigned in the various combinations that may be met with in the Psalms of the Choral Office, especially as regards the occurrence of accented and unaccented syllables. The rules in each case are illustrated by carefully selected examples.

What is thus true of many religious communities is true also of many of the great cathedral schools of ecclesiastical music. In each of these, centuries ago, some one recognised system of Psalmody was adopted, the permanent maintenance of which, even in the absence of a formal code of rules, was secured by its daily observance, from year to year, and from generation to generation, in the Choral Offices of the Church.

In Ireland, it is almost needless to observe, no such traditional system has been handed down to us. In the College of Maynooth, and in several of the other ecclesiastical colleges and seminaries of the country, much, indeed, has been done to promote the study and to secure the accurate and careful rendering of the ecclesiastical chant, as regards almost every other section of it. But in this matter of Psalmody, it must be confessed that even in our ecclesiastical colleges, with scarcely an exception, the work of establishing and developing our system, or systems, of Psalmody, if, indeed, we are to have any system at all, yet remains to be accomplished.

Difficulties, no doubt, that may well have been regarded as insuperable, long stood in the way of any effective effort in this direction. Of these perhaps the most formidable was the want of some work of competent authority upon the subject, available, as regards both the clearness and the

practical character of its directions, for general use amongst the ecclesiastical students of our various seminaries and colleges. My main object in writing this paper is to make known to many who probably do not as yet know it, that this difficulty no longer exists.

Three years ago a useful beginning was made, in the publication of an exceedingly useful Manual of Psalmody by the Rev. F. X. Haberl, of Ratisbon. In this little work, the *Psalterium Vespertinum*, Fr. Haberl has set forth in an admirably lucid arrangement the results of his prolonged and careful study of this important branch of ecclesiastical music. The *Psalterium* has already passed through several editions. In each of these, the traces of a continued and most careful revision of the work are to be observed. A new edition of it has been published during the present year. This may now be accepted as setting forth with almost absolute accuracy the fully matured judgment of the reverend author upon every point of difficulty or doubt involved in a most comprehensive survey of the entire question.

Father Haberl's work, I should explain, is essentially practical in its form. It is written for the use, not of theorists, but of singers. The author wisely abstains from the discussion of conflicting views. He aims merely at putting into the hands of the members of any choir who may wish for such guidance, a book embodying and setting forth with unmistakable clearness the results of the years of study which he has himself devoted to the subject. Each Psalm that occurs in the Vespers of any Sunday or important festival throughout the year is separately dealt with, in reference to each of the Gregorian Tones to which it is at any time to be sung. The arrangement of every note, on the one hand, and of every syllable on the other, is provided for. And the clearness with which each point is indicated in this most comprehensive Manual in no way falls short of the completeness with which the subject is dealt.

In one respect only does Fr. Haberl's work seem to me capable of improvement, or, as I should rather say, of possibly useful expansion. For practical purposes—and the little work, as I have observed, is essentially a practical one—

there is undoubtedly a manifest advantage in its keeping clear of all discussion of the merits of the various conflicting systems of Psalmody. Fr. Haberl, after an exhaustive study of the advantages, real or apparent, claimed for each of these systems by their respective authors or advocates, has selected one of them—that is to say, having selected from among the various existing methods of Psalmody the one that seemed to him preferable in view of all practical requirements, he has introduced into it, from some of the other recognised systems, those points of excellence that may naturally be combined with it. Having thus adopted a definite system of Psalmody, he abstains from any attempt to influence, by theoretical disquisitions, the judgment of anyone whose view of the matter may differ from his. He does not argue in favour of his own system. He is content with showing it for what it is, and making it fully available as a working system for the use of all who may wish to use it. So far, his plan is an admirable one. But it would have been in no way inconsistent with this eminently practical method of dealing with the subject, if he had furthermore explicitly set forth, and developed by means of illustrations in detail, the principles on which his system is constructed. To say nothing of other advantages, it is obvious that the knowledge of these principles would notably contribute to the beauty of the chant, by securing an intelligent rendering of it, free from the mechanical stiffness which is almost inseparable from any method of chanting based merely upon the observance of a prescribed form.

In the hope, then, of being able to render Fr. Haberl's work somewhat more fully available for the attainment of the important object for which it has been compiled, I purpose in the following pages to analyse the results set forth in it, with a view of directing attention to the principles on which those results are based.

I am safe in assuming that the following points are sufficiently known to the readers of the RECORD, to render any explanation of them here superfluous:—

1. That the Gregorian Tones to which the Psalms and

Gospel Canticles (the *Magnificat* at Vespers, the *Benedictus* at Lauds, and the *Nunc dimittis* at Compline) are prescribed to be sung in the liturgy, are nine in number, nearly all of them comprising several varieties of ending;

2. That in the chanting of the Psalms (and, for brevity sake, it may be noted, once for all, that what is said of the Psalms is to be understood throughout as applicable to the Gospel Canticles unless the contrary is indicated) each verse is regarded as made up of two sections, the distinction of the two being indicated in the liturgical books by an asterisk;

3. That whilst, in each section of the verse, a number of syllables are prescribed to be sung to one note, known as the reciting note, a short melodic combination of notes is assigned for the close of each section, and, in some instances also, for the beginning of the first section—these three melodic combinations being designated, respectively, from the places of their occurrence in the verse, as the *Initium*, the *Mediatio*, and the *Finalis*. Thus in the well-known 8th Tone we have as follows:—

| <i>Initium.</i> | | <i>Mediatio.</i> | | <i>Finalis.</i> | | | |
|---|----|------------------|----|-----------------|----|----|----|
| 1. | 2. | 1. | 2. | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. |
| | | | | | | | |
| Di - xit Dóminus . . . me - o : * Sede a dex - tris me - is ; | | | | | | | |

4. That the primary form of each inflection is capable of modification, and, that, as usually sung, it is, in fact, very frequently modified, by the repetition of some of its notes, in consequence of more than one syllable being sung to them. For instance, in the *Mediatio* and *Finalis* of the 8th Tone we frequently meet with such combinations as the following:—

| <i>Mediatio.</i> | | <i>Finalis.</i> | | | |
|--|----|-----------------|----|----|----|
| 1. | 2. | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. |
| | | | | | |
| Fi - li - o , Dó - mi - no , | | | | | |
| ti - mor Dó - mi - ni . ver - bo á - spe - ro . | | | | | |

This modification results from the treatment of certain notes in those inflections as essentially accented in the

melody, and as, in consequence of this, requiring that accented syllables should in all cases be assigned to them. Thus, in the *Finalis* of the 8th Tone, which consists of four notes, *si, do, la, sol*, if the third of these—in other words, the *last note but one*¹ of the inflection—is always to be sung as an *accented* note of the melody, it must always have assigned to it an accented syllable. If, then, the *last syllable but one* of the verse happen to be *unaccented*, as in the words, *Domini, aspero*, we are driven a step farther back, that is to say, to the *last syllable but two*, which in this case is the accented one. This accented syllable, then, is to be sung to the *last note but one* of the inflection, and the unaccented *last syllable but one* remains unprovided for, or, in other words, provision is to be made for it by doubling one of the two last notes of the inflection.

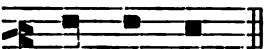
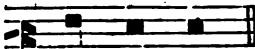
At this point we are brought face to face with one of the difficulties that must be either shirked or solved. By half-trained or careless singers it is usually dealt with as a matter altogether unworthy of attention or even of notice. The result is that whenever a number of such persons take part in the chanting of the Psalms, many of them are frequently to be found singing a syllable to one note, whilst others are singing it to a different one, and in all probability, the greater number are slurring over it in some slovenly fashion, without singing it to any definite note at all.

“SECONDARY” SYLLABLES.

Take, for instance, the case considered in one of the preceding paragraphs. The unaccented penultimate syllables of words such as *Domini, aspero*, and the like, are not distinctly provided for in the final inflection of the 8th Tone as written in its primary form. As thus written, the inflection is indicated by four notes only, *si, do, la, sol*. When, therefore, the *last syllable but two*, is to be sung to the *last note but one*, the *last syllable but one* remains to be provided for. To provide for this syllable, then, since it occurs between the two last

¹ In designating the notes of an inflection in reference to their numerical order, it is in many cases convenient to reckon, as here, from the end, rather than from the beginning, of the inflection.

notes, *la* and *sol*, one of these two notes must be sung twice. Which, then, is it to be? Are we to sing *la, la, sol*? Or *la, sol, sol*?

Is it to be  or 

Dó - mi - ni,
á - spe - ro,

Dó - mi - ni.
á - spe - ro.

Or is each individual singer to be left to his own discretion, with the result that, whilst some will sing the syllable in question to the note *la*, others will sing it to *sol*, and others, influenced probably, though it may be unconsciously, by the confusing impression made upon their ears by the simultaneous singing of two different notes in every direction around them, will slur over the syllable¹ without really singing it to either note?

Very little either of musical culture or of musical knowledge is required to enable anyone to see that in this way the effect is absolutely sacrificed which would be secured if in such cases the same note were sung, and distinctly sung, by all the singers.

Again, it is evident, as a matter of common-sense, that

¹ In such cases the vowel sound produced is usually as undefined as the note to which it is sung. This is especially noticeable in syllables that end, or that are pronounced as ending, in a consonant.

The second syllable, for instance, of *Dómini*, is not unfrequently pronounced, or sung, in such a way as might with equal propriety represent the spelling *Dómani*, *Dómeni*, *Dómini*, *Dómoni*, or *Dómoni*.

The great charm of the Roman pronunciation of Latin, as well as of Italian, lies in the perfect distinctness with which, whether in speaking or in singing, the vowels of even the unaccented syllables of every word are pronounced. In this remark I refer, of course, to the true pronunciation of Rome, not to the usually imperfect reproduction of that pronunciation so frequently to be met with in other countries.

Correctness of pronunciation in this very important matter of the vowels of unaccented syllables will probably be facilitated if the singer bear in mind that in Latin, as a rule, the syllables end in vowels. The second syllable, for instance, of *Dómini* and *áspero*, are not "min" and "per," but "mi" and "pe," respectively.

Even when two consonants stand between the vowel of one syllable and the vowel of the next, they are both to be considered, whenever it is possible to do so, as beginning the second of these syllables. In the official editions of the choral books this method is strictly followed in the printing of all words such as *justus*, *omnis*, *ipse*, *delicta*, and the like, where the combination of consonants is one that could stand at the beginning of a syllable in Greek. This method of printing undoubtedly serves to keep the vowels in special prominence before the singer.

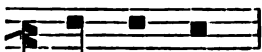
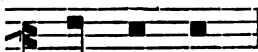
uniformity cannot be attained except by means of some definite rule, and, moreover, that the rule, to be generally effective, must be of the simplest form.

Now Fr. Haberl gives us such a rule, available in all cases of these "secondary" syllables. He derives it from certain features of the ecclesiastical chant; but a question may fairly be raised as to whether the foundation on which the rule is thus sought to be placed is in reality a solid one. Other rules, leading to other results, might be proposed, perhaps with equal propriety. But this is a matter of little practical moment. What is really of importance is, that we should have some rule rather than none, especially when that rule has at least as much to recommend it as any other that has been devised. Father Haberl's rule, then, is as follows:—

"When the interval separating the two notes is only an interval of a second, that is to say, when it is a *tone* or a *semitone*—the secondary syllable is to be sung to the *first* of the two notes.

"When the interval separating the notes is *greater than a tone*, the syllable is to be sung to the *second* of the two."

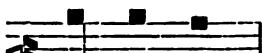
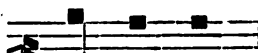
Thus in the *Final* is of the 8th tone,

we sing  not, 

Dó - mi - ni,
á - spe - ro,

Dó - mi - ni.
á - spe - ro.

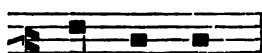
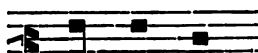
In the *Mediatio* of the same tone

we sing  not, 

Fí - li - o.
Dó - mi - no.

Fí - li - o.
Dó - mi - no.

But in the *Mediatio* of the 6th tone

we sing  not, 

Fí - li - o.
Dó - mi - no.

Fí - li - o.
Dó - mi - no.

THE "ACCENTUAL" AND "SYLLABIC" SYSTEMS OF PSALMODY.

The necessity of making special provision, as has been explained in the preceding paragraphs, for unaccented "secondary" syllables, arises from the treatment of certain

notes of an inflection as essentially accented. For in this way it happens that a greater number of syllables will sometimes have to be sung to an inflection, than there are notes in the inflection in its primary form, and consequently some one, or possibly more, of those notes will have to be repeated.

Manifestly no such necessity would exist if, for each inflection, only as many syllables were taken as there are notes in the inflection, each syllable being sung to its corresponding note.

Of the two methods of Psalmody thus indicated, the former is generally designated as "accentual," the latter as "syllabic." To one or other of these may be referred the various systems that are in recognised use.

In a strictly "accentual" method, each note of the inflection has its defined character, accented or unaccented, which it always retains: the accented syllables, then, are assigned only to the accented notes. In a strictly "syllabic" method, on the other hand, the syllables, whether accented or not, are assigned to each note in reference exclusively to their numerical order in the verse. Between the two extremes, as they may be termed, Fr. Haberl, to a certain extent, steers an intermediate course. His system, indeed, may be regarded as "syllabic" rather than "accentual." But the "syllabic" principle is by no means exclusively followed in it.

Before proceeding to illustrate by examples the working of the two principles, respectively, I may observe, to guard against possible misconception, that in the "syllabic," no less than in the "accentual" systems of Psalmody, *the correct accentuation of the syllables must be rigorously maintained.*

The distinction, then, between the two methods in no way implies that accentuation is to be attended to in the one, and not in the other. Correct accentuation is of equal, because of fundamental, importance in both. In this, as in every other department of the ecclesiastical chant, the maxims, "Sing the words as you would pronounce them," "Correct pronunciation is an essential element of correct singing," and the like, must ever be kept in view. The difference, then, between the two methods consists in this, that in the

“accental” method, certain notes, and certain notes only, of each inflection being regarded as accented, the syllables to be sung to the inflection must be so chosen that the accented syllables shall be sung to these accented notes; whilst in the “syllabic” methods, the number of syllables to be sung to an inflection is determined by the number of notes in that inflection, so that, in the singing of any verse, each note of the inflection will be accented or not, according as the syllable which happens to be assigned to it in that verse is, or is not, an accented syllable.

The *Finalis* of the 8th tone furnishes an excellent illustration of the difference between the “accental” and the “syllabic” methods of Psalmody, and, at the same time, of the extent to which the system adopted by Fr. Haberl may be regarded as a working compromise between the two.

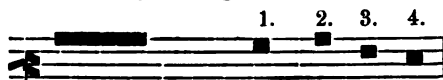
In the strictly “accental method,” as applied to this inflection, the 1st and the 3rd notes of it—that is to say, the last note but one, and the last note but three, of the inflection—are regarded as accented notes. Thus we should have accented syllables sung to these notes, not only when the last syllable but one, and the last syllable but three, happen to be accented, but whether these syllables are accented or not. In other words, if we follow the “accental” method, we should sing,

| | | | |
|----------|---|-----|--|
| not only |  | but |  |
| | 1. 2. 3. 4. dex - tris me - is. su - ae re - ges. | | 1. 2. 3. 4. no - men Do - mi - ni. O - mnes po - pu - li. |
| |  | and |  |
| | 1. 2. 3. 4. po - pu - lo su - o. glo - ri - a e - jus. | | 1. 2. 3. 4. sae - cu - lum sae - cu - li. e - ri - gens pau - pe - rem. |

Thus, then, it will happen that, according to the places in which accented syllables occur among the closing words of a verse, we shall have sometimes four, sometimes five, and sometimes six syllables, sung to the inflection.

On the other hand, in a strictly “syllabic” method of Psalmody, we should in this inflection, in all cases, sing only

four syllables, one syllable for each note. This is illustrated in the following examples. They are given merely for the sake of illustration. In singing them, care should be taken to guard against any tendency that may exist, as the result of habit, to accentuate in all cases the 1st and 3rd notes of the inflection, or either of them. *The accentuation of the notes is to depend altogether upon that of the syllables.*



- (1) Sede a **dex** - tris **me** - is.
 (2) in die irae **su** - ae **re** - ges.

} With accented syllables on the last note but one, and the last note but three, of the inflection.

- (3) annuntiábit **po** - pu - lo **su** - o.
 (4) super coelos **glo** - ri - a **e** - jus

} With an accented syllable only on the last note but one of the inflection.

- (5) laudáte **no** - men **Do** - mi - ni.
 (6) laudáte eum **o** - mnes **po** - pu - li.

} With an accented syllable only on the last note but two of the inflection.

- (7) et in **sae**cu - lum **sae** - cu - li.
 (8) Eri - gens **pau** - pe - rem.

} (As in the preceding case).

In addition to the points of difference here pointed out as to the notes of the inflection on which the accented syllables happen to fall in these various cases, there is a further difference to which attention should be called. In those cases (Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8) in which only one accented syllable occurs amongst the last four, the next preceding accented syllable is sometimes, as in Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6, the last of those sung to the reciting note; sometimes, as in Nos. 7 and 8, it is a syllable still farther back.

The singing of these and similar examples, with careful attention, as already explained, to the distinction of the accented and unaccented syllables, will be found a most useful exercise in accentuation.

It may here be observed that, doubtless owing to the notably greater care, especially as regards the observance of the accents, required in singing according to the "syllabic" method, the tendency of all slovenly and half-trained singers, and, generally speaking, of persons of uncultivated musical taste, is to adopt the "accentual" method.

This sometimes leads to such barbarisms as the following:—

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|----------------------------|
| 1 2 3 4 | | 1 2 3 4 |
| | and | |
| ante lu-ci-fe-rum gé nu-i te. | | quac-ri-tis men-dá-ci-um. |
| 1 2 3 4 | | 1 2 3 4 |
| | and | |
| exal-tá-bi-tur in gló-ri-a. | | ac-cé-le-ra ut é-ru-as me. |

This overcrowding of syllables in the inflection, and indeed the careless use of the "accentual" method generally, not unfrequently leads to a corruption of the Gregorian melody. In the *Finalis* of the 8th Tone, for instance, it is not unusual to hear an extra note *si* incorrectly introduced between the 2nd and 3rd notes, *do* and *la*. Thus:—

| |
|--|
| 1 2 * 3 4 |
| |
| conquassabit cápita in ter-ra mul-tó-rum, dívites di-mí-sit i-ná-nes. |

And the note thus introduced is sometimes sung even when, for the sake of preserving it, two notes may have to be sung to the same syllable! As, for instance:—

| |
|---|
| 1 2 * 3 4 |
| |
| Sede a dex-tris me-is. in Deo salu-tá-ri me-o. |

We may now proceed to the consideration of the system of Psalmody recommended by Fr. Haberl.

It will, I think, be found in practice that the best course to adopt in the teaching of this, or of any other definite system that may be preferred to it, will be to take up some one of the Gregorian Tones—the 8th Tone will probably be the easiest to begin with—and not to pass to any other Tone until the one first taken in hand has been thoroughly mastered. The Tone thus taken up should be carefully sung with every Psalm that is at any time to be sung to it. The points requiring special attention in each Tone are not many,

Besides, they occur only in connection with certain verses. A teacher who wishes to do his work with sure efficiency will not shrink from the labour of making out a complete list of the words and phrases in connection with which any difficulty arises in each case: these, then, can be made the subject of constantly-repeated exercise by the members of the choir or class, of which he has charge.

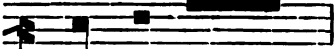
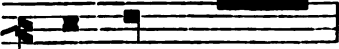
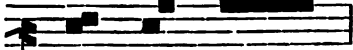
I purpose indicating briefly how this method may be followed in the case of each Tone. For the present, we may confine our attention to the 8th.

First, as regards the *Initium*. This inflection, as all writers on the liturgical chant explain, is used only in certain special cases, such as in the intonation of the first verse of a Psalm, or in the verses throughout of the Gospel Canticles at Lauds and at Vespers.

With the sole exception of the first verse of the Magnificat, where, from the shortness of the first half of the verse, this inflection assumes a special form, the *Initium* in the 8th Tone consists of two notes, to each of which invariably are sung the first and second syllables respectively of the verse.

When either of these happens to be an accented syllable care must be taken to place the accent on the note to which it is sung.

Thus, then, we have

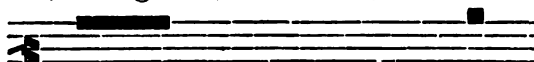
| | | |
|---|-----|---|
|  | and |  |
| Di - xit Dominus, &c. | | Be - a - tus vir, &c. |
| Ni - si Dominus, &c. | | Lau - da - te, pueri, &c. |
| Fe - cit potentiam, &c. | | De - po - suit potentes, &c. |
| and  | | |
| Ma - gni - ficat. | | |

As regards the *Mediatio*, it is to be observed that the 8th is one of the Tones in which this inflection assumes a special form, technically designated the *intonatio in pausa correpta*, when the last word of the first section of the verse is a monosyllable or an indeclinable¹ Hebrew word.² The

¹ The *intonatio in pausa correpta*, then, is not applied in the case of those Hebrew words that occur in the liturgy with the varying forms of the Latin declensions, as, for instance *Juda, Judae*.

² The word *isiquequo* is, according to many writers, to be similarly treated.

intonatio in pausa correpta, consists in omitting the last note of the *Mediatio*. The inflection is thus reduced to one note, to which but one syllable, the last syllable of the first section of the verse, is sung. As, for instance,



Rogáte, quae ad pacem, sunt Jerúsa - lem,
audívimus eum in Ephra - ta,
quia terribíliter magnificátus es,
fecit mihi magna qui pótens est.

This is a fundamental rule of the ecclesiastical chant itself, and is consequently in no way affected by the special rules of any special system of Psalmody. So far, then, as regards the *Mediatio*, the principles of Fr. Haber's system, as I shall now proceed to explain them, are to be understood as applying only in those cases in which the inflection retains its ordinary form.

Fr. Haber's general Rule, then, is:—Assign to each inflection the same number of syllables as there are notes in the inflection.

To this Rule, in the case of the 8th Tone, he admits one exception:—When the last word in either section of a verse is a word of three or more syllables, with the last syllable but one unaccented, this unaccented syllable is to be sung, as a “secondary” or additional syllable, to the preceding note.

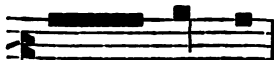
This exception, however, is not to be understood as applying to Hebrew words.

We may illustrate, as follows, both the rule and the exception:—

THE RULE EXEMPLIFIED.

Mediatio.

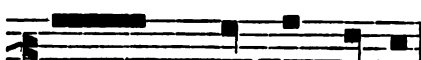
1 2



Dómino me - o,
inimícos tu - os,

Finalis.

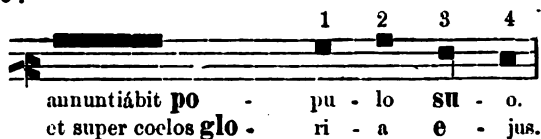
1 2 3 4



Sede a dex - tris me - is.
in die irae su - ac re - ges.

Cases in which an unaccented syllable happens to fall on the first note of the *Finalis* should be specially attended to. The avoiding of a faulty accentuation in such cases will best

be secured by fastening the attention upon the accentuation of the preceding accented syllable. In other words, the singer should aim rather at accenting the accented syllable, than at singing without an accent the unaccented ones. Example:—



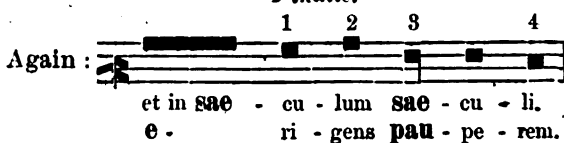
THE EXCEPTION EXEMPLIFIED.

Mediatio.

Finalis.

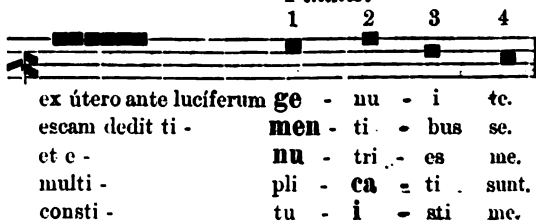


Finalis.



It will be seen that those cases in which the last word is a monosyllable, come, not under the exception, but under the general rule. Here also special care should be taken in singing to preserve the correct accentuation of the words:—

Finalis.



Also the following cases (of Hebrew words):—

Finalis.



This completes the explanation of Fr. Haberl's method as applied to the 8th Tone. The explanation of it as applied to the other Tones I reserve for another number of the RECORD. But I may observe that they can be very briefly dealt with, the general principles of Psalmody having been so fully explained in the present paper.

✠ W. J. W.

"FIDELIS SERVUS ET PRUDENS."

THE combination of Fidelity and Prudence, in the dispensation of the sacraments, is an essential qualification in the confessor "*quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam.*" To be a faithful custodian of the sacraments in the sense in which the "*servus*" of the Gospel fancied himself a vigilant sentinel over the "*one talent*," which he merely placed beyond the danger of loss or detriment, would lead to Jansenism in its worst form. That fidelity which becomes a mere stern and jealous warding off of all possible profanation, would *per se* end in the extinction of all usefulness, and, in the case of the Sacrament of Penance, would frustrate and neutralise the designs of its Divine Institutor. *Sacramenta propter homines*: and to those to whom the sacraments are entrusted is given the commission "*ut eant et fructum afferant*," by a busy yet judicious dispensation of those sacraments amongst men. The "*talents*" placed in the hands of the confessor must, at his peril, bear fruit; and the measure of commendation he will receive from their Divine Author will be in the precise proportion of his success, or legitimate effort, in causing them to fructify.

The confessor must therefore be not alone the "*fidelis servus*," who will protect the Sacrament of Penance from irreverence, but he must also be the "*servus prudens*," diligently and zealously applying it to the purposes for which it was instituted. In pursuance of this latter avocation, he must, in some fashion, imitate the methods employed by

discreet and energetic traders, whose enterprise may sometimes indeed result in disappointment, but whose misadventure exposes them to no legitimate censure so long as the “risks they ran” were not in conflict with the recognised and approved canons of prudence. The world does not expect unvarying success; neither will it upbraid a man whose mishap cannot be traced to a want of befitting circumspection. It is a common error to assume that prudence restricts the operations of practical men within the narrow circle in which their own limited vision discerns no risk of failure. No such maxim is tolerated in the affairs of commerce; and the man who makes it his rule of conduct, lags behind the world, loses many golden opportunities, and generally ends in discredit. Within the legitimate limits, the same may be affirmed of the spiritual dealings of man with man; and we cannot doubt that the “*servus bonus et fidelis*,” who presented to his master the “*alia quinque talenta*” which he had earned, did not selfishly and cravenly shrink before all uncertainties.

It was a saying of the old philosophers that prudence is, of all the virtues, the one whose lineaments are most arbitrarily drawn by men, inasmuch as each man paints her according to his own fancy. Seneca is quoted as saying: “*Ignorantes se fatentur plures, nemo se imprudentem agnoscit.*” Each man holds a mirror before his own intelligence, and invites the world to behold a true vision of PRUDENTIA. The philosophers incidentally add the still less flattering reflection: “*Scientiæ prærogativam plurimi aliis cedunt; at ipsi prudentiam sibi arrogant, et quo sunt ignorantiores, eo se prudentiores existimant. Docti imprudentes esse queunt; ignorantes, ingenio obtusi, mente tardi prudentes esse non queunt.*” As no man is bound to tender evidence against himself, no one can expect from me a commentary on that ungracious apothegm; but we may all assuredly admit, with the philosophers, that none of us, howsoever learned he may seem to himself and others, enjoys a monopoly of prudence. We may go further and affirm that it will oftentimes be the highest prudence to set aside our own most cherished modes of thought and action, and, at least in cases of emergency, to follow the guidance of other men who are

presumably more learned and possibly far more discreet than ourselves. This is in worldly matters a golden rule; it is not less so in practical theology.

Influenced by this conviction, Gobat—“auctor multum eruditus et experientia abundans,” as Ballerini describes him—asseverates, “Confessarium debere scire sententias plures, quae vere probabiles sunt, circa materias morales, eo quod saepe [ubi non agitur de valore sacramenti] non possit nec expediat poenitentes dirigere secundum unicam doctrinam, tam parum quam Medicus possit omnes unica medicina sanare; sed pro diversitate subjecti, et circumstantiarum, debet has, aut illas applicare.” La Croix approves and applauds the counsel of Gobat; and one of our best contemporary writers, Lehmkuhl, says—in common with many others to whom he refers—“Confessarium debere circa diversas materias morales plures opiniones probabiles scire, scilicet, quid in quaque re sit vere probabile, quum saepe opiniones sibi contrariae probabiles esse possint. Et quanquam *obligatio* imponi non debet, quamdiu sententia vere probabilis dicit, obligationem non adesse; tamen directio et consilium pro diversa poenitentium conditione in eadem re dari potest et debet modo secundum hanc, modo secundum illam probabilem sententiam.” (vol. ii., page 319.)

I do not suppose there is any confessor of experience who will not gratefully acknowledge the practical advantages involved in the counsel of theologians so eminent as those whose words I have quoted, and of so many others to whom I shall presently refer. In times of bewildering perplexity, the thought of what Suarez, or De Lugo, or St. Alphonsus would most certainly do, if similarly situated, brushes away anxiety as if with an angel's wing. How can we be very guilty in doing precisely what any of those most learned and prudent men would do? Writers of the Rigidist school, as is natural to expect, profess to entertain unqualified abhorrence and reprobation of such counsel; but when in cooler moments they give the “reason of their wrath,” they manifest more zeal than wisdom. In estimating the value of the arguments put forward by the Rigidist writers, it will be (for many reasons) convenient—and it will be undoubtedly safe—to

assume that Concina most faithfully reflects their views. In him the fervour of their pleading loses nothing, nor, I may add, does the dramatic "morituri-te-salutant" attitude which they assume before, in pity more than anger, they bid farewell to the stage for ever more. Concina, indeed, so authentically and so authoritatively represents the whole school of Rigidists—not alone in his system of disputation, but also in the expostulatory and fretful method by which he seeks to retrieve and reclaim the erring ones—that the reader may find some interest in the reproduction of one or two of his characteristic paragraphs. After having given, and apologised for giving, the admonition of Gobat and La Croix (*ut supra*), he thus proceeds to exorcise it:—

"*Crumenam* ergo plurium contrariarum opinionum (si enim contrariae non essent, una sufficeret) habere Confessarius debet, et pro poenitentium diversitate illas expendere! Non expedit poenitentes dirigere *secundum unicum doctrinam*? Quis talia audivit? Non ergo unica lex divina, non unica doctrina Christi, non unicum Evangelium, non unica fides, non unum Baptisma? Siste gradum, et audi quae scribit P. Gobat—'Plurimum jurat ad prudenter administrandum hoc sacramentum habere *in recenti memoria et usu* quasdam regulas, documenta, seu Aphorismos, sparsa hinc inde per libros sapientissimorum theologorum.' Quinimo isti sapientissimi Theologi? Lamas, Stoz, Sporer, Caramuel, Tamburini, Diana, Bonacina, Leander, La Croix, &c.

"Verum dixit (Gobat), dum ait crumenam contrariarum opinionum practice probabilium esse *commodissimam*. Quid enim commodius quam abundare variis opinionibus contrariis, *nempe veris et falsis*, et juxta poenitentium diversitatem modo unam, modo alteram adoptare. et omnes tamquam regulam tutam? . . . Si contrariarum doctrinarum una est vera, altera falsa sit necessum est. Confessarius ergo si uni poenitenti porrigit remedium, alteri impertitur venenum. Falsitas autem venenum est, et praesertim si falsitas cognita sit, quae animas occidit. Cognita autem falsitas in casu proposito est, quoniam Confessarius adhibens doctrinas contrarias, scit unam esse falsam, si altera vera est, quum doctrinae contrariae simul verae esse nequeant. . . .

"Quum olim legebam in quodam libro quosdam Confessarios trahere ad se plurimos bonos Christianos, pios probosque, simulque dissolutos, praevericatos, luxuriosos, foeneratores, &c., quia probos et pios, et studiosos implendi divinam voluntatem, vel in omnibus, vel in certis quibusdam, dirigant, doctrina sana, tutiore, rigidiore: alios vero doctrina opposita mitiore, benigniore, minus probabili: dum, inquam, haec, legebam, certo existimabam atrocissimam esse

calumniam impactam Confessariis quibusdam. Verum an ex doctrina P. Gobat, qui pro eadem citat Lessium, Conich, et quam adoptat P. La Croix, inferatur, hanc esse veritatem, judicent sapientes!"

If nothing more forcible and formidable than this exposition can be adduced as an argument in refutation of the doctrine of Gobat, Stoz, Sporer, Tamburini, Diana, La Croix, and other writers of eminence, that doctrine may well be accepted as one which—at least in critical cases of emergency—might safely be acted upon. We have already seen Ballerini's estimate of Gobat; and of all the other theologians just enumerated, writers of critical biography—such as the Benedictine Fathers of Monte Cassino—speak in terms of the highest approval. Stoz taught philosophy and theology in one of the Jesuit colleges for thirty years. Sporer is described by St. Liguori as "in suis sententiis satis aequus," and by Lehmkühl as "etsi aliquando benignior, generatim tamen solide et erudite scribens." Caramuel is said to have been "vir scientia et eruditione clarus." Tamburini, a distinguished Jesuit, professed theology for twenty-six years, and was subsequently appointed "librorum censor ac consultor Sacri Officii." Diana discharged the same high and responsible duties; and Ballerini informs us that "a nota laxitatis hunc virum, alioquin scientia et eruditione perinsignem, egregie vindicavit Fran. Ant. Zacharia" (Every reader of the best editions of La Croix and St. Liguori knows all that is implied in the *imprimatur* of Father Zachary). Of La Croix himself it will be superfluous to say that his *Universa Theologia Moralis* has gone through almost countless reprints, and that it received the highest commendation of Benedict XIV. and of St. Liguori.

But St. Liguori himself, in his own golden work, urges with unaccustomed vehemence a doctrine which embraces and seems to go far beyond this. The question is asked: "An possit absolvi poenitens qui vult sequi opinionem (probabilem) contrariam illi quam tenet confessarius?" He answers: "Sententia communis et sequenda docet non solum posse, sed etiam teneri sub gravi confessarium absolvere poenitentem qui vult sequi opinionem probabilem, licet opposita videatur probabilior confessario" (N. 604). That

these two questions are in touch of each other—that the latter involves the former—can, I venture to think, be easily established from the fact that (ex hypothesi) the penitent is religiously solicitous to receive the grace of the sacrament, and, by the fact of dutifully presenting his confession, claims, as the proper complement of his act, whatever advantages and rights genuine theology can accord to him. He may not, indeed, have an expedite knowledge of what those privileges are; but he fairly and justly expects that the confessor, who has received that confession, does know, and will not withhold them. To absolutely qualify himself for the undiminished benefit of that “*sententia communis et sequenda*” of St. Liguori, he need only follow the advice given by Concina, in one of his most trenchant satirical humours: “*Si confessarius minus expectatus sit, et in crumena mentis suae non habeat has plures sententias [probabiles], tunc poenitens ipse, antequam accedat ad confessarium, legere potest Gobat, La Croix, &c., in quorum libris super qualibet materia inveniet opiniones probabiles contrarias.*” This enterprise of the penitent would plainly place him within the ambit, and entitle him to the protection, of the “*sententia sequenda*,” and there is no one who would not bitterly and not unreasonably complain if he were defrauded of that protection because he had not, in some such way, acquired the necessary substitute for scholastic training. Tacitly but unmistakably the penitent asserts his claim to absolution, and grounds that claim on the existence of such probable opinion—if happily it do exist—although he may not be able to make quotation of its terms, or even conjecturally affirm its existence. And, remember, that to qualify himself for the manifold advantages and immunities conveyed by the “*sententia sequenda*,” the penitent need not be acquainted with the arguments that invest with *intrinsic* probability the opinion on which he relies. He knows—everybody knows—that intrinsic probability is the necessarily pre-existing *raison d’être* of *extrinsic*; and he may tranquilly assume the innate force of those arguments on the faith of the theologians whom they have convinced. For most penitents this is all that is possible; and of its absolute

sufficiency we need entertain no doubt after the well-known Decree of the Sacred Penitentiary, dated July 5th, 1831. From that decree we learn that the confessor—and *a fortiori* the penitent—may safely act upon an opinion *extrinsece probabilis*, even though he have not "read" the works in which it has been propounded, nor weighed the "momenta rationesve" from which its probability is derived.

No doubt, St. Liguori (*Homo. Apost.*, tr. 16, n. 118) lays down a principle that seems to expressly condemn the indiscriminate absolution of the man who formally appeals to a probable opinion in his favour and the man who "quum sit indoctus, nequit sibi formare conscientiam rectam ex probabilitate illius opinionis." Of the former he repeats "quum est capax sibi formandi conscientiam rectam . . . sententia communis docet, confessarium in eo casu posse et debere absolvere sub gravi, saltem si confessio facta fuerit de materia gravi;" while of the latter he says, "certum est tunc eum non posse absolvi." But, with all reverential respect, this seems too sweeping an assertion; perhaps I should rather say that it suggests a too precipitate dismissal of a great difficulty. Take, by way of illustration, the following case of emergency (and I am throughout considering only such) which I shall propose in words borrowed from Lehmkühl (v. ii., page 311): "Poenitens [indoctus] qui bona fide putat se satis dispositum, atque gravis ratio est timendi, ne propter negatam dilatamve absolutionem in pejus ruat, i.e. . . . omnino a sacramentis alienetur"—and assume that there exists an "opinio probabilis propriae tuae opinioni contraria" in favour of the "poenitens indoctus." The case is common enough, especially on such occasions as Public Stations or even Missions. He cannot allege any probable opinion, the mere appeal to which would warrant the confessor in absolving him: must he therefore be dismissed? Lehmkühl (who, by the way, in certain eventualities, counsels *conditional* absolution) subjoins what should be at all times our guiding principle, and is the very key-note of St. Liguori's whole system of theology: "Post diligentem conatum adhibitum confessarius pro prudentia et zelo suo recordari debet misericordiae Christi Domini, cujus instrumentum est, qui

'calamum quassatum non conteret et linum fumigans non extinguet;'" and, in the preceding paragraph, the same writer refers to St. Liguori himself as teaching (n. 432) "*cum communi sententia*," that the penitent in the case under consideration "*posse conditionate absolvi*." But why "*conditionate*?" Might we not—assuming for a moment that our doing so is necessary—instruct this "*calamus quassatus et linum fumigans*" as to the existence of that probable opinion, and express our willingness to give him the full benefit of it, should he, at his own risk, desire that we do so? It is not easy to discern any impropriety in our adopting such a course (he can get the information blamelessly from another, if he knew where to seek it), and the penitent's expression of acquiescence in the course we suggest, will place him literally in the position of the man "*qui nunc vult sequi opinionem sibi probabilem*." We need have no misgiving whatsoever that the penitent, so instructed, will not form to himself a "*conscientia practice certa*;" for, as we assume, he is *bona fide* anxious to receive the full fruits of the sacrament; he is *aliunde satis dispositus*; and he will entertain an honest trustful conviction that the theologian to whose judgment we refer him, is incomparably more likely to be right in giving absolution than we should be in refusing it. He will thus become a "*poenitens qui vult sequi opinionem probabilem, contrariam illi quam tenet confessarius*," and the "*sententia communis et sequenda docet non solum posse sed teneri confessarium eum absolvere*."

This solution of a by no means rare difficulty proceeds on the assumption that it is necessary to apprise the unlearned penitent (1) that there does exist a probable opinion in accordance with which he would be a suitable subject for absolution; and (2) that we ourselves hold the contrary. Are we bound to assume the necessity of thus instructing him? The necessity does not seem to arise from any consideration for the conscience of the penitent. For (1) his conscience will passively accept such judgment as we, without apology or explanation, may pronounce; and (2) if, in point of fact, we held with Suarez or De Lugo, or any other great theologian, the opinion of which we are now about to give him the

benefit, we should recognise no such necessity. If the seat we occupy were held by Suarez, &c., instead of being occupied by us, do we imagine that those theologians would feel an obligation of expounding to their "*poenitens indoctus*" the existence and bearings of the "*opiniones huic contrariae*?" Do we ourselves, every time we are enabled to act in consonance with our own judgment, feel called upon to explain that there are other theologians whose doctrines are in conflict with ours? No one ever thinks of doing so; for it is no part of the duty of the *Judex* to institute a preamble setting forth the motives—whether direct or reflex—that have influenced and shaped his judgment. Nor would the necessity we are contemplating arise out of any consideration for our own conscience. How could it? We give no disedification which it would be necessary to explain away, by acting precisely as Suarez (for example) would act as a matter of course; and the penitent (who expects nothing of the sort) cannot require to be satisfied that, in deposing for the moment our own speculative opinion and adopting the teaching of great and eminent theologians, we have formed for ourselves a "*conscientia practice certa*," and are merely fulfilling one of the fundamental rules of prudence.

All that has hitherto been written must be regarded as a mere preliminary attempt at justifying our having at hand a "*crumena*" stored with "*aphorisms*" and "*opiniones vere probabiles*," from which we may, in times of emergency, draw forth for use principles that will enable us to deal *summarily* with critical and perplexing cases. If we have no such treasury within easy reach, experience proves that very frequently we shall be driven to the alternative known as the "*remedium dilatae absolutionis*," of which St. Liguori writes (L. vi., T. 4, n. 463): "*Commune est apud DD. nullo modo expedire absolutionem differre, quando dilatio magis obfutura, quam profutura censetur.*" Be assured that that *quando* is almost invariably verified in those cases we are considering; and, if it be, "*nullo modo expedit differre*," which is a strong way of saying, "*diligentem conatum adhibeat confessarius, et tunc poenitentem absolvat.*" The "*obfutura*" danger is, in those cases, so imminent that the elementary

dictates of prudence warrant us in always assuming its actual presence. Men will promise to return after the specified interval; and the very readiness with which they will promise is calculated to deceive us. But are we not bound to weigh the probabilities of their not returning? Will they, if they do return, be sure to submit the same case in all its gravity, and, possibly enough, aggravated by relapse? Will they come back *melius dispositi*, or must the "remedium" go on repeating itself indefinitely? Why, in treating extreme cases, should we not inquire, with St. Liguori, "Cur de peccatore non habente gratiam per dilationem, quam de constituta in amicitia Dei per absolutionem, melius sperandum est?" In emergencies like those we are contemplating—and which Missions, Public Stations, and the like bring to the surface—it would be an almost irreparable cruelty to shrink from acting, on the ground that we have not that *moral certainty* of the penitent's being disposed which would warrant us in absolving. Even Juenin and Concina teach that "in casu necessitatis, licet *dubie dispositum absolvere*;" and St. Liguori tells us (*ibid*, n. 461), "sufficit quod confessarius habeat *prudentem probabilitatem* de dispositione poenitentis, et non obstat ex alia parte prudens suspicio indispositionis." In the same paragraph the same holy doctor, interpreting a passage of the *Roman Catechism*, adds: "Ergo semper ac confessario *positive non innotescit*, poenitenti omnino defuisse dolorem, ipsum absolvere *potest*." Practically speaking, this means that we may absolutely absolve as often as we can affirm, *non constat hunc indispositum esse*. I say "absolutely," and in those extreme cases in which a refusal to absolve would be fraught with grave danger; for no one could maintain that a confessor would, ordinarily speaking, be justified in absolving every penitent, simply because "non constat eum indispositum esse." Ordinarily speaking, responsibilities of the gravest character devolve upon the confessor in his role of father, teacher and physician. These, however, are "munera *accessoria*," which he cannot, "citra peccatum grave," neglect, in so far as the circumstances of each case will permit him to exercise them; but the one "munus *essentiale*" of his office is the exercise of

his judicial and absolving power. This distinction (given so clearly by Lehmkuhl) will help to dispel many difficulties and to show how broadly one's conduct, in cases of emergency, may differ from his conduct in less trying circumstances.

It was the original intention of the writer to confine his introductory remarks within very narrow limits, and to shape the present paper so that it would consist mainly of such a selection of "Aphorisms" and "probable opinions" as would fairly stock a practically useful "Crumena." The intention has been virtually, though unconsciously, verified in the introduction itself; and, *au reste*, but little space remains for a grouping of extracts. There are one or two, however, which, as being of special utility, cannot well be omitted.

I°. (1) "Notandum est solos rigoristas esse, qui ad absolutionem sacramentalem requirunt firmam poenitentis persuasionem, qua credat, se non esse relapsurum. (2) Qui adeo sibi persuadet se relapsurum esse, ut de emendatione sua *desperet*, non est absolvendus, nisi antea [*donec*] de hac ipsa desperatione doluerit et firmiorem spem in divina gratia conceperit." La Croix; St. Alph.

"Qui autem non adeo timet, *quonquam multum timet* relapsum propter *tristem suam experientiam*, non ideo pro indisposito habendus est: sed *hic et nunc* firmam voluntatem non peccandi debet concipere, et animandus est ut fiduciam suam in divinæ gratiæ auxilio collocet; quare *si tandem speret*, et se in tentationibus oraturum esse promittit, potius *absolvendus est* et ad frequentem confessionem inducendus est, quam ad aliud tempus remittendus.

"A fortiori, dispositioni necessariae *non obstat persuasio quam confessarius habet*, qua viz. *judicat, vix fore* ut contingat, ut poenitens revera ab omni relapsu sese immunem servet. Id enim aliquando ex iis, quæ communiter contingunt, *cum morali quadam certitudine judicare* vel multum suspicari potest: *nihilominus* autem de poenitentis sufficienti dispositione *actuali* satis certo potest constare." (Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., page 222-3.)

II°. "Homo *relapsus* ex interna fragilitate, si satis dispositus ad recipiendam absolutionem non videtur, *potius* omnibus modis *ad seriam voluntatem* dolendi et proponendi *induci debet, quam remitti*. . . . Si relapsus frequentior ex rariore sacramentorum susceptione oriri videtur, ad frequentiorem usum poenitens potius animandus est." (*Ibid.* p. 351).

III°. "An absolvi possint qui sunt in occasione proxima necessaria? . . . Illa dicitur *moraliter* necessaria, si occasio tolli non potest sine scandalo; in his casibus bene absolvi potest, occasione non sublata . . . Sed hic dubium fit, an possit quis *manere*

in proxima, si aliter deberet pati notabile detrimentum temporale in vita, fama, aut fortunis? . . . *Affirmant DD. non teneri poenitentem occasionem dimittere, si aliter grave damnum temporale passurus sit, dummodo interim sit paratus uti mediis præscriptis.* Ita Lugo, Bonacina, Layman, &c., et consentit Concina, si poenitens ex dimissione occasionis debet pati infamiam &c."

IV°. "An qui in occasione necessaria etiam adhibitis remediis semper eodem modo relabitur, absolvi possit, nisi prius occasionem deserat? Prima sententia, quam tenent Lugo, Gobat, &c, dicit eum absolvi posse toties quoties, modo habeat sufficientem dolorem et propositum. Advertit tamen Lugo quod, cum aliquis *semper immediate post confessionem facile* recidit, is censetur carere vero dolore et proposito, et ideo non absolvendus." (St. Liguori, *ibid.*, n. 457).

De Lugo's limitations to the general principle affirmed in the last paragraph are conjointly of such rare occurrence that they are seldom found co-existing in all their cumulative fullness. The relapse required by De Lugo to constitute an exception, should occur (1) *semper*; (2) *immediate post confessionem*; and (3) *facile*; that is, without an honest struggle against temptation or an earnest endeavour to have recourse to the *remedia præscripta*. This involves an accumulation of malice, or at least of criminal imbecility, such as one does not encounter often in a lifetime; it, therefore, leaves the principle practically unmodified. It would cause no surprise to find that De Lugo's view, stated in all its broad comprehensiveness, takes away the breath from Juenin, Concina, and all of that school; but when we find that it receives but little countenance from St. Liguori, Lehmkuhl, &c., we must of necessity infer that its application is justified only in cases of most grave manifest peril to the penitent's soul. Such a danger is outlined by St. Liguori (*ibid.*, n. 432): "quum prudenter timeatur quod peccator ille non amplius ad confessionem redibit, et in peccatis suis tabescet." Such a man, dubie dispositum, he would absolve *conditionally*. Considering the many risks of life, but considering as a more approximate and certain danger the steady, unimpeded descent which a man will make who has been two full years from the sacraments, would we impair the value of the last-named principle by substituting for "non amplius" the possibly shorter limit, "not for another year?"

These are only a few of the numerous "Aphorisms" and

“probable opinions” with which, according to the counsel of eminent theologians, each confessor should be familiar. To be familiar with them, each man must glean and garner for himself, and, having completed his store, use it. God will be less disposed to look unfavourably on the confessor who, relying trustfully on the efficacy of the sacraments, risks something in favour of the unhappy penitent than the confessor who, by over cautiously endeavouring to keep his own record clear, refuses, even with the safeguard of a *condition*, to imperil the reverence due to the sacraments in his effort to stay the downward progress of the penitent in *pejus*.

C. J. M.

DR. BROWNSON AND HIS WORKS.¹

THE collected edition of Dr. Brownson's works, recently published, is a welcome, and valuable addition to our Catholic literature. The contents of those twenty beautiful volumes were hitherto scattered through periodicals and reviews, difficult to be found, and rarely found complete; now, they are brought within easy reach of intelligent Catholic readers, to whom they cannot fail to be a source of pleasure and of profit. In those volumes there are some things that will appear to the reader unworthy of their author—some things which his more-matured, and enlightened judgment condemned; but far the greater part of Brownson's works, will be read, and re-read, and will retain their popularity, as splendid specimens of literary composition, and as powerful vindications of revealed truth. The Roman poet was consoled by the conviction that he would live in his works; but there is a sense in which Brownson, with even more truth than Horace, might have said *non omnis moriar*. For, while his writings are certain to live, by reason of their intrinsic worth, there is no writer in the English language

¹ *The Works of Oracles A. Brownson*, collected and arranged by Henry F. Brownson. 20 vols. Detroit. 1882-1887.

with, perhaps, the exception of Carlyle, whose personal character is so clearly stamped upon his works. A passionate love of truth, unswerving fidelity to principle, fearless honesty of purpose; an inherent love of liberty in its true sense,—his powerful mind rigidly logical, one would almost think by a natural necessity:—such were the leading features of his character; they are traceable in every page of his writings, and they explain not alone his many excellent qualities, but also what some regard as his defects. Whenever he laid hold on any truth he held on to it, and to its logical consequences, with the grasp of death. What he believed to be true, he stated with such clearness, and precision, that no one could mistake his meaning; and if he felt it his duty to announce a doctrine that was unpopular, he did so, in the most straight-forward way, clearly, bluntly, boldly, without taking the smallest account of the worry and obloquy to which such action might expose him. He wrote once, “prudence is a virtue, and rashness is a sin, but my own reason and experience have taught me that truth is a far more trustworthy support, than the best devised scheme of human policy possible. Honesty is the best policy. Be honest with thyself, be honest with all the world, be true to thy convictions, be faithful to what truth thou hast, be it ever so little, and never dream of supplying its defect by astuteness or craft.” And after describing how this line of conduct got for himself the character of being “ultra reckless, fond of paradoxes and extremes,” he adds: “Give me rather the open honest unbeliever, who pretends to believe nothing more than he really does believe, than your sleek canting hypocrite who rolls up his eyes in holy horror of unbelief, and makes a parade of his orthodoxy, when he believes not a word of the Gospel, and has a heart which is a cage of unclean beasts out of which more devils need to be cast than were cast out of the Magdalen. The former may never see God but the latter deserves the lowest place in Hell. There is hope of the conversion of a nation of unbelievers; of the conversion of a nation of hypocrites—none.” In this passage we have an epitome of his character, the secret of his noblest qualities, as well as a key to the

understanding of much that seemed strange and erratic in him.

Orestes A. Brownson was born at Stockbridge, Windsor County, Vermont, on September 16th, 1803. At the age of six he was adopted by an aged couple living at Royalton, by whom he was trained up in the most rigid form of New England Puritanism. He tells us that "they were honest, upright, strictly moral, and far more ready to suffer wrong than to do wrong, but had no particular religion and seldom went to meeting They taught me to be honest, to owe no one anything but good will, to be frugal and industrious, to speak the truth, never to tell a lie under any circumstances, or to take what was not my own to the value of a pin, to keep the Sabbath, and never to let the sun go down on my wrath." They also taught him the *Shorter Catechism*, the *Apostles' Creed*, and the *Lord's Prayer*, though it is clear they did not attach any definite meaning to these formulas. Trained up in such surroundings, Brownson had, strictly speaking, no childhood. At an early age he learned to read, and grew passionately fond of reading. His library was small, consisting of the Bible and a few devotional books of the Puritan type. He had read the Bible through, before he was eight years old, and had a great part of it committed to memory before he was fourteen. This reading made a deep religious impression upon his mind. He loved specially to read the history of the Passion, and while doing so seemed to hold spiritual intercourse with Our Lord, with the Blessed Virgin, and the Angel Gabriel. Even thus early a taste for religious controversy began to manifest itself in him, and all his thoughts took a religious turn; but, young as he was, he felt the sad influence of the conflicting creeds with which he came in contact. In his immediate neighbourhood almost every phase of religious error was represented. There were Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Universalists, Christians, &c., &c. He attended their meetings indiscriminately. He was told they differed from one another, but he could see no difference, except that the "Methodist preachers appeared to have stronger lungs; they preached louder, and when they preached the people shouted more. I thought

them the best because they made the most noise, and gave the most vivid pictures of hell-fire and the tortures of the damned. All I learned from either was that I must be born again or go to hell, get religion or be damned. The more I listened to them the more I feared hell, and the less I loved God" (*Convert*, c. i.). The result of such Babeldom on a young, inquiring, and vigorous mind like Brownson's was naturally to cast him into a state verging upon despair. As yet he was not baptised: he did not belong to any religious body, and his experience hitherto could not help him in making a choice. His soul was oppressed with doubts and fears. Living beside him was an old lady, a Congregationalist, intelligent and respectable, one who had seen better days. To her he revealed his mental distress, and got from her the following very excellent advice:

"My poor boy," she said, "God has been very good to you, and has, no doubt, gracious designs towards you. He means to use you for a purpose of His own, and you must be faithful to His inspiration. But go not with the Methodists or with any of the sects. They are New Lights, and not to be trusted. The Christian religion is not new, and Christians have existed from the time of Christ. These New Lights are of yesterday. You yourself knew the founder of the *Christian* sect, and I myself knew personally both George Whitfield and John Wesley, the founders of Methodism. Neither can be right, for they come too late, and have broken off, separated from the body of Christians which subsisted before them. When you join any body calling itself a Christian body, find out and join one that began with Christ and his Apostles, and has continued to subsist the same, without change of doctrine or worship, down to our own times. You will find the true religion with that body, and nowhere else. Join it, obey it, and you will find rest and salvation. But beware of sects and New Lights; they will make you fair promises, but in the end will deceive you to your own destruction."

This advice made a deep impression on young Brownson's mind. But years of struggle lay yet before him, during which his mind would pass over the whole gamut of religious absurdities ere he would find repose in that home of "rest and salvation" to which this advice unconsciously pointed. He soon began to attend a public school, and here he came in contact with sectaries almost of every imaginable denomination. Young, as he was, his logical mind perceived that truth was

not the common inheritance of those conflicting creeds. His youthful fervour had very much died away, but he felt the necessity of religion—and what was it to be? Where was he to find it? The doubts and denials, the jarring opinions he had heard advanced, perplexed, confused him, and all but forced him to conclude that religion was a delusion. With the lights available to him he had eagerly sought for truth, and had only found that darkness was thickening around him. In his despair, as a sort of *experimentum crucis*, he joined the Presbyterian body in October, 1822. The very first meeting that he attended convinced him that he had made a capital mistake. At this meeting the members pledged themselves solemnly to “pray for the conversion of sinners,” the “sinners” being everyone outside their own body, who were to be regarded as enemies of God, with whom no communion, not even on business relations, was to be held, except when absolutely necessary. Brownson says justly, “The meeting was animated by a singular mixture of bigotry, uncharitableness, apparent zeal for God’s glory, and a shrewd regard to the interests of this world.” Then under the pretence of “fraternal correction” a system of espionage was set up amongst the members, against which Brownson’s frank and free nature revolted. “I saw at once,” he says, “that I had made a mistake, that I had no sympathy with the Presbyterian spirit, and should need a long and severe training to sour and elongate my visage sufficiently to enjoy the full confidence of my new brethren.” Neither did he find in the Presbyterian doctrines anything to compensate for the repulsiveness of its moral code. His pastor gave him a copy of the *Presbyterian Confession of Faith* and a Bible. The *Confession*, he was told, was not a binding formula, but a good summary of scriptural teaching, which he must find for himself out of the Bible, and, strange enough, though the church would not guarantee that the doctrines of the *Confession* were really contained in the Bible, and though she left him to find them there by his own lights, yet she claimed authority to excommunicate him as a heretic if he ventured to dissent from these doctrines. Then the doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation was so

subversive of his idea of a just and merciful God, so repugnant to his reason, that Brownson felt he found in it an insuperable objection to his remaining in his present position. His pastor, to whom he disclosed his difficulty, honestly told him that he too felt the doctrine to be "revolting to human nature," and that, at the last meeting of the General Assembly, he had endeavoured to have the doctrine repealed, and "failed only by two votes." Enough, thought Brownson! He had joined the Presbyterians to escape the logical consequences of private judgment, and now that body had nothing to give him but private judgment, *plus* an excommunication for the due exercise of it. He preferred the theory without the censure, and accordingly he joined a body of Liberal Christians, known as *Universalists*, whose accommodating creed denied all punishments after death, and opened heaven to all alike, irrespective of faith or works—to Judas, Pilate, and Herod, as well as to Peter, James, and John. It is a curious fact that an eccentric Irishman, named John Murray, was the first to teach the doctrine of universal salvation in the United States. Brownson was predisposed in favour of this sect by having read in his youth some Universalist books, which had shaken his belief in future rewards and punishments, and, indeed, in most other Christian dogmas. In 1826 he became a Universalist preacher, and, as he was already known to be a ready and vigorous writer, he was made Editor of the *Gospel Advocate*, a periodical specially devoted to the interests of the sect. But he soon began to lose confidence in the Gospel, which he undertook to advocate. His duties led him to study Scripture more attentively, and he soon found that Scripture taken in its ordinary literal sense did not teach the final salvation of all men; that the Scriptural arguments in favour of Universalism were inconclusive, and the answers usually given to scriptural objections, dishonest. But, he had fully made up his mind to the conviction that eternal punishment was contrary to reason. What then was he to do? Either he must submit his reason to the Bible, and accept the doctrine of eternal punishment, or rejecting that doctrine as against reason, he must take reason as the supreme and sole judge

of Scripture, and of the truth or falsehood of its meaning. Now he could not submit his reason to the Bible and accept its teaching as reasonable in cases where that reasonableness was not apparent to his own understanding, without having some authority, higher than reason, to convince him that Scripture was the word of God, and to tell him its meaning. But, as for him the Catholic Church was out of the question, then reason was his only guide. And surely when a doctrine appeared to him to be unreasonable, he could not accept it from Scripture interpreted by reason alone. This would be to set reason against reason. He says:—

“I may believe, on competent authority, that a doctrine is reasonable, although I do not perceive its reasonableness; but I cannot, if I try, believe what appears to me unreasonable, on the authority of reason alone. To say that you believe a thing unreasonable, is to say that you do not believe it, that you reject it. . . . It is a contradiction in terms to say that you believe what you hold to be unreasonable. . . . The Bible then without an infallible authority to assert it, and deduce its sense, can never be authority sufficient for believing a doctrine to be reasonable, the reasonableness of which is not apparent to the understanding. By rejecting the authority of the Church as witness of revelation and judge of its meaning, I found myself obliged, therefore, to reject in turn the authority of Scripture.”—(*Convert*, c. 4.)

And with the courage of his convictions he did reject it. His logic carried him even further. For if reason of its own light can judge of the truth or falsity of a revealed doctrine, then it must know independently of the revelation, all that the revelation contains, and hence the revelation is superfluous, useless. He felt, moreover, that Universalism as a system was immoral in its tendency. “What motive,” he said “to virtue does it present? What consideration to deter from vice? Do my best, I cannot make my eternal felicity surer: do my worst I cannot render it less sure. Why then shall I trouble myself about the matter. Let me eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow I die, and go—to Heaven.” “Thus,” he adds, “I had, following reason, lost the Bible, lost my Saviour, lost Providence, lost reason itself, and had left me only my five senses, and what could

fall under their observation—that is reduced myself to an animal.” He was too honest to profess what he did not believe, and he accordingly broke his connection with the Universalists. He was now an Agnostic. He would neither assert nor deny the spiritual, the supernatural, but would confine himself to the world of sensible phenomena. Universalism had removed from his mind the fear of Hell: the hope of Heaven vanished with it, and nothing now remained for him but to make the most of the world in which he found himself. He was blessed with great abilities, had an active mind, and was anxious to do good: he therefore resolved to devote himself to promoting the happiness of mankind in this earthly life—the only life he knew of. He became a *World Reformer*. A society bearing this name had been recently established in Indiana by a Mr. Owen, a Welsh cotton spinner, who had amassed a large fortune. This simple but well-meaning man fancied that he had found the secret for healing all the ills of humanity. He established a community called New Harmony, where all goods were to be common property. As a matter of course, he got a number of disciples, but it soon became clear that Mr. Owen himself was the only contributor to the common fund. The Harmony soon proved to be anything but a Harmony. The disciples murmured against the master, robbed him of most of his property, and left him, cursing him most vigorously, because they were unable to rob him of all. Though Brownson became a world reformer, he understood his countrymen too well to adopt Mr. Owen’s plan of reformation. He believed that the “end of man” was to labour for the well-being of his kind *here*, to “develop man’s whole nature, and so to organise society, and government as to secure all men a paradise on earth.” To this socialistic creed he held on from 1826 to 1842, and devoted his whole soul to its advancement. He felt soon that religion of some sort would be a useful instrument, and he resolved to re-adopt the Bible, to take from it whatever would serve his purpose, without concerning himself with what would not. He went about, he says, “preaching on his own hook,” owning allegiance to no religious body. He met with many strange

fellow-workmen. He sought to establish orphanages, reformatories, asylums, free education, &c. He became an ultra democrat, and sought political influence for the purpose of reducing to practice his *Religion of Humanity*. That a man of Brownson's character should be carried away by such visionary schemes, is a sufficient matter for surprise: but after all, what is it, but the logical outcome of the rejection of the authority set up by God to guide us in matters of faith?

Whilst thus pursuing a shadow, Dr. Brownson fell in with a sermon of Dr. Channing's, the great Unitarian preacher. Its sentiments pleased him, and its perusal directed his attention to the Unitarian body. He found them, he says, "educated, cultivated, intelligent, respectable." They were liberal, held no definite creed, allowed the fullest exercise of reason, and accordingly he joined them, and became a Unitarian minister in 1832. Then for the first time he began to study theology and philosophy in real earnest, the horizon began to grow clearer to him, and he began gradually to regain what he had been losing for so long. Some anxious years were yet before him, but they were years of gradual though unconscious approach towards the haven of rest. He studied Cousin's philosophy, and took from it the principle of eclecticism, and from the writings of the Saint-Simonians he got some idea, a vague one certainly, of the Church. On Cousin's principle he examined the Catholic and Protestant systems, with the object of constructing a system for himself out of what was affirmative in both. Of the Catholic system he concluded that "it fitted men to die, but not to live, for heaven, not for earth—promising a heaven hereafter, but creating none here." Clearly this could not fill the place of the *Religion of Humanity*. On examining Protestantism, he found that "it takes care of this life, but neglects that which is to come," and he concluded that a union of all that is positive in both systems would be a new Catholic Church, and would supply all the religious needs of our race. To effect this union he founded the Society for Christian Union Progress in 1836, and in 1838 he established the *Boston Quarterly Review*, as a means of advocating and propagating

his principles. In the first number he announced his principles thus :—

“In a party sense we are nothing. There is no party that can count on our fidelity. In politics, as in morals, theology, and philosophy, we are eclectics, and hold ourselves free to seek, accept, and support truth and justice wherever we can find them. No party is always wrong; no one is always right. We agree with all parties when they agree with us; but when they do not agree with us, we cannot, and will not, surrender our own convictions for the sake of agreeing with them or with any one of them.”

After this candid profession of faith he published an essay on the “*Labouring Classes*,” in which he stated in the clearest terms his doctrine of social reform. The essay was socialism pure and simple, and it gave offence to all his friends. True, it was but the logical outcome of the principles which all the philanthropists alike professed; and yet those who talked most glibly of improving the condition of the masses shrank from identifying themselves with it. The bad reception of the essay was a salutary lesson to its author. It taught him that democracy, socialism, radicalism, and most of the other *isms* usually professed, were simple shams—neither more nor less. He set himself to the study of government calmly and carefully; he read the politics of Aristotle, St. Thomas on the Origin and Source of Power, the constitutions of ancient and modern States, and he soon became convinced that there could be no true liberty without order; that we must seek in this world, not absolute equality, which is impossible of attainment, but justice, which real liberty will bring within reach of all; and that to ensure and maintain justice between individual members of the body politic there must be government, strong, firm, and efficient. Here, indeed, was a change. But a greater change was near at hand; for his study had also convinced him that the Catholic Church was after all the one great guardian of true liberty, its sole champion against mediæval and modern tyranny, and that Protestantism in its various phases was responsible for most of the disasters and the misery which he himself had been labouring to remove. Then did the conviction dawn on him “that man is an indifferent church-builder, and that God

Himself had already founded a Church for us some centuries ago, quite adequate to our wants, and adapted to our nature and destiny." His philosophy had removed his objections to the Catholic system, and enabled him to see that Catholicism harmonises with reason, and yet he hesitated to embrace it. He thought he could devote himself to catholicising the sects, and thus be a Catholic outside the Church. The Puseyite movement, then attracting attention, might, he thought, open to him a way out of his difficulties. To help in carrying out this new idea he re-established his *Review* under his own name. But he soon found his position untenable. "Logic demanded a plain, open avowal of Catholicism, and we had always a great horror of the mortal sin of being inconsequent." "It was," he thought, "no doubt, unpleasant to take such a step; but to be eternally damned would, after all, be a great deal unpleasant." Accordingly, in May, 1844, he called on Dr. Fenwick, Bishop of Boston, and sought from him admission to the Catholic Church. Dr. Fenwick sent him to his Coadjutor, Bishop Fitzpatrick, by whom he was duly instructed, and received into the Church on the 20th of October, 1844, and on the following day he received his First Communion in the Church of East Boston from Rev. Father O'Brien.

"The great step," he says, "was taken, and I had entered upon a new life, subdued indeed, but still full of a sweet and calm joy. . . . After twenty years and more of wandering in search of a new and better way to truth, we have been forced to come back, to sit in all humility and docility at the feet of our Blessed Saviour, and learn in the old way, as our fathers did before the experiments of Luther and Calvin. . . . We have found no new way, we have only found the old way. But this old way, beaten by millions of travellers for these eighteen hundred years, is sufficient for us. . . . Bold, energetic young men, strong minds, full of spirit, untamed by experience, may laugh at us. . . . We have been of their number, and laughed as they laughed, as heartily and as proudly, and we can afford to be laughed at. Alas! we know what this laughter is worth, and—what it costs. We have said all they can say; we have eaten our own words."

With his conversion, Brownson's intellectual life may be said to begin. Hitherto he was groping in the dark, pursuing a phantom, and wasting his energies in useless schemes

for an impossible reform. Now he stood upon the *Rock of Ages*, with the heavenly light of faith to guide him; and he resolved to devote all his energies to the defence of the faith. A far-extended battle-field lay before him, occupied by enemies venomous and unprincipled, banded together by their hatred of the Catholic Church. The "Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk," and other kindred calumnies, were yet in the air. The sectaries had become "troublesome as the frogs of Egypt, and far more dangerous." Brownson knew them well, and he resolved to let others know them also. In an article on *The Church Against NO Church* he completely demolished the private judgment theory that is fundamental to all the sectaries, and he showed conclusively that faith is impossible outside the Catholic Church. Other articles equal in merit followed, on almost every point of controversy between the Church and the sects. In a splendid, lucid, eloquent style, and without a useless word in any sentence, he discussed controversial theology, philosophy, politics, literary subjects, almost every topic in which the interests of the Church were involved. No sophistry could hold its ground against his extraordinary logical power. His reasoning was close and clear, certain to come home even to readers of the most ordinary capacity; and to his adversaries it invariably did come home in a fashion they were not likely to forget. An over-zealous Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Dr. Potts, preached and published a sermon on the *Dangers of Jesuit Instruction*. Brownson fell upon him mercilessly, ridiculed him for his dread of education, for the inconsistency of his "private judgment" theory; contrasted the education given in Catholic schools with that given in non-Catholic schools; pointed out to the Doctor that many Protestants send their children to convent schools to be educated; and wound up by saying: "If Protestants do not like our schools, all we have to say is let them go and institute better ones, if they can." Another Doctor strung together a ridiculous caricature of Catholic doctrines, and published it under the name of *The Roman Catholic Principle*. Brownson noticed it by saying: "We have not the slightest intention of refuting Dr. Huntington. The only possible answer to

him is, *Vide Theol. Hist. Eccl. et SS. Patres passim.*" Another Presbyterian ventured to lecture his Catholic neighbours on their morality, and Brownson replied: "We have been a Presbyterian ourselves!" Of the Puseyite movement, he said:—

"Dr. Pusey is probably the best friend Satan has in the Anglican Establishment. He labours under the delusion (certainly a Satanic delusion), or at least does his best to carry away others by the delusion, that the Church of England is really a Church . . . , a living branch of the Church Catholic. But this is a delusion. Were the whole Catholic faith preached in all Anglican pulpits, and the whole Catholic ritual carefully observed in all Anglican churches, it would avail nothing to make the Anglican Church Catholic, or a branch of the Catholic Church. You may dress a monkey in unexceptional man's apparel; but it does not by that become a man, or any less a monkey—the dress does not abolish the difference of species. The difficulty is, that the Church of England is no church at all, and has in herself not a single church element; she has no orders, no bishops, no priests, no sacraments, no church life. The Ritualists are simply dressing and decorating a ghastly and grinning skeleton, under the delusion that it is a living body, or will be when completely dressed and decorated."

Again, a Catholic journalist wrote a favourable criticism of a certain Protestant publication, and Brownson took him to task thus: "A very wise and learned journalist says this new volume of the *American Cyclopaedia* is, in a Catholic point of view, all that can be desired. The said journalist would do well to read his Catechism, and not to meddle in matters that are beyond even his wisdom and learning." There were, and probably there are still, Catholics who thought that Brownson's style of attack was unnecessarily harsh and severe; but we must not forget that he wrote in the midst of rampant bigotry, when every ignorant fanatic deemed (or feigned to deem) it a sacred duty to vilify the Catholic Church. He knew the value of truth; he had experienced the cost of its attainment; he knew the thorny paths, dark and difficult, that must be trodden by the inquirer; he had, therefore, no mercy for those who held out false lights to lure the wanderer to his destruction. And his manner had the decided advantage of driving from the field of controversy many a garrulous disputant who would have

held out for long under less telling blows. Dr. Littledale would have fared badly under the heavy and well-directed artillery of Brownson.

That Dr. Brownson had his faults, that he made mistakes, cannot be denied. Nor is this a matter for surprise seeing the prominent place he filled for half a century of great religious and political excitement. He was a man of ardent temperament, who felt strongly on any subject he took up, and wrote as he felt. His faults have been considerably exaggerated, and due allowance has not been made for the circumstances in which he wrote; and his faults, such as they were, dwindle into nothing before his great virtues, and his splendid services in the cause of truth. He has been charged with being hostile to foreigners, and especially so to the Irish in America. The foundation for this charge appears to be this. Brownson was, no doubt, intensely American, and was enamoured of the Constitution of his own country. He saw foreign-born citizens gaining great political power which was frequently abused by political parties. The Germans would have one programme, and the Irish another, and Brownson feared that this might end in introducing "Europeanism," and thus impair the liberties of which Americans were so proud. His wish was that all naturalized citizens should become completely Americanized in politics, and should not be parading their foreign nationality in the land of their adoption. He would not, therefore, have us talk of Irish or German Catholics in America, or of the Irish or German vote: he would have all to be American citizens and American Catholics, and he maintained that the parade of distinct nationalities would do political mischief, and would seriously impede the progress of Catholicity in America. That this was his view will be seen from his article on *Native Americanism*, and from two articles on the *Know-Nothings*. In advocating this view, he sometimes used, perhaps, imprudent language. But he was not hostile to foreigners as such, and certainly not hostile to the Irish.

"For the Irish people," he said in 1845, "we have the feelings everyone must have who has made himself acquainted with the wrongs they have suffered for these seven hundred years. They are a noble,

generous, and warm-hearted people, second to none on the face of the earth. They have contributed their full share to what is noble, distinguished, touching, heroic, and saintly in human history."

Again :

"There is no portion of our population superior to that in which there is a large infusion of the genuine Irish element. Take even the Irish peasantry who come here, and you are struck by their industry, their quiet and loyal dispositions, their domestic virtues, their warm and tender domestic affections. Visit their families, and you feel that you are in a pure and healthy atmosphere, and your hearts are melted by a love of parents to children, of children to parents, of brothers and sisters for each other, that you have never found in families of Puritan origin." . . . "No native born citizens have ever done our country's flag more honour, or fought more valiantly in its defence than the brave and warm-hearted Irish."

It is surely unfair to set down the writer of these fine sentiments as hostile to the Irish race in America:

Dr. Brownson has been also charged with being opposed to the American bishops on the education question. The American bishops condemned the district schools as mixed, godless, and laboured hard, as they labour still to secure Catholic education. Brownson was as anxious for Catholic education as any Catholic could be, but he would not join in the unqualified condemnation of the district schools. He would seek to improve them by securing safeguards for conscience, and by providing means for the religious instruction of Catholic children. Then he fancied that the bishops sought to get all education, secular as well as religious, under the control of the clergy, and this demand, he thought, would never be conceded (indeed he speaks as if he would not concede it himself), and would seriously damage Catholic interests in America. He does not seem to have thought that there was intrinsic to the mixed system a danger which his safeguards could not remove. It is, however, clear from his article on *Public and Purochial Schools* that if he could believe that the district schools involved danger to the faith, he would be the first to condemn them.

The charge of theological unsoundness—liberalism—against Brownson is founded mainly on his Reviews of Gioberti and Froschammer, whose writings have been so

justly condemned. For his treatment of these writers, Brownson was attacked with great vigour and effect by Dr. Murray, in the *Dublin Review*, in an article entitled *Theological Errors of the Day*. No doubt, Brownson lavished praise on these writers which they did not in the least merit; he used language of them which no Catholic should use of writers condemned by the Church—such language as shows that he did not see the dangerous tendency of their teaching; and all this Dr. Murray exposes in a style that reminds us of what happens “when Greek meets Greek.” But a close perusal of both Reviews would lead one to think that Dr. Murray did not do full justice to his opponent. He makes no mention of Brownson’s explicit and repeated condemnations of Gioberti’s leading doctrines. Then the work of Gioberti’s which Brownson most admired was one that was not published for some years after the condemnation of his other works. Of this work Brownson argued that, though it was rendered “suspected” by the previous condemnation of the author’s other works, yet it might be considered on its own merits, inasmuch as it was not involved directly in the condemnation. But Brownson himself, with that candour that always marked him, admitted that he had erred, and the admission is of such a character as to atone amply for the fault.

“I have,” he said, “no palinode to sing. . . . I willingly admit that I made many mistakes; but I regard as the greatest of all the mistakes into which I fell during the last four or five years that I published my Reviews that of holding back the strongest points of Catholic faith, on which I had previously insisted; of labouring to present Catholicity in a form as little repulsive to my non-Catholic countrymen as possible; and of insisting on only the minimum of Catholicity, or what has been expressly defined by the Holy See or a General Council. I am not likely to fall into that mistake again. . . . A liberal Catholic I am not, never was, save in appearance for a brief moment, and never can be. I have no element of liberal Catholicity in my nature, and the times, if I read them aright, demand Catholicity in its strength, not in its weakness, in its supernatural authority and power, not as reduced to pure rationalism or mere human sentimentality.”

Most truly “a liberal Catholic” he never was. He maintained Papal Infallibility long before its definition, vindicated

the "Syllabus" against the Liberals, and gave them dire offence by his doctrine on the temporal power and authority of the popes. And he had nothing but contempt for those crazes which, under the name of science, are held by certain liberal Catholics at the present time. In treating of *Species* he says: "The naturalists would do well to consult the light of Revelation and that of metaphysics. If they would do so, they would be far more scientific than they now are." And in an essay on *True and False Science* (July, 1873) he says: "We, in our efforts to conciliate the professional scientists, are likely to be successful only in weakening the cause of truth, obscuring the very truth we would have others adopt. If we are Catholics, let us be Catholics, and be careful to make no compromise and seek no alien alliances. The spirit, as the tendency of the age, is at enmity with God, and must be fought, not coaxed."

In early life Dr. Brownson married a Miss Healy, of New York, to whom he makes complimentary allusion in more than one of his essays. She, too, became a Catholic, and died an edifying death in 1872. Of Dr. Brownson's eight children, three only survived himself. He himself continued to labour as a Catholic apologist till his death, which occurred on the 17th of April, 1876. His private life was most edifying, and those who knew him say that, though he put on his war paint in dealing with the enemies of the Church, in his domestic circle and in all the relations of social life he was amiable and gentle as a child. He was one of the purest writers, one of the most profound and accurate thinkers, one of the first controversialists of our day, and no man was ever more ready to atone for a fault once that he became conscious of its commission. In editing his father's works, Mr. Henry F. Brownson has, no doubt, executed a labour of love; he has raised to his father's memory a monument that will perpetuate his fame; but he has also done a great public service in rescuing from the risk of oblivion, incidental to periodical literature, so much that is really valuable and excellent, the workings of a mind gifted as few minds in our generation have been.

J. MURPHY,

THE BREHON LAWS.—II.

IN a previous paper we endeavoured to explain the origin of the Brehon Laws. We now come to examine the leading provisions of that famous code. Of course we can merely call attention to those peculiar and characteristic features of our ancient laws, which have left their impression on the national character, and to some extent furnish the true key to our national history. From this point of view the study of the Brehon Laws is not only indispensable to the antiquarian and historian, but most valuable to statesmen and politicians. It has been made frequent cause of complaint by many statesmen that it is impossible to please the Irish people, and that very frequently remedial measures, devised with the best intentions and most sanguine hopes, have turned out to be disastrous failures. It is a pity, we think, the doctors did not first strive to know more about the patient's constitution and previous habits of life, and we venture to think that a careful study of our ancient legal institutes will furnish by far the best diagnosis of the Irish character both in its strength and in its weakness.

The *Senchus Mor*, the Great-old-Story of the men of Erin, furnishes the most abundant and most authentic materials for the study of our national history and of our national character. It is a very large work, and occupies two volumes of the four already published, with a considerable portion of the third volume. The principal manuscript copy of the *Senchus Mor*, which is nearly complete, is that in Trinity College, Dublin, numbered H. 3, 17. In 1666 this manuscript was in the possession of the celebrated Dubhalthach Mac Fírbis, one of the last and most illustrious of our ancient Celtic scholars. Some thirty years after his tragical death this manuscript fell into the hands of Edward Lhwyd, the well-known author of the *Archæologia Britannica*, which was published at Oxford in 1707. The paging of the MS. is in his handwriting, and in a note he tells us that he purchased one MS. from Cornan O'Cornin, in the County Sligo, in the year 1700, and another in the same year from John Agnew, who resided near Larne, County Antrim.

O'Cornin, or Curneen, was a member of a well-known antiquarian family in the County Sligo, who were hereditary historians to the O'Ruarcas of Breifne. Another fragment of the *Senchus Mor* is classed H. 2, 15 in the Library of Trinity College, and belonged to the Mac Egans, who were for many centuries the chief Brehons of South Connaught and of Lower Ormond. There are also two other considerable fragments—one in the British Museum, and another in Trinity College. These valuable MSS. of our ancient laws all came into Trinity College through the celebrated Edmund Burke, who prevailed on Sir John Seabright to present to Trinity College Lhwyd's extensive collection, which have been since known as the "Seabright Manuscripts."

It must be borne in mind that almost all these MS. codices consist of the text written in a larger character, and an interlinear gloss and commentary written in a smaller but perfectly distinct hand. The text is substantially common to all the manuscripts, but the gloss and commentary sometimes vary in the different codices, showing that these different MSS. really represent the books used in different schools of law, and the views of the text that were currently taught by the great authorities in these various schools. Very frequently, however, these various opinions of different schools are collected in the commentary on the text—a fact which will help to explain the different and sometimes contradictory explanations that appear in the printed commentary. A similar arrangement has been adopted in the published volumes. The text of the law is printed in larger type, the commentary in a small type, and the glosses very frequently in a still smaller type, thus reproducing as far as possible the method adopted in the original MSS.

As to the antiquity of the original text of these MSS., we can merely quote the opinion of our most competent scholars. O'Donovan believed that the text and the poem of Dubhthach Mac Ua Lugair, quoted in the Introduction to the *Senchus*, are the genuine production of the age of St. Patrick. It may be said that O'Curry was of the same opinion,¹ and Dr. Todd, a most competent critic, thinks that

¹ See *Lectures*, page 16.

portions of the text of the *Senchus* are of very high antiquity, and that even the more recent portions cannot be of later date than the ninth or tenth century. Dr. Petrie, too, observes that the *Senchus* is frequently quoted in Cormac's *Glossary* to explain the meaning of certain terms; and Cormac's *Glossary*, if not, as some think, the work of the king-bishop himself, was certainly composed not later than a century after his death in 903.¹ And Dr. Graves, the Protestant Bishop of Limerick, has pointed out that portions of the text of the *Senchus* are in regular Irish verse—a fact which of itself goes far to corroborate the statement made in the Introduction that the original text was really the work of the bards, and that it was merely arranged and purified in the time of St. Patrick by Dubhthach and his brother poets, who “put a thread of poetry round the *Senchus* for St. Patrick,” as it is quaintly expressed in the Introduction to that work.

The commentary and glosses are, of course, of more recent composition, for they represent accretions to the original text made by different writers at different times, and belonging to different schools of law. But the same original and authoritative text is recognised by them all, with only these minor variations that must have inevitably arisen from the mistakes of commentators and copyists. For the antiquarian, however, as well as for the historian, even these commentaries, by various hands and of various dates, will be full of interest and instruction, embodying as they do unconscious references or allusions to the manners and customs of so many various times and localities.

The first part of the *Senchus Mor* deals with the Law of Distress, and then proceeds to discuss the Laws relating to Hostage-Sureties, to Fosterage, to Saer and Daer-Stock, Tenure of Land, to the Social Connections, and to Contracts. The reader must not, however, expect to find in the *Senchus*, in dealing with these subjects, any attempt at an orderly and scientific treatment of the subject matter. In this sense the Brehon Laws were never codified or reduced to a regular

¹ See *Irish Glossaries*, p. xviii.

system deduced from first principles. The very nature of their growth, arising from the social needs of the time, forbids this idea. We have them, so to speak, in their historical, not in their scientific development. They were written, too, for men perfectly familiar, not only with the manners and customs of the times, but also with all the fundamental principles and the daily practice of the Brehon Code. And hence we find so many things and terms left unexplained in the text and the commentary, which nevertheless were perfectly familiar to the law students of those days.

This is one of the great difficulties in dealing with the Brehon Laws. Not only is the language technical and archaic in the highest degree, but the very life and civilization, of which it was the expression, have completely passed away. We are living in an entirely different world, and we have lost beyond hope of recovery the key to the interpretation of these laws, which perished with the Brehons of the seventeenth century. "The key for expounding both the text and the gloss was, so late as the reign of Charles the First, possessed by the Mac Egans, who kept the law school in Tipperary, and I dread," says C. O'Connor of Belanagar, "that since that time it has been lost."

This also explains why it is that so many terms were left untranslated by eminent scholars like O'Donovan and O'Curry. They were no longer terms living in the language, and there was no glossary to explain them. The complete and careful study of the laws themselves could alone furnish the key—a task which they did not live to accomplish. Let us hope that later editors may be more successful.

But all these things only go to prove the undoubted authenticity of these ancient laws. The language itself is the best proof that they are what they claim to be the ancient laws of Erin handed down at first by oral tradition from immemorial times, and afterwards collected and purified by the authors who have transmitted them in their present shape to our day. The language of the text is not the middle, nor even the old Irish—it is something older still, manifestly bringing us back to pre-Christian times, and still showing fragments of the ancient rhymes in which it was handed

down by the poet-judges from generation to generation, even before the art of writing was introduced into Erin.

It has been confidently said by many writers that it was St. Patrick who first introduced the use of letters into Ireland. As if, forsooth, during the centuries that the Romans were in Britain and Gaul no tincture of their civilization could cross our narrow seas, at a time too when many exiles from Ireland were forced to spend years in these countries, and great kings like Cathair Mor and Cormac Mac Art had foreign soldiers in their service, and held frequent intercourse, sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, with these countries.

The more Irish history and Irish antiquities are studied, the more evident it will become to every impartial mind that the ancient history of the Celtic tribes in Ireland is in all its main features thoroughly reliable, at least until we go back three centuries before the Christian era when the greatest, as he is also the earliest of our annalists, whose writings are extant, tells us that the monuments of the Scots of earlier date begin to become uncertain.

The first of the Tracts in the *Senchus Mor* deals with the Law of Distress. Many of its provisions are exceedingly intricate and minute, and are not easily understood in our times. The following, however, is a very brief summary of the leading provisions of

THE LAW OF DISTRESS.

In ancient Erin Distress seems to have been "the universal remedy by which rights were vindicated and wrongs redressed." In those primitive times external goods mainly consisted of flocks and herds, and hence the Law of Distress principally deals with the manner of levying an execution on cattle.

The form of procedure is minutely prescribed in the opening chapters of the *Senchus Mor*, which deal with the different kinds of Distress. As a rule the following steps were deemed essential to the legal procedure by Distress:—

(a) Notice of the intended Distress was required in the first instance. In the case of debtors of the chieftain grade

besides the verbal or written notice, it was necessary to "fast upon the debtor." This most peculiar provision of the Celtic law required the creditor to go in person to the house of the chieftain to make his demand, and if not at once complied with, to remain at his door for a specified time "fasting," and thus, at least virtually, re-iterating the demand. If satisfaction were not accorded to the simple demand or the urgent demand by fasting, the plaintiff might proceed to distrain the cattle of the debtor, but in this operation it was necessary for him to be accompanied by his law agent and witnesses, who might be able to testify to the fact of the distraining and the regularity of the proceedings. The animals so distrained were not necessarily carried off; in most cases the plaintiff by merely casting a stone over the distrained animals symbolically signified the actual distraint. This was called by the lawyers "distress with a stay" of one or more days, during which the goods could not be carried away, but remained in the custody of the debtor. However, when an "immediate distress" was made the cattle were driven off by the plaintiff and his witnesses, and lodged in one of the "greens" or pounds appointed for the purpose. Then it became necessary to notify the debtor that the distress was impounded, and that he might if he so listed redeem the distress. If not the expense of feeding in the "green" ran against the distress, and became a portion of the claim chargeable to the debtor.

If not redeemed within a certain fixed period, the cattle seized might be sold, or retained at their value, in satisfaction of the original debt and the expenses incurred. If any surplus remained, it was to be given to the debtor. In these various steps, it is evident that everything was strictly just, and admirably suited for a rural community. In such a case as here noted, the defendant did not intervene at all, but let judgment go against him by default. He might have, however, at any stage intervened, if so minded, and referred the case to the decision of a Brehon. The usual procedure, then, would be either at once to satisfy the claim of the plaintiff, or to give him a "gell" or pledge that he would defend the suit by legal process. The plaintiff was then

bound to receive this pledge, if of adequate value, and could not carry away the cattle or goods of the defendant to the public "green" or pound. If the defendant failed to prosecute the suit, and answer the claim of the plaintiff, the pledge was forfeited; and thus far justice was satisfied. If, however, the defendant did not intervene during the process of levying the distress, either by satisfying the claim of the plaintiff, or giving him an adequate pledge during the "dithim" or interval allowed for that purpose, he forfeited all claim to the distress, and was by law only entitled to receive the balance remaining after the debt and the expenses of the suit had been duly paid.

The Tract on Hostage-Sureties is intimately connected with the Law of Distress. It contains many minute and intricate regulations fixing the circumstances in which bail is to be offered and accepted. It also determines with great nicety the reciprocal obligations of the plaintiff, defendant and sureties; but as these are points of minor importance, and have little social interest, we pass on to a more important treatise, that which explains the

THE LAW OF FOSTERAGE.

Although the practice of Fosterage was by no means peculiar to the Celtic tribes, it is still little understood, and its influence in the formation of our national character seems to have been quite ignored. In Ireland the custom of sending out the children of the chieftain class to be fostered by some family of the tribe, seems to have been universally prevalent in the Celtic districts, and continued to exist, in parts of the country, even so late as the seventeenth century, when it gradually fell into disuse.

The laws which regulate the practice of Fosterage are of great value for rightly understanding the social relations and the educational system, if it can be so called, in vogue with our Celtic forefathers. There were two kinds of Fosterage recognised by the law; one for payment, *altrum ar iarraithe*; and one from affection, *altrum ar airiur*; but it is with the former, as might be expected, the law principally deals. It seems to have been an accepted principle that "the Foster-

age of every son is according to his price of Fosterage." Hence the law is very minute in its provisions, and, what is specially interesting to us, it sets forth with great exactness the mutual obligations of the natural father and the foster father, and regulates the food, clothing and education, which is to be given both to male and female foster children. The price of Fosterage for the farming classes was, generally speaking, three "seds," something less than three cows in value; for the chieftain classes the price varied with the rank of the parents, until it reached thirty cows in the case of a king's son. The food was generally stirabout, with butter or honey as a savour. No legal provision seems to have been made for the literary education of the foster-children; but the law is imperative on giving them useful technical education according to their position in life. The youths of the farming classes were to be taught to herd lambs, calves, kids and young pigs; and also kiln-drying, wool-combing and wood-cutting—the useful arts of domestic life. The girls of the same class were taught to grind with the "quern" or hand-mill, to sieve the meal and knead the dough for baking. The daughters of the chieftain classes were required to sew, cut out and embroider; and the chieftains' sons were taught military and athletic exercises—horsemanship, spear-throwing, shooting, chess-playing and swimming. If the foster-father neglected his duty in procuring the prescribed instruction for the children, he was by law subjected to a heavy fine, payable to the father, or afterwards to the child himself to whom the wrong was done.

The foster-father was, moreover, responsible for injuries to the child arising from his neglect, and was also responsible for the injuries done by the boy which the foster-parent might have prevented. On the other hand, he was entitled to a portion of the eric-fine, payable for any injury inflicted, without his knowledge and against his will, on his foster-children, just as if they were his own children.

The fosterage terminated at the age of fourteen for girls and of seventeen for boys. The foster-father sent a gift with the youth when returning home. This was intended to remind both the foster-child and his parents that in poverty

or in old age the foster-parents were entitled by law and affection to be [maintained like the natural parents by the foster-children. This was a most beautiful provision of the law. It tended to preserve and deepen the bonds of family affection between the various members of the tribe, and cement them together in rude and turbulent times by the tenderest and closest ties. And we know from Irish history that the greatest affection subsisted between the foster-child and his adopted family, and that it was deemed as impious for him to wrong any one of them as if they were members of his own family. In this respect the spirit of the Celtic code is beautifully expressed in Ferguson's well-known ballad, "The Welshmen of Tirawley."

We now come to discuss

THE BREHON AGRARIAN CODE.

The tracts on the Agrarian Laws and on Social Connections are decidedly the most interesting and instructive parts of the *Senchus Mor*. The Brehon Land Laws, though now extinct for more than three centuries, still profoundly affect the thoughts and habits of Celtic Ireland, especially in the south and west. The Irish people never took kindly to the Feudal system; it was in direct opposition to all their inherited instincts and most cherished traditions. It is true, indeed, that some few of the old proprietors who still survived, and many of the best of the new landlords, acted rather in accordance with the spirit of the old tenure than the letter of the new; but, after all, these were but exceptions. The rule was a strict exaction of all the legal rights deriving from an absolute and unsympathetic ownership of the soil, which was wholly unknown to the Brehon Code. This oppression burned into the souls of the people a bitter and undying hatred of Irish landlordism, which is the real efficient cause of that marvellous uprising against landlordism as an institution which we have witnessed in our own days.

In order to understand the Brehon Land Laws we must always bear in mind certain fixed principles that were regarded as fundamental laws of all tenure by the Celtic tribes.

(a) There was no such thing recognised as absolute ownership of the land by any individual in his private capacity. The land of the Celtic tribes essentially belonged to the community, although it was held by the various members under varying conditions of tenure. From this principle two important consequences followed—First, upon failure of lawful occupants in any family, the land reverted to the tribe, and was then disposed of by the chieftain as head of the tribe, but in a definite manner fixed by law. Secondly, no member of the tribe could alienate to strangers any portion of the tribe land without the consent of the community.

(b) A second principle to be borne in mind is that the nominal owner, in letting his land, invariably supplied to the tenant the stock necessary to graze and work the farm, getting in return, as rent, a certain fixed annual share of the stock raised on the farm.

This cattle-rent, however, seems rather to have been paid for the use of the stock, than for the use of the land. For every tribes-man legally qualified had a right to a share of the soil. His chief difficulty when beginning life was to find the stock to graze and work his land, and this he usually got from the head of the tribe or some of the inferior chieftains, who must, therefore, be regarded rather as great stock-masters than as landlords, in the modern sense of the term. The chieftain, indeed, represented the tribe in all its agrarian operations with its own members and with other tribes, and this of course gave him much power and influence in the sub-division of the land; but still he had no absolute ownership even of his own estates, and was therefore very far, indeed, from being a landlord, in the modern sense of the word.

Even his office of chieftain was not a private and purely hereditary right. It was partly hereditary and partly elective. The candidates should be of the blood royal of the tribe, but the tribes-men elected the individual who was to succeed, and who as heir apparent was called the *tanaist*, and as such enjoyed a recognised official position.

There were two principal forms of tenure in ancient

Ireland—*saer-stock* tenure, and *daer-stock* tenure. The lawyers do not give any formal definitions of these terms in the *Senchus*. They were writing for persons to whom both these things were perfectly well known from every day experience, and while the jurists are most minute in their commentaries and glosses on all the various incidents of these tenures, they give us no scientific explanation of the terms. We may, however, gather an explanation of their nature from various incidental references made to the subject.

Saer-stock and daer-stock tenure have been sometimes translated as "free" and "base" or villein tenure respectively, but quite inaccurately. In fact no terms borrowed from the feudal tenures can adequately describe the Celtic tenures, which were of an essentially different character, as was pointed out above. The main difference between these tenures is very clearly expressed in the commentary. In *saer-stock* tenure the tenant got stock from his *righ*, or chieftain, and gave no security in return. In this case the tenant was generally a member of one of the ruling families, and as such entitled to this honourable privilege. But he was bound to give to his chief in return a cattle-rent proportionate to the stock received, but only for a certain number of years. He was also bound to give "manual labour," especially when the chief was building his dun, or gathering his harvest, and to accompany his chief on military expeditions for a certain period each year if called upon, and moreover owed "full homage," that is personal attendance and dutiful obeisance, which was rendered to the chief in person at certain stated times.

Although this form of tenure seems to have been the more honourable, it was commonly regarded also as the more burdensome, especially on account of the manual labour and homage payable to the chief. It seems, however, to have been compulsory on certain families in the tribe. In some cases only it was optional, that is when the land was held in *saer-stock* tenure of inferior lords, who had not the same right to compel homage and service as the *righ*, or king-chief.

The *daer-stock* tenure was purely optional, and prevailed far more widely amongst the tribes of Celtic Ireland. Under

this tenancy the tenant was obliged to give security for the stock received, and he was moreover bound to pay yearly a certain food-rent fixed by law and proportionate to the stock received. The original stock, too, was to be returned to the lord at the termination of the tenancy; whereas under the saer-stock tenure the original debt was extinguished by an annual payment every year for seven years of one-third of the stock which the tenant received when entering on his tenancy.

One of the most interesting features in the laws relating to daer-stock tenure is the penalty which it provides for arbitrary eviction on the one hand or for desertion of the farm on the other. The tenancy was, it is true, legally a tenancy at will, and might therefore be determined by the act of either party. It was provided, however, that if the landlord called back his stock and thus terminated the tenancy, when there was no fault on the tenant's part, the tenant was then entitled to retain as a fine for disturbance one-third of the returnable stock, and furthermore his own "honour-price," if the landlord treated the tenant with contempt. Neither was he bound to pay any food-rent for that year, so that the landlord was severely fined for any such arbitrary eviction, to which consequently he very rarely had recourse.

On the other hand if the tenant chose to determine the tenancy against the will of the chief or stock-owner, he was bound to pay back to the chief double the amount of stock which he had originally received, and moreover a double food-rent for the last year of the tenancy. Thus without giving absolute security of tenure, the law made it the interest of both parties to try and get on well together, and thereby protected both without injuring either.

Another admirable provision of the law fined the tenant who was able but unwilling to pay his food-rent or service, by compelling him to pay a double rent, when he was a defaulter, and also a quantity of cattle proportionate to the "honour-price" of his chief or landlord. But if the tenant failed to pay from causes over which he had no control, he was acquitted of all liability by simply restoring the cattle

which he had originally received from the landlord. "No one," says the text, "should be oppressed when in difficulty;" that is, the gloss adds, "one is not to be oppressed about a thing which he is not capable of rendering in his difficulty, that is in his poverty, whether he be chief or tenant." The very last provision in this admirable law of daer-stock tenure ordains that "if the tenant be indigent he may repay the value of the seds (or stock) which he received by service according to arbitration, so that there be no fraud." How much more wisely did the Brehon Law deal with the land question than any code yet devised by Imperial England.

In our next paper we hope to conclude this interesting subject.

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Brehon Law Commissioner.

AN ACCOUNT OF O'CLERY'S MS. IRISH "LIFE OF HUGH ROE O'DONNELL."¹

IT may be that some of the more youthful members of my audience are not fully aware that there exists a vast collection of Irish manuscripts of every class and kind, sacred and profane, prose and poetry, legendary and historical, gathered together in the library of the Academy over the way. That they should exist, that we should have amongst us even a few records of the past, scanty and imperfect, rude and unscholarly, is little short of a wonder to those who know with what constant and remorseless hatred the bard and the historian, the schoolmaster as well as the priest, were hunted to the death almost up to our own times. The "gentle" Spenser suggested that all the Irish bards should be starved to death, and in the Records of the Privy Council, sitting at Dublin Castle from 1652 to 1655, you will find lists of schoolmasters and of priests who were seized up

¹ Read before the Historical Debating Society of University College, Stephen's-green, Dublin, the Rev. C. P. Meehan in the chair,

and down throughout the country, sent in to the officials of the Castle, and the order duly made and registered to have these offenders against the law sent off in all haste to the nearest port—Dublin, or Waterford, or Carrickfergus, as the case may be—and put on board the first ship sailing for the West India Islands, there to be sold as slaves and to work in the English plantations. I don't think we can be taxed with over credulity if we say that it was not without a special providence of God that these records of the past have been saved from the brand and allowed to come down to us, or that we judge rashly if we suppose that the object Providence had in view in their preservation was that we who live in later and somewhat more tolerant times might know what those of our own flesh and blood who went before us endured for their faith and country, and prize both all the more in consequence. These records of the past have been hitherto to a great extent—I will not say altogether—untouched or unexplored; but few, too few of them, have been published. Like the souls of the martyrs, of whom St. John speaks in the *Apocalypse*, that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they upheld, they have lain under the altar, and they have cried out with a loud voice, saying, "How long, O Lord, how long?"

The Irish manuscript to which I would call your attention this evening, and the contents of which I would strive to summarise, is a book of eighty-three folios or one hundred and sixty-five pages. It is written in a hand at once wonderfully minute and perfectly legible, and I am happy to be able to say there is not a single line wanting of it. The author was Lughaidh O'Clery; the scribe was his son Cucogry; and naturally you will ask who they were. Now, if you will look at the map of Ireland, and specially that portion of it called Donegal, you will see that the seashore stretches in a straight line due north from Ballyshannon to the town of Donegal. Nearly midway between these two places, on a high rock rising perpendicularly from the sea, stands the castle of the O'Clerys, or rather, I should say, some remnants of it. And if you will further ask how and when these O'Clerys came there, and what title or claim they had to this

castle and the fair lands about it, I will tell you. Our Irish chiefs in ancient times surrounded themselves not only with soldiers, gallowglasses, and kerne, and the like, but they had also, as a part of their surrounding, judges and bards and historians. The duty of the latter was to set down in writing the history of the clan, the deeds—and the misdeeds, too—of any of its chiefs and leading men. And that they might be able to devote themselves to this duty, they had something more solid to lean on than the barren results of a dedication to some mighty lord or fine lady. The Clan O'Clery seems to have been first settled about Kilmacduagh, in the County Galway. It would not be a difficult matter for me to trace their pedigree through Guaire Aedhne, whom Irish poets are wont to set up as the model of generous hospitality, through Colman, and through Amhalgaedh, who was converted by St. Patrick, to King Dathi, who while engaged in a warlike expedition was killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps. But are not all these things written in the great genealogical works of our ancient Ollamhs, in the *Books of Leinster, of Ballymote, of Lecan*, and in the great work of Dugald Mac Firbis especially? And you will find them excellently summarised in the table at the end of *The Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachra*, edited by the famous John O'Donovan, to whom we owe a vast debt of gratitude for his contributions to the history and antiquities of Ireland.

This same book gives the history of the dispersion of this clan :—

“When the English invaders came—namely, the Burkes of the race of William the Conqueror—i.e., William Fitzadelm de Burgo, who overran Connaught and prevailed over the race of Eochaedh Breac, these dispersed themselves in various territories. Some went to Erris, others to Tyrawley, others to Breffny, others to Munster. There passed also after some time from Tyrawley into Tyrconnell a wiseman of the O'Clerys, whose name was Cormac MacDiarmaid O'Clery, and who was learned in civil and canon law. The monks and ecclesiastics of the Abbey of St. Bernard of Assaroe loved him for his learning and good morals, for his wisdom and intellect, and detained him among them for some time. He was then but a youthful guest. O'Sgingin had been for a long time before this the historical Ollamh of O'Donnell, the Lord of Tyrconnell—i.e., Nial Garb, son of Hugh, son of Domhnal Og. And there lived of O'Sgingin's children and

of his tribe in the country but one fair daughter, and he joined her as wife to this Cormac, and what he asked in return was that if a male child was born to them he should be sent to study and learn history. The other promised to comply with this request, and kept his promise indeed. A son was born to them, and he was named Giolla Brighde, in remembrance of his mother's brother, the intended Ollamh, that had died shortly before. The son of this Giolla Brighde was Giolla Riabach; son to Giolla Riabach was Diarmid of the Schools, so called because he kept a school of literature, a school of history, and a school of poetry. It was to him that Nial O'Donnell, son of Torlough of the Wine, granted the lands of Creevagh, on which he had his residence for some time, in addition to the other lands which his ancestors had granted to O'Sgingin, as he was a proficient in the science which was hereditary to him—namely, history. Son to Diarmid was Tadg Cam, who had three sons. By these the stone houses were erected at Kilbarron, for they and their ancestors were freeholders in Kilbarron from the time of Cormac, mentioned above, the first who came to Tyrconnell."

The stonehouses are the castle of which I have already spoken. Diarmid was succeeded in the office, its duties and its privileges, by his son Cucogry, who was succeeded by Maccon, who was succeeded by Lughaidh of the Contention, as he was called. But the most famous by far of this family was Michael O'Clery, a lay brother of the Order of St. Francis in the neighbouring Monastery of Donegal. He has left us many works of great value—the *Annals of the Four Masters* (nearly wholly his), the *Book of Irish Genealogies*, and the *History of the Conquests of Ireland*. The author of the work to which I would direct your attention this evening was Lughaidh O'Clery. His son was Cucogry, sometimes anglicised Peregrine, O'Clery, who, about 1630, held lands in Tyrconnell, in the barony of Boylagh and Banagh. But being a mere Irishman, and not of English or British descent or surname, of course he was dispossessed, and these lands became forfeited to the king. Soon after he went to the County Mayo, following the fortunes of an O'Donnell, himself an exile too, taking with him his books. These he left to his sons. The following are the words of his will :—

"I bequeath the property most dear to me that ever I possessed in the world, namely, my books, to my two sons Dermot and John. Let them copy from them, without injuring them, whatever may be necessary; and let them be equally seen and used by my brother's children as by themselves."

John O'Clery, Cucogry's descendant five generations later, came to Dublin in the beginning of this century, and brought with him this *Life of Hugh Roe* and other works of his ancestors. From him it came into the hands of Edward O'Reilly, author of the *Irish Dictionary*, by loan, I believe. At the sale of O'Reilly's books, by mistake, it was sold with them, and so passed to Mr. Monk Mason, who wrote the *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*. When his books were auctioned, it was purchased by Dr. Todd, and I have reason to know that it is to the exertions of Mr. John T. Gilbert, who has done so much in many ways for the history of Ireland, we are indebted for its being in the library of the Academy at the present moment. The rules of the Academy most wisely forbid the book to be removed from the library; but if any of you is curious enough to wish to see it, it will give me much pleasure to show it to him whenever it may suit his convenience. The copy that I have made for the purposes of translation, annotation, and reprinting from later, will give you some idea of its extent. The exact number of pages in the copy is 285.

I have spoken of the Clan O'Donnell. Look at the map once more and you will see a district cut off in great part from the mainland by a series of inlets of the sea. First we have Lough Foyle, on the east side of Derry, this town being built on its bank. Due north we have Inishowen, itself a peninsula, for Lough Swilly is no more than eight miles west of Derry. Farther on westwards we have Sheephaven harbour, at the extreme end of which is Castle Doe, where Owen Roe O'Neil landed in 1642 with his son Henry and a number of Irish officers, "who having learned the art of war in the great academy of Mars, the Low Countries," came now to display at home on behalf of their native land the bravery which they had exhibited on many a hard fought field throughout Europe. Farther on we have far out in the sea the holy spot which Columbkille blessed, Tory island. And now we continue further on due south, and we come to one harbour after another, each bearing a name well-known in Irish history, Killybegs, as fine a harbour as any in the world in which all the fleets of the great Powers might manœuvre

to their heart's content without the luxury of a rock to bump up against; then old historic Donegal, standing at the head of the beautiful bay bearing its name, and nestling under the famous Bearnes More, its old monastery still bidding defiance to time and men's malice :

“ Roofless, doorless,
Shrineless, monkless, though it be,
That abbey by the sea.”

Still continuing our journey south we come to Bally-shannon, which was the limit of their territory in these parts, though their chieftaincy extended to certain parts of Upper Connaught too.

All this territory belonged to the Clan Connail or O'Donnells and to their dependents. O'Dogherty was sub-chief at Inishowen. The northern and western parts of Donegal belonged to the M'Swineys, while the country about Donegal, and on to Kilmacrennan, to Lifford, and Bally-shannon was what may be called the mensal lands of the chief proper of the O'Donnells. Sprung from a common stock with the O'Neils, united with them constantly by ties of friendship and intermarriage, and later too by the presence of a common danger, but far less exposed by reason of the position of their chieftaincy to invasion, the O'Donnells retained their power as chiefs long after other tribes of Ireland had been rooted out of their lands. Hence up to the time of Red Hugh, to the beginning of the sixteenth century we find their chiefs ruling independently, the people living under their own system of laws and usages, just as they did before ever the English set foot in this country.

At the time when our history begins, about 1580, the chief of the Clan Connail was Hugh O'Donnell. He was at this time an old man. It is said of him “ that he attained to the lordship without treachery or fratricide, war or disturbance, that he was a valiant and warlike man, victorious in his fights and battles before and during his chieftainship, and the preyer and plunderer of the territories far and near that were bound to obey him and did not, and a good earner in the sight of God.” His second wife was Ineen Dubh, the daughter

of M'Donnell of the Isles, one of the Hiberno-Scotic families that in many ways kept up their connection with the land of their ancestors. It has been often said that great men have had great mothers, and the case of Hugh Roe is no exception, as we shall see later on. Their eldest son was Hugh, the subject of this paper.

"Soon after his birth," says O'Clery, "he was given to be fostered to the free-born noble race of Conal Gulban; and it was not these alone that wished to have him to rear, but many of the line of Faghan too; for they were sure that something good would accrue if he reached the age of manhood. He grew then in stature and size, in knowledge and wisdom, in good growth and great deeds—so that his name and repute spread throughout the five provinces of Erin even before he passed the age of boyhood and had completed his fifteenth year. Nay, even the foreigners of Dublin heard of the fame and renown of this youth, and they reflected that if he reached manhood the Irish would be regenerated by him, and enabled to avenge the cruelties and the robberies inflicted on his race."

They knew, too, that he was the intimate friend of O'Neil, chief of Tirowen, and his kinsman, and the history goes on to say that "they reflected within themselves that his capture would be a great prop for their sway over Ireland." This is how the capture took place. I must tell you that the Lord Justice or Chief Governor at the time was Sir John Perrott, between whom and that model of princes Henry VIII. there was said to be a close blood relationship, which is designated in heraldry by the bar sinister. To pacify Ireland he hit on a plan, not very unlike that of a late lamented statesman; and it was to seize on the children of all the Irish chiefs and shut them up in Dublin Castle, and so secure the obedience of the parents and their followers. When he left Ireland, in 1588, there were shut up in Dublin Castle no fewer than thirty such youths—O'Neils, O'Donnells, Fitzmaurices, Maguires, M'Mahons, and O'Byrnes. Some of these were not more than ten or twelve years, the others sixteen years of age or thereabouts, as we learn from a State paper of Perrott's; and their condition was anything but a comfortable one. Here is what Perrott says of them: "They lie at the grate to beg and starve, for so they use their pledges, of what quality soever they be." It is some satia-

faction to know that such misdeeds were followed soon by the punishment they deserved. Perrott, after long services in Ireland, was brought to trial, by order of Elizabeth, for **“that he did imagine in his heart to depose the Queen’s Most Excellent Majesty from the royal seat, and to raise a rebellion in England and Ireland.”** Of course, he was condemned to die; but a reprieve came, and he ended his days in prison six months later.

Here is the plan, then, adopted at Perrott’s suggestion : **“At Michaelmas, 1587, a ship was fitted out at Dublin with a murderous, drunken crew, having weapons of war for defence and offence, abundance of wine and strong liquors, under pretence of sale and barter,”** but in reality to look for an opportunity of seizing on Hugh O'Donnell. The ship set sail from Dublin, and in due time put into Lough Swilly, and anchored outside in the deep water opposite Rathmullen. The crew landed and proceeded to sell their, strong drink to whoever came for it, spying and examining all round meantime. O'Donnell happened to pass by, with a crowd of youthful companions, in a harmless excursion in thoughtless sport. He came to pay a visit to M'Swiney, his foster-father, whose castle is in great part still standing at the water side. **“When the spies heard that he had come they went off in haste to the ship. The butlers of the castle went after them to purchase wine for the entertainment of the guests. The crew replied that they had now no more than was needed for their own wants, but if the gentlemen would come on board the ship, they would receive every kind of attention and entertainment.”**

M'Swiney, hearing that his servants had been refused the wine, was much annoyed. **“Wherefore,”** says our author, **“unfortunately he advised his lord, Hugh O'Donnell, to accept the invitation. This O'Donnell did, for there was not one of his counsellors, his preceptors, or of his learned men in his company to direct him or give him advice.”** They took a small boat, therefore, and rowed off to the ship. The crew of the ship welcomed them gladly; but they would allow only a few on board. A variety of food and drink was set before them. Whilst they were feasting, their arms

were suddenly seized, the hatches were shut down, and O'Donnell and his fellow-companions were shut up in a narrow place, where they could not make any use of their prowess. The news spread that Hugh Roe had been seized. The neighbours assembled on the sea shore, but they were powerless, for they had neither ships nor boats to pursue the deceivers or take vengeance on them. M'Swiney, too, came there like the rest, and offered hostages and pledges in his stead; but it did not avail him, "for there was not in the province of Ulster a hostage whom they would take in his place, since it was to get hold of him alone that they had come." And so they weighed anchor, and sailed with the coveted freight stowed safely away in the hold.

Great was the joy of the Lord Justice and of the Council in Dublin at the success of their plan and at his coming. "And it was not at all through affection for O'Donnell," says our author. "They ordered him to be brought before them, and they put questions to him in order to see what his qualities were. In fine, he was shut up in a strong castle of stone, where the noble descendants of the sons of Milesius were in chains, in constant fear of death. It was their one consolation day and night to lament over their hardship and long sufferings, and to tell of the wicked acts and injustices inflicted on their race." For three years and three months he continued imprisoned in this way.

"It was anguish of mind and great pain to him to be as he was, and it was not on his own account, but by reason of the powerlessness in which his friends and relatives were, his nobles and ecclesiastics, owing to their expulsion and banishment to other lands beyond Erin; and he was always meditating what way of escape he could find. This was not an easy task, for the castle was surrounded by a deep trench filled with water, and at the gate, inside and outside, there was a morose party of English soldiers to guard it closely, and prevent anyone from going in or coming out without leave. But there is no watch of which advantage may not be taken at last. One night in midwinter, before the prisoners were put into their cells, Hugh managed to get possession of a piece of rope. With this he and some of his fellow-prisoners let themselves down from the window till they alighted on the drawbridge outside the gate. There was a strong iron chain on the gate outside to draw it out. Through this they put a strong piece of wood, 'the full of the hand,'

to prevent those in the castle from coming out immediately and pursuing them. One of Hugh's own faithful people was outside waiting for him. He had two well-tempered swords concealed about him. Hugh took one, and he gave the other to a noble hero of the Lagenians, Art Kavanagh, and they set off towards the mountains. The guards did not perceive their escape immediately. When they did, they ran towards the gate thinking to find the prisoners there. But they did not find them, nor could they open the gate, secured as it was on the outside by the beam of wood."

When at length it was opened the prisoners were too far off to be caught, and the pursuit was given up as hopeless. The writer goes on to describe the sufferings of the fugitives over the rough roads and thorny paths, how "Hugh's white-skinned tender feet were wounded by the briars, after his shoes had fallen asunder owing to the loosening of the seams and the ties from the wet and frost." His companions, much to their sorrow, were obliged to leave him behind. But his faithful clansman remained with him. Him he sent to Felim O'Toole, an acquaintance of his, asking for shelter. O'Toole would willingly aid his friend, but his relatives would not allow him to do so, fearing the vengeance of the English. What they determined on was to bring him back to Dublin, and put him again into the hands of the Council. This they did, and the Council were rejoiced thereat, "for they made little or no account of the other prisoners who had escaped in comparison with him. And great as was their hostility and cruelty to him the first time, it was greater now on account of his escape, and he was put in chains, and guards were set over him."

"When the news of his escape and of his recapture was heard throughout Erin great was the sorrow of the Irish in consequence, and the minds of their soldiers and the courage of their champions were blunted at hearing the news. Many a princess and noble lady and fair maiden mourned and was in despair on his account, and free-born nobles were lamenting for him, because he was the hope of their race, and now they knew not whence relief would come to them from the dreadful slavery and bondage in which they were held by the English."

And so for a whole year he was kept closely confined. At length when it seemed to the Son of the Virgin time that he should escape," he and his two companions, Henry and

Art O'Neil, once more took advantage of their jailers, and with the aid of a rope let themselves down into the sewer, and so got out of the castle. Again they made their way to the Wicklow hills. Henry O'Neil lost his way in the darkness of the night, and separated from the others. "Art's gait was slow and heavy, for he had been a long time in prison. But not so Hugh; for he was young, active too and nimble. When he saw that Art was growing weak, he bade him put one hand on his shoulder and the other on that of a servant, and supported in this way he crossed the summit of the mountain." Here they remained for a while to rest. Then they sent on the servant to Fiach M'Hugh O'Byrne, whose house at Glenmalure was the refuge of every prisoner and hostage who escaped from Dublin. Fiach sent out a party of his people, some with food and others with drink. "Pitiful indeed," continues our author, "was the condition of those whom they had come in search of; for covering for their fair bodies they had no other but the snow, no support for their heads but the heap of frozen hail, so that they seemed to those who came in search of them, not as if they were human beings, but clods of earth concealed by the snow; nor was there any motion in their limbs, but just as if they were dead." Wherefore the attendants raised them up, and bade them take some of the food and of the drink. Art could not retain the food. He died at last, and was buried there. As for Hugh, his strength grew; but his feet were still powerless. He was taken on their shoulders to a retired place in the valley, and kept there until a messenger came from O'Neil to inquire about him and urge him to return home. The journey was a painful one, for the physicians could not cure the running sores on his feet, pierced as they were by the frost, and ever after he needed some one to put him on horseback and help him off again.

Watches and ambuscades had been set by the English on every ford of the Liffey by which he could pass on his way to the North. With a faithful attendant he set off, and came through Dublin, passing quite close to the castle. And so he made his way travelling by night to Drogheda. A poor fisherman ferried him across the Boyne, and the servant went

round the town with the horses. At Mellifont he was kindly received by Sir Garrett Moore, a friend of O'Neil's. "For," says our author, "O'Neil had many friends, since he used to give them large presents and stipends of gold and silver for the support they gave him and for speaking on his behalf in the Council." When once outside Dundalk he was safe, for he was on the territory that acknowledged the sovereign sway of O'Neil. At length he reached Ballyshannon, the chief castle of his father, "and glad were the men who were guarding it at seeing their prince among them once more."

D. MURPHY, S.J.

(*To be continued.*)

THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

I

"THE heroic defence of Londonderry had already turned the scale in favour of William, and the disaster of the Boyne and the surrender of Limerick destroyed the last hopes of the Catholics. They secured, as they vainly imagined, by the Treaty of Limerick their religious liberty; but the bulk of the Catholic army passed into the service of France, and the great confiscations that followed the Revolution completed the ruin of the old race. When the eighteenth century dawned, the great majority of the former leaders of the people were either sunk in abject poverty, or scattered over Europe; the last spasm of resistance had ceased, and the long period of unbroken Protestant ascendancy had begun." Thus writes Mr. Lecky in the 2nd vol. (p. 126) of his valuable *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*.

The Protestant ascendancy, thus successfully initiated, left no stone unturned to maintain and consolidate itself. At no

time, perhaps, of Ireland's chequered history—not excepting even the Cromwellian period,—were the Catholics more helplessly prostrate—their Church and Faith more completely crushed and apparently vanquished, and all hopes of recovery, save those begotten of unfaltering faith in a just Providence, utterly blasted—than in the year of Our Lord 1700.

The Articles of Limerick had been unscrupulously violated in almost every particular. The year 1695 saw the revival of the Acts of Parliament forbidding the foreign or domestic education of Catholics, to which other penal enactments of great severity succeeded. In 1697 “all the Popish prelates, vicars-general, deans, monks, Jesuits, and all others of their religion who exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Ireland,” were ordered to quit the kingdom before the 1st of May, 1698, by which date a total of 444 regulars alone had been shipped off. In case they came back they were subjected to imprisonment or transportation to foreign parts, whence, if they again returned, they were to be arraigned as traitors. By the same Act it was provided that none should be buried in any monastery, abbey or convent not used for Protestant service; and in the same Session an Act was passed rendering illegal the inter-marriages of Protestants and Catholics. By these means it was hoped that Catholicity would be finally eradicated from the land, and that the “great, glorious and immortal” authority of Protestantism would thenceforward and for ever hold undisputed and universal sway.

We recall these atrocities, and the sufferings and struggles they entailed, as matters of very ancient history, that can have but a remote interest for us, whereas they are but of yesterday, with many of their effects still remaining, and in our present enjoyment of comparative peace and liberty, we are apt to forget, or perhaps may be unacquainted with, the hardships and difficulties that had to be endured by our brave progenitors of *only the last century*.

An encouraging word from the learned and courteous editor of the I. E. RECORD and from some other impatient friends induces me to communicate the result of still imperfect researches into the *ecclesiastical and educational*

status of the Diocese of Dublin during that eventful century. These researches were undertaken originally with a view to publishing some account of the old chapels of Dublin and suburbs, all of which have now passed away, to give place to the more stately and more suitable structures of the present century which we appropriately call *Churches*. But, with some of these shrines still green in our memories, and all of them witnesses, as they were, to the faith, piety, and unexampled patience of a devoted and devout clergy and people during a most critical period of our history, I deemed such a subject would not be altogether devoid of interest to the fortunate and peaceful inheritors of what that clergy and people had struggled with such constancy and amid such difficulties to preserve.

I found it however, and still find it, no easy task to collect sufficient *data* wherewith to construct a continuous and uninterrupted record of the time. Gaps there will be here and there which I have little hope of being ever able to fill up. The ferocity of the penal laws in the early part of the century entailing the concealment or destruction of contemporary documents; the non-existence in most cases of all parochial registers and records until later on in the century, and then imperfectly kept; and the almost complete absence of all episcopal or diocesan papers, render it exceedingly difficult to present anything more than mere scraps of information gathered from various authentic sources, which I shall endeavour to link together in something like chronological order, though scarcely in that unbroken sequence of facts that should characterise complete history. Transmitting them to type, however, will be useful in any case, and make the way easier for some future historian who may have greater leisure and easier access to still undiscovered materials for a work so much needed as a *History of the Diocese of Dublin*.

The publication of the manuscript found in Marsh's Library, in the May and June numbers of the RECORD of the present year, gives us a starting point, and furnishes us with a list of the pastors of the Diocese of Dublin for the year 1697, which here it may be no harm to reproduce in

succinct form, as most of them were living to commence the century in 1700.

| City Parishes. | Parish Priests A.D. 1697. |
|-------------------------------|--|
| St. Nicholas, Francis Street, | Dr. Edmund Byrne. |
| St. Michael's, Rosemary Lane, | Dr. James Russell (Dean). |
| St. Audeon's, Cook Street, | Rev. Edward Murphy. |
| St. James (St. Catherine), | Rev. Mr. Brohy. |
| St. Michan's, | Rev. Dr. Dempsey (presumed Bishop of Kildare). |

At this period there were but these five Catholic Parishes in the City of Dublin.

| Country Parishes. | Parish Priests A.D. 1697. |
|--|---|
| Rathfarnham, | Rev. Thady Kelly. |
| Donnybrook, Booterstown, &c., | „ Patrick Gilmore. |
| Monkstown, Dalkey, Cabin- teely, &c , | „ John Talbott. |
| Bray, Powerscourt, &c., | „ Richard Fitzimons. |
| Castlemacadam, &c. (Ovoca), | „ Edmond McGin. |
| Delgany, Kilquade, &c., | „ Seneca Fitzwilliams. |
| Wicklow, &c., | „ Maurice Bryan. |
| Dunganstown, Innisbohin, &c., | „ William Cavenagh. |
| Rathdrum, | „ Charles Byrne. |
| Annamoe, Seven Churches, &c., | „ Philmon or Felix McAbe. |
| Arklow, | „ Patrick Fitzwilliams. |
| Lucan and Clondalkin | „ Oliver Doyle. |
| Saggard, | „ William Brett. |
| Kildrought [Celbridge] and Straffan, | „ William Tipper. |
| Maynooth and Leixlip, | „ John Duff [Duffy ?]. |
| Castleknock and Blanchards- town, | „ Dr. Cruise (Archdeacon). |
| Finglas and St. Margaret's, | „ Bartholomew Scally. |
| Clontarf, Coolock, &c., | „ Richard Cahill (Regular). |
| Baldoyle, Portmarnock, &c., | „ Charles Smyth. |
| Swords, | „ Christopher Walsh. |
| Rowlingstown, | „ Edmund Murphy. |
| Donabate and Portran | „ Charles Ternan. |
| Lusk, Rush, and Skerries, | „ Joseph Walsh [brother of Christopher, P.P. Swords] |

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| Garristowne, | Rev. Robert Taylor. |
| Ballrothery and Ballscadden | |
| (Balbriggan), | „ Andrew Finglass. |
| Naul and Hollywood, | „ Owen Smyth. |
| Blessington, Rathmore, Boys- | |
| town, &c., | „ Owen Tye. |
| Ballymore Eustace (?), | „ James Eustace. |
| Kilcullen, | „ John Kelly. |
| Narraghmore, | „ Father Brian MacCabe |
| Dunlavin, | „ Patrick Haggan. |
| Castledermot, Moone, | „ Henry Dalton. |
| Athy, | „ John Fitzsimons. |

This makes a list of thirty-eight Parish Priests, and to assist them they had mentioned in this list thirty curates, as follows :—

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Curates : |
| St. Nicholas, Francis-street, | { — Dowdall |
| | { Terence Smyth |
| St. Audeon's | { Thomas Austin |
| | { — Neagh. |
| | { Ignatius Carberry. |
| | { Michael Fitzgerald. |
| St Michael's, | { Valentine Rivers. |
| | { Jerome Netherville |
| | { Bryan Murry. |
| | { Patrick Lutherell. |
| | { Wm. Ryan. |
| | { Emer Megennis |
| St Michan's, | { William Dalton. |
| Wm. Dardis, a P. P. of Diocese of | { James Gibbons. |
| Ardagh, apparently affiliated | { John Linegar. |
| to Dublin, and Fergus Farrell | { Laurence Dowdall |
| Chaplain to Lady Castle- | { Richard Murphy. |
| haven, who lived in Capel- | |
| street. | |
| Swords, | John Jones. |
| | Thomas Smyth |
| | (Malahide). |

Luske,
 Ballrothery,
 Blanchardstowne,
 Rathcoole, &c.,
 Cabinteely, &c.,
 Wicklow,
 Hollywood,
 Athy,

William Shanly.
 John Cocghran.
 Walter Cruise.
 Patrick Duffy.
 Richard Talbott.
 Redmond Fitzimous.
 Patrick Kernan.
 Manus Quigley.

This list, the most complete that can be got of that period contained the names of many regulars who gave valuable assistance in some of the parishes, but whom the edict of 1697—specially levelled at them—hopelessly put to flight. Thus, too, the established Communities of Dominicans in Cook-street, of Augustinians at St. Audeon's-arch, of Franciscans in Cook-street, of Carmelites in Corn-market, and the few scattered Jesuits and Capuchins who then served on the Dublin mission, had to close their little chapels, intrust their church and domestic goods and chattels to the safe keeping of some charitable laymen, until better times might come, and bid adieu for an indefinite period to the land of their birth, and to the scenes of their zealous and saintly labours.

Some few evaded the vigilance of the law, and were sheltered by private families; but some too paid the penalty of their rashness, such as the Dominican Fathers Felix MacDonnell and Dominick MacEgan, who, as mentioned by De Burgo, returning to Dublin about this time, "were promptly discovered and cast into prison, where they lingered, one until 1707, and the other until 1713, when death happily released them." (*Hib. Dominicana*, cap. 16, p. 597.)¹ There is also a letter of a later date amongst the Propaganda Papers, from a Rev. Michael Plunkett, a secular priest and former Propaganda student, who was at the date of the letter seven years in prison. Making allowance, moreover, for some names that necessarily escaped the Protestant compiler of

¹ Edward Chamberlain, the Jesuit mentioned as living in Cook-street, is also given in the Gaol Return of 1703 as being then a prisoner, also a John Keating and John Kelly *alias* Purcell. This latter was transported. I.R.O., Bundle 71.

this list, we may conclude that, in round numbers, the Church of Dublin, in 1700, was served by about eighty zealous and devoted ministers.

But these brave soldiers of the faith had to fight without their general. The Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Pierse Creagh, immediate successor to the almost martyred Archbishop Russell, was then in exile. Whilst Bishop of Cork he had laboured hard and suffered much, and narrowly escaped sharing the crown of martyrdom with the venerable Primate, Oliver Plunkett. He was actually on his way to London, a fellow-prisoner with Dr. Plunkett, when, falling sick at Dublin, his journey had to be interrupted, and subsequent events set him free, after two years of severe imprisonment.

On the defeat of King James, the Catholic party chose Dr. Creagh as ambassador to Louis XIV. to crave his assistance; and when he was about to return to Ireland, the unhappy monarch detained him at St. Germain's, appointed him Archbishop of Dublin in 1693, but would not permit him to come to Ireland or quit his own person. Indeed, in face of the events that rapidly succeeded each other in that terrible reign of William and Mary, it would have been an idle journey, for he never could have taken possession of his See. But he was unwilling to remain idle at St. Germain's, and ultimately prevailed on the King to allow him to act as auxiliary to the Bishop of Strasbourg, William IV., Eyon de Furstenberg, where he continued actively discharging the duties of that office until his death in 1705.¹

Who was his vicar-general, or who represented him in Dublin? This I have been unable to discover. Vicars-general came under the same ban as bishops and regulars; consequently, it was the interest of all concerned to keep their official identity concealed. It may have been the Dean, Dr. James Russell, brother of the late Archbishop and P.P. of St. Michael's; or Dr. Edmund Byrne, P.P. of St. Nicholas, and soon to be Archbishop; or not improbably Dr. Dempsey, Bishop of Kildare, who, as a priest of this diocese, had been

¹ See *Collections on Irish Church History*, by Dr. Renehan, vol. i., p. 234. In 1696 he consecrated the existing church of Mont de St. Odile, Patroness of Alsace. *Episcopal Archives, Strasbourg*.

appointed (presumably by James II.) Precentor of Christ Church Cathedral, and was still, if we are to believe the list of 1697, P.P. of St. Michan's. Being enabled to live in comparative security in the house of his noble relative, the Lady Clanmalure, in Church-street, it is not improbable that he exercised the faculties of vicar-general.

The only office that escaped the letter of the law was that of parish priest, because it was not regarded as an office of contentious jurisdiction, but all other semblance of ecclesiastical authority was interdicted under the severest penalties; and so successfully and thoroughly was the law enforced, that in the year 1701, Dr. Comerford, Archbishop of Cashel, was the only bishop at large in the country. In a letter to the Secretary of the Propaganda, written in that year, he also mentions the Bishop of Dromore, Dr. Patrick Donnelly, but he was a fast prisoner in a Dublin gaol, and died there; and "*perhaps*" the Bishop of Clonfert. It is certain, however, that this latter prelate was dead at the time, though the Archbishop was unaware of it. He makes no mention of the Bishop of Kildare, of the time of whose death no certain particulars can be gathered.

Such was the terrible condition of our forefathers in the faith in the opening years of the last century. Without a bishop; without religious communities to help them; with innumerable penalties and disqualifications closing round them; with schools proscribed, in abject poverty, in fear, and trembling, and constant apprehension of still fiercer methods of persecution—had these eighty priests to labour for the salvation of souls in this very City of Dublin where Catholicity is now so flourishing. It is the old story: the "blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians." A writer in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, in January, 1887, thus expresses, in another form, the same idea: "The persecutor, as an involuntary high priest, celebrates a religious sacrifice, wherein a just man is immolated for the salvation of all; the blood that flows never inculcates cowardice, and men kneel down as it drops from the scaffold, which becomes an altar. Thus the State has no grip on believers." Short-sighted heresy could not see this. Conscious of their power, and

flushed with what seemed the completeness of their victory, the Protestants of the day lost no time in suitably commemorating it; and on the 1st of July, 1701, anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, amidst the thunder of artillery, and the clang of martial music, and the cheers of the victors, what Whitelaw calls the *fine* equestrian statue of William III. was unveiled in College-green, where, after a stormy existence of nigh two centuries, it may still be seen, fitting emblem, in its decay, of the transitory nature of the triumph it was raised to commemorate.

King William died in the March following, and was succeeded by Anne. With her accession, the Whig party was restored to official power in England. They were omnipotent in Ireland among the numerous descendants of the Cromwellian faction, and the second Duke of Ormonde was appointed Lord Lieutenant. His administration was opened by a law, in 1703, *to prevent the further growth of Popery*. This alleged motive would appear to imply that Popery had been *growing*, despite all the recent efforts to eradicate it. However, let the preamble speak for itself:—

“Whereas two Acts lately made for banishing all Regulars of the Popish Clergy out of this kingdom, and to prevent Popish Priests from coming into the same, may be wholly eluded unless the Government be truly informed of the number of such dangerous persons as still remain among us; for remedy whereof be it enacted, etc. . . . that all and every Popish Priest or Priests who are now in this kingdom, shall, at the next quarter sessions of the peace to be held in all the several counties, and counties of cities, or towns throughout the kingdom, next after the Feast of St. John the Baptist, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and four, shall return his or their names and places of abodes to the respective clerks of the peace in the several counties, etc., where the said Popish Priests shall dwell or reside, together with his or their age, the parish of which they *pretend* to be Popish Priest, the time and place of his or their first receiving Popish Orders, and from whom he or they received the same; and shall then and there enter into sufficient sureties, each in the sum of fifty pounds sterling, *that every such Popish Priest shall be of peaceable behaviour*, and not remove out of such county where his or their place of abode lies, into any other part of the kingdom; and all and every Popish Priest or Priests who shall not make such return, and enter into such recognisance with sufficient sureties as aforesaid . . . shall severally be committed to the common gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprize till he or they be transported.”

It then went on to enact that priests who were thus registered should have no curates or assistants (or *successors*); and thus it hoped finally to extinguish the last sparks of faith. In compliance with this law, upwards of 1,080 priests registered all over Ireland. The lists were published in Battersby's *Catholic Directory* for 1838, and again in the I. E. RECORD, 12th vol., first series. In this list we find that they discovered a way of evading the law forbidding curates or assistants; for, as one priest was allowed to each parish, the priests registered according to the civil enumeration of parishes, and not according to the much smaller number of parishes then existing in the Catholic arrangement. Thus, in the City of Dublin, whilst there were but five Catholic parishes, and fifteen civil parishes, ten of the curates "*pretended*," in the words of the Act, to be the Popish priests of so many civil parishes; and thus were able to remain unmolested, and continue (secretly, of course) their duties as curates. This circumstance seems to have escaped the notice of D'Alton, and even of Father Comerford in his valuable *Collections of Kildare and Leughlin*, where, speaking of Walter Skelton, he fancies he must have resigned the Parish of St Peter's, for which he was registered in 1704, to become curate of St. Audoen's, as he appears later on. In 1704 there was no Catholic Parish of St. Peter's; but there was a Parish of St. Peter's recognised by law, for which Father Skelton might register, although remaining curate of St. Audoen's, to which parish, in the Catholic system, he was then attached. From this list of the clergy in 1704 we gather that there were thirty-four Priests ministering in the city of Dublin, thirty-six in the county of Dublin, ten in the parts of the county Kildare belonging to Dublin diocese, and eleven in the county of Wicklow, which make a total of ninety-one Secular Priests, showing an increase of twenty-three on the list of 1697, though we may presume from the date of their ordinations,—anterior to the death of Archbishop Russell, July, 1692,—at least *ten* of them were officiating in 1697, but escaped the search of the Protestant compiler of that list. The Regulars of course disappear from the registry of 1704, though many of them remained, secretly rendering all the

assistance in their power; and one of them, Richard Cahill, succeeded in concealing his *Regular* character, and got registered as Pastor of Clontarf. Similarly James Gibbons, a *Jesuit*, registered himself as P.P. of Kinsealy, and escaping detection continued to live and work in the neighbourhood of Grangegorman.

In the city parishes the only change of Pastors from 1697 occurred in the parish of St. Michan, where we miss the name of Dr. Dempsey, who we may presume had passed to his happy reward, and who was succeeded by the celebrated Dr. Cornelius Nary.

This learned ecclesiastic was born in the county of Kildare, in the year 1660, and received his early education in Naas. He was ordained Priest in Kilkenny, in his 24th year, by Dr. O'Phelan then Bishop of Ossory, and in the year following went to the Irish College in Paris, where he was appointed *Provisor*, and remained in that office for seven years. In 1691, he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, in the College of Cambray,¹ in the University of Paris, and about two years after, upon his going to London, became governor or tutor to the Earl of Antrim, a young Roman Catholic nobleman. In a document, dated July, 1693, addressed to the Nuncio at Brussels, and signed by the three Irish Bishops then resident in France—Tuam, Elphin, and Limerick—and others, we find Dr. Nary signing himself, *Consultissimae Facultatis Parisiensis Licentiatus et Collegii Hibernorum Provisor*. This document was a Postulation in favour of Dr. John Dempsey, for the mitre of Kildare. This request was backed up by the King, and in 1694, as may be seen in vol. i. of Fr. Comerford's *Collections*, Dr. Dempsey was appointed; but we have no evidence that he ever took possession of his See, whilst the list of 1697 shows him still retaining his parish of St. Michan, in which he was to be succeeded by one that had recommended his promotion.

¹ Louis XIV., when remodelling the University of Paris, consulted the learned priest, Dr. Michael Moor, who was Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, during the reign of James II. It was on Dr. Moor's account that he established the Royal College of Cambray, in connection with the University, and a chair of Experimental Philosophy to be held by him. Here Dr. Moor remained and had amongst his pupils Boileau, Fontenelle, Montesquieu, Fleury, and the celebrated historian Rollin.

In the country parishes Richard Tallbott replaced John Talbott in Cabinteely, Dalkey, &c. John (or James) Welsh succeeded William Tipper, who died very old in Celbridge. Terence Morgan succeeded Henry Dalton in Castledermot. William Cavenagh succeeded Maurice Bryan in Wicklow. Daniel Byrne succeeded William Cavanagh in Innisbohin. Nicholas Jones succeeded Charles Ternan in Donabate.

The assistant priests not mentioned in 1697 were—

| Residence. | Residence. |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Paul Egan, Kilmainham. | Peter Murphy, Cook Street. |
| Mark Riley, Hammon's Lane. | Bryan MacMahon, Smithfield. |
| Denis O'Hara, Merchant's Key. | William Plunkett, Cook Street |
| Hugh Clerke, Church Street. | Anthony Bryan, Rathgar. |
| Patrick Hughes, Skipper's Lane. | James Butler, Belmont. |
| Charles Dempsey, Bride Street. | Philip Matthews, Baldungan. |
| Collam Morgan, Schoolhouse Lane. | Peter Stanly, Portmarnock. |
| Walter Skelton, Bridge Street. | William Browne, Kilsallaghan. |
| Patrick MacMahon, Church Street. | Francis Delamer, Porterstown. |
| Thomas Carroll, Schoolhouse Lane. | Francis Hughes, Lucan. |
| Simon Forster, Schoolhouse Lane. | William Rosse, Cruagh. |
| James Connor, Schoolhouse Lane. | Walter Fox, Old Connaught. |
| Francis Edwards, Kegar's Lane. | Charles Cashell, Coolock. |
| Laughlin Fagan, Croker's Lane. | James Sarsfield, Grange-gorman. |
| Ambrose Mooney, Anger's Street. | Francis Flood, Tipperkevin. |
| Richard Cannon, Whitechurch. | Patrick White, Kilternan. |
| John Hackett, Castledillon, Straffan. | Terence Cullen, Rathmore. |
| James Warren, Straffan. | Patrick Kernan, Hollywood. |
| Bryan Farrell, Leixlip. | |

From this list of 1704 we miss the names of the following assistants who figured on that of 1697, and who,

we may presume, had passed to their reward or left the country :—

— Dowdall.

Terence Smyth.

— Neagh.

Ignatius Carbery.

Michael Fitzgerald.

John Jones.

Jerome Netterville.

William Ryan.

Emer Megennis.

Laurence Dowdall.

Richard Murphy.

Thomas Smyth.

This registration shows ninety-one “ dangerous persons ” devoted to the work of maintaining and propagating Popery in the Diocese of Dublin.

Though this atrocious Act was ostensibly directed against the regulars, with a view to their complete extirpation, it brought the entire body of the clergy within the grasp of the executive, to be worried, tortured or exiled, according to the prevailing fears or fancies of the moment.

The Catholic laity were not more exempt from hardships and ferocious enactments than were the clergy, as may be seen by referring to the many works that treat of the Penal Laws. But, it was the avowed object of the Legislature to stamp out Popery by depriving it of its priests; and hence on the latter fell the brunt of the battle. The Archbishop, Dr. Creagh,¹ died in the year following, — July, 1705, — in Strasbourg, where he was buried, and where a sumptuous monument was erected over him.

✠ N. D

CORRESPONDENCE.

“ QUID MIHI ET TIBI EST, MULIER.”

VERY REV. SIR,—A correspondent in your last issue says that the obvious literal interpretation of the words *τί μοι καὶ σοί*, is “ What to me and to thee is this matter ? ” It may be an obvious interpretation, but it is not a literal interpretation. The words “ *is this matter* ” are additional words, and are not in the text, and the words added in the authorised version, “ *What (is there common),* ” “ What

¹ In the Strasbourg Archives he is styled O’Creagh.

have I to do with thee?" have as good a claim to be an obvious literal interpretation as the words "How does that matter affect you or me?"

The interpretation "How does that matter affect you or me," is, in my opinion, very objectionable:

1st. It conveys a reproof; a milder reproof, no doubt, than the reproof that is often assumed to be conveyed by the words, but still a reproof. It conveys that the Blessed Virgin was meddling with what did not concern her. Now, even one of ourselves will feel that it is a rebuke if, in reply to an observation we have made, we are told "that is none of your business."

2nd. I cannot admit that the Blessed Virgin ever uttered an "idle word"—ever did anything that was not perfect; now decidedly she was uttering an "idle word" if she spoke of a matter that did not concern her.

3rd. Our Lord did not mean or convey that the matter she spoke about did not concern her or himself—"does not affect you or me"—for if he did, then he conveyed and meant what was absolutely untrue.

Not to lay any great stress on the usual supposition that the Blessed Virgin was some connection of the family, and had authority over the servants of the house, and therefore that it did concern her intimately and personally; let us consider should we not ourselves feel concerned if we were guests at a dinner party and it turned out in the course of the dinner, that there was not a sufficient supply for all? Granting that we would not be much affected by the scantiness of our own meal, would we not be concerned at the confusion and mortification of the hostess and the host? I can understand a mocking cynic being unconcerned on such an occasion. I do not believe that there is a priest in Ireland who would, to a remark made to him on the subject, reply: "That doesn't affect me." I would expect him to say: "I am very much distressed about it; I wish I could see some way to get them out of the embarrassment."

4th. Most commentators on the text, even those who are unfriendly to Catholic doctrine, take care to point out how becoming and kindly it was for the Blessed Virgin to try to get something or other done. I think, therefore, that none of those commentators would be inclined to ascribe to our Lord that frigid, unkindly, and selfish remark: "How does that matter affect you or me?"

If it affected him in no other way, it affected, as he says himself, his arrangements; for unless something was done the party would be

broken up, and he would have to leave, before the hour he had appointed to leave the party had come.

5th. For another reason it is absolutely untrue that the deficiency in the wine did not "affect" his mother or himself. At those marriage feasts, and especially at the marriage feasts of persons in the middle and lower ranks of life, the custom of the country required that the guests should bring with them contributions to the feast, and bring them in such abundance as to leave a store for the newly married pair when the seven days of the feast were over. I cannot say for certain that the deficiency in the preparations for the feast was owing to the unexpected presence of the disciples with our Lord, or that it was owing, as Farrar suggests, to our Lord and his disciples not having complied with that custom. At any rate it was the concern, it was the business of the guests to have made such abundant preparations, that there would be no deficiency. It was the concern therefore and the business of our Lord as one of the guests, how then could he have said when the deficiency was mentioned to him—"What is that to us?" "How does that matter affect you or me?" That interpretation of His words is therefore, in my opinion, not only very objectionable but impossible.

Even if it was as completely satisfactory as it is utterly objectionable it cannot be accepted for it is not *the* meaning of the words. If it was the meaning of the words then it would make sense in the other Scripture passages in which they are found. Now it does not. Try it in those passages usually quoted, the passages which constitute and show the Scripture usage of the phrase which is the only usage that concerns us.

Jephthe says to the King of Ammon: "How does that matter affect you or me that thou art come to waste my land?" David says to the Sons of Sarna, "What to me and to thee is this matter that he curses me?" The widow of Sarepta says to Elias, "How does that matter affect you or me?" the matter being the death of her son. Nechao says to Josias "We are going to fight a pitched battle." "How does that matter affect you or me?" The evil spirits say "How does that matter affect us that you are come to torment us before our time."

I conclude, that whatever is the meaning of the phrase "What to me and to thee?" and whether the interpretation "What an unsuitable thing to me and to you" is a distorted meaning or is not, at any rate the meaning "How does that matter affect you or me?" is not the correct meaning of the words, or even a meaning which commends itself to a Catholic mind.

E. O'BRIEN.

DOCUMENTS.

CIRCULAR OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN TO THE CLERGY OF
HIS DIOCESE IN REFERENCE TO THE CONDITIONAL BAPTISM
OF ADULT CONVERTS.

We publish at the request of a Very Reverend correspondent the following important Instruction which has recently been issued to the clergy of his diocese by the Archbishop of Dublin in reference to the Conditional Baptism of adult converts.

The form directed by his Grace to be used in such cases is, as will be observed, an exceedingly simple one.

The Archbishop kindly allows us to publish the principal portions of the letter from Rome to which he refers in his Circular to the clergy. The writer of it, Monsignor Sallua, Archbishop of Chalcedon, is, it may be useful to explain, the Commissary General of the Holy Office. Mgr. Sallua is, in this capacity, the official whose special duty it is in Rome to receive the Profession of Faith in cases of conversion, and to delegate this office to others.

The following is the Circular Letter of the Archbishop of Dublin:—

4 RUTLAND-SQUARE, E.,
DUBLIN, 27th August, 1888.

VERY REV. AND DEAR FATHER,

I think it useful to notify to the Clergy of the Diocese the substance of an important reply which I have received from Rome in reference to the Reception into the Church, and Conditional Baptism, of adult converts.

The form to be observed in all cases of this class, in conformity with the recognised Roman usage, is as follows:—

I. The Priest authorized by the Bishop receives the Abjuration, or Profession of Faith, which is to be made in the form set forth in

the 5th Appendix (page 225) of the volume containing the Decrees of the Synod of Maynooth, modified as follows :—

In the first paragraph, the words “Reverend Father, duly authorized by the Archbishop of Dublin,” should be substituted for the words, “Most Rev. Father . . . Inquisition.”

In the first line of the second paragraph, instead of the words, “I now, with grief and contrition, profess,” &c., read, “I now, enlightened by Divine grace, profess,” &c.

The last words of the fourth paragraph are to be read as follows, “together with her Immaculate Conception and most spotless Virginity.”

The words, “and by the Œcumenical Vatican Council,” are to be added at the end of the eleventh paragraph.¹

The last paragraph may be omitted.

The Profession of Faith may be either read from the printed form, or recited by the Convert after the Priest.

During this solemn act the Priest is seated: the Convert, kneeling before him, recites the words of the prescribed form, and, at the close, touches the Holy Gospels.

II. The Absolution (conditional) *a censuris* is then given, in the form set forth at pages 224 and 225 of the Appendix just referred to.

III. After the Absolution *a censuris*, the convert may make the integral Confession of Sins, the necessity of which is laid down in the Decree of the Holy Office, 17th December, 1868.

Although the Sacramental Absolution is not to be given until afterwards, it is usually advisable that the Confession should precede the administration of Baptism. Among other advantages of this course, there is the obvious one that in this way the priest is afforded an opportunity of giving special instruction to the convert, of exciting him to sorrow for his sins, and of thus preparing him, if he has not already been validly baptized, for the fruitful reception of the Sacrament of Baptism.

¹ It will be convenient to mark these changes in the margin, or at the foot of the page, so that the form, as amended, may be read without difficulty.

Printed copies of this form, as thus amended, may be had from Messrs. Browne & Nolan.

IV. Water being then obtained from the Baptismal Font, Baptism is to be administered *sub conditione* as follows :—

Sacerdos. Quid petis ab Ecclesia Dei?

Resp. Fidem.

S. Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem coeli et terrae?

R. Credo.

S. Credis et in Jesum Christum, etc.?

R. Credo.

S. Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum, etc.?

R. Credo.

S. Vis baptizari si non es valide baptizatus?

R. Volo.

S. N.N. Si non es baptizatus, ego te baptizo in nomine Patris ✠, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus ✠ Sancti.

V. The ceremony of the Anointing in Chrism, the Clothing in White, and the placing of the Candle in the hand of the newly-baptized (see the Roman Ritual, *Ordo Baptismi Adultorum, sub. fn.*) are not of obligation. But, as a matter of edification, in view especially of their mystic significance, they ought not to be omitted in any case where they can be performed.

It is to be understood that in this diocese they are to be performed in all cases unless the priest delegated to receive the convert into the Church is expressly authorized by the Ordinary to omit them.

VI. The Sacramental Confession of Sins and the Sacramental Absolution (the Absolution being given *sub conditione*) shall follow the conditional Baptism.

But, as already observed, the sins may be confessed beforehand. In this case, however, the Confession must be repeated, at least in general terms or in some equivalent way, with the necessary dispositions, after the Baptism, when the priest can give the Sacramental Absolution.

The form prescribed by the Ritual, in the *Ordo Baptismi Adultorum*, is to be followed only when Baptism is to be conferred absolutely.

I remain,

Very Rev. and Dear Father,

Your faithful Servant in Christ,

✠ WILLIAM,

Archbishop of Dublin, &c., &c.

The following is the portion of Mgr. Sallua's letter to the Archbishop, which refers to this matter :

ROMA, 13 Agosto, 1888.

Eccellenza Ill^{ma} R^{ma},

" Sono ben lieto di subito riscontrare il ven. foglio di V.E. . .

" Dopo ricevuta l'abiura di un eretico, e compartita l'assoluzione (*sub conditione*) a *censuris in foro externo* (*sub conditione* pel dubbio del Battesimo), si fa coroscere al convertendo che rimanendo un dubbio ragionevole sulla validità del battesimo ricevuto nell'eresia, la Chiesa madre, premurosa ad assicurare la sua eterna salute, gli conferisce *sub conditione* il S. Battesimo, etc.

" Allora si prepara l'acqua (che deve essere presa dal fonte Battesimale), e si eccita il battesando ad un atto di dolore dei suoi peccati.

" Quindi gli si domanda '*Quid petis ab Ecclesia Dei*'? (Il Sacerdote ed il Padrino gli spiegano in volgare le dimande). Poi si prosegue facendo le tre ultime domande del Rituale relative alla fede :— *Credis in Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem celi et terrae.* RESP. '*Credo.*'

' *Credis et in Jesum Christum,* etc.? RESP. '*Credo.*'

' *Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum,* etc.? RESP. '*Credo.*'

' *Vis baptizari si non es valide baptizatus?* ' RESP. '*Volo.*'

' N.N. Si non es baptizatus, ego te baptizo in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.'

" In ultimo, se si puole, sarà ben edificante compire il rito coll' unzione del Crisma, il velo bianco, e la candela.

" Questa è la regola per gli eretici dei quali si dubita circa la validità del battesimo. Le altre opinioni non devono tenersi.

" È pure necessario che il convertendo si confessi. Perciò si deve istruire, e prima della fonzione, o anche il giorno avanti, potrà fare l'accusa Sacramentale, e poi dopo ricevuto il battesimo, il confessore potrà disporlo con atto di contrizione e dargli l'assoluzione Sacramentale *sub conditione*, che produce il suo effetto se mai il battesimo fu nullo. È poi sempre necessaria la facoltà dell' Ordinario.

" Se poi costi la nullità aut *juris* aut *facti* del Battesimo, allora si deve osservare tutto il rito del rituale . . .

Di V. E. Ill^{ma}, R^{ma},

Devño ossequio servo e fratello,

✠ Fr. VINCENZO LEONE SALLUA, de' Predicatori,

Commiss. Generale,

Arcivescovo di Calcedonia.

The following is the form for the Profession of Faith, sent by the Archbishop in his Circular to the clergy :—

PROFESSION OF FAITH.

I (*name*), son (*or daughter*) of (*name and surname of the father*), kneeling before you, Rev. Father, duly authorized by the Archbishop of Dublin, having before my eyes the Holy Gospels, which I touch with my hand, and knowing that no one can be saved without that faith which the Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church holds, believes, and teaches, against which I grieve that I have greatly erred, inasmuch as I have held and believed doctrines opposed to her teaching :

I now, enlightened by Divine grace, profess that I believe the Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church to be the only and true Church established on earth by Jesus Christ, to which I submit myself with my whole heart. I believe all the articles that she proposes to my belief, and I reject all the articles that she rejects and condemns, and I am ready to observe all that she commands me. And especially, I profess that I believe :

One only God in three Divine Persons, distinct from, and equal to, each other—that is to say, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost :

The Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, Passion, Death, and Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and the personal union of the two Natures, the Divine and the human ; the Divine Maternity of the most holy Mary, together with her Immaculate Conception and most spotless Virginity :

The true, real, and substantial presence of the Body and Blood, together with the Soul and Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist ;

The seven Sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ for the salvation of mankind : that is to say, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, Matrimony ;

Purgatory, the Resurrection of the Dead, Everlasting life ;

The Primacy, not only of honour, but also of jurisdiction, of the Roman Pontiff, successor of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, Vicar of Jesus Christ ;

The veneration of the Saints, and of their images ;

The authority of the Apostolic and Ecclesiastical Traditions, and of the Holy Scripture, which we must interpret, and understand only in the sense which our holy mother the Catholic Church has held, and does hold ;

And everything else that has been defined and declared by the Sacred Canons, and by the General Councils, especially by the Holy Council of Trent ; and by the Œcumenical Vatican Council.

With a sincere heart, therefore, and with unfeigned belief, I detest and abjure every error, heresy, and sect opposed to the said Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church. So help me God, and these His Holy Gospels, which I touch with my hand.

DECISIONS REGARDING THE MASS FOR THE DEAD ORDERED FOR
THE LAST SUNDAY IN SEPTEMBER, 1888.

DE MISSA IN DOM. PROX. VENT. MENS. SEPT. PRO DEFUNCTIS
CELKBRANDA.

A Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII., Litteris editis in die solemni Paschatis vertentis anni, quum praeceptum fuerit ut in cunctis catholici orbis Ecclesiis Patriarchalibus, Metropolitanis et Cathedralibus ultima Dominica proximi venturi mensis Septembris specialis Missa Defunctorum, maiori qua fieri potest solemnitate, celebretur, simulque data fuerit facultas eiusdem Missae celebrandae in omnibus aliis Ecclesiis Parochialibus et Collegiatis, et ab omnibus Sacerdotibus, dummodo ne omittatur Missa Officio diei respondens, ubicumque est obligatio ; insequentia dubia super eiusmodi mandato Sanctitatis Suae pro opportuna declaratione proposita sunt, nimirum :

I. An concessa sit dispensatio, seu commutatio obligationis, tum Missae pro populo, tum Missae cuiuscumque omnino diei affixae, ita ut minime transferri valeat ?

II. An verba, *dummodo ne omittatur Missa Officio diei respondens ubicumque est obligatio*, intelligenda sint tantummodo de Ecclesiis, in quibus ea die fit officitura choralis ?

III. An ubi occurrit festivitas ex solemnioribus, ex : gr. Patroni, Titularis et Dedicationis Ecclesiae, sufficiat Missam pro Defunctis applicare, servando ritum festivitati cohaerentem ?

Hisce porro dubiis a S. R. C. iussu eiusdem Sanctissimi Domini Nostri rite perpensis, Sacra ipsamet Congregatio rescribendum censuit : " Affirmative in omnibus."

Quibus per infrascriptum Secretarium eidem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro relatis, Sanctitas Sua rescriptum Sacrae Congregationis approbavit, illudque per praesens Decretum evulgari mandavit. Die 6 Iunii, 1888.

L. ✠ S.

A. CARD. BIANCHI, S. R. C. Praef.
LAURENTIUS SALVATI, S. R. C. Secretarius.

IS A BISHOP TO SAY THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN AT THE ALTAR,
OR ON HIS WAY TO THE FALDSTOOL ?

NAMURCEN.

REYME. DOMINE UTI FRATER,

Apostolicae Sedi, per litteras diei 16 Iulii vertentis anni Amplitudo Tua sequens Dubium humillime proposuit pro opportuna solutione:

“Quum Pontificale Romanum, in Missa Ferae quintae in Coena Domini, de ultimo Evangelio sic habeat: *Pontifex... dicens Evangelium Sancti Ioannis accedit ad faldistorium*, et e contra Caeremoniale eodem loco dicat: *Episcopus* dicturus Evangelium IN PRINCIPIO KRAT VERBUM... quo finito, retrahens se ad suam sedem.... etc.” quaeritur: Quanam ex duabus Rubricis sequenda sit ?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, exquisitoque voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, ita proposito Dubio rescribere rata est :

Quatenus Officia Ferae quintae in Coena Domini celebrentur per Episcopum Dioecesanum, quoad recitationem, in fine Missae, Evangelii S. Joannis, sequendam esse Rubricam Pontificalis Romani, quae plane concordat cum dispositionibus Caeremonialis, desumendis ex libro II., cap. VIII., et cap. XXIII., sub n. 4. Si vero praedicta officia ex commissione Episcopi Dioecesani legitime impediti peragantur ab Episcopo extraneo, Evangelium Sancti Ioannis apud altare esse recitandum.

Atqua ita rescripsit die 17 Augusti, 1887.

Haec dum Amplitudini Tua pro mei muneris ratione significo, Eidem diuturnam ex animo felicitatem adprecor.

Amplitudinis tuae.

Romae, iisdem die, mense et anno.

Uti Frater.

Pro E.mo et R.mo.

D. Card. BARTOLINI, S. R. C. Praef.

A. Card. SERAFINI,

LAUR. SALVATI, S. R. C. Secretarius.

ADDITIONS TO THE MARTYROLOGY.

ELOGIA IN MARTYROLOGIO ROMANO INSCRIBENDA.

SEXTODECIMO CALENDAS MAIL.

Romae natalis sancti Benedicti Iosephi Labre Confessoris, contemptu sui et extremae voluntariae paupertatis laude insignis

DECIMO CALENDAS IUNII

Romae natalis sancti Ioannis Baptistae De Rossi Confessoris, patientia et caritate in evangelizandis pauperibus insignis.

QUINTODECIMO CALENDAS SEPTEMBRIS.

Post verba devotione venerantur *addatur*: Eam Leo decimus tertius Summus Pontifex sanctarum Virginum albo solemniter ritu adscripsit.

UNDECIMO CALENDAS AUGUSTI.

Ulyssipone sancti Laurentii a Brundusio Confessoris Ordinis Minorum Sancti Francisci Capuccinorum Ministri Generalis, divini verbi praedicatione et arduis pro Dei gloria gestis praeclari, a Leone decimo tertio Summo Pontifice Sanctorum fastis adscripti, assignata eius festivitate Nonis Iulii.

Concordant cum Originalibus. In fidem, etc. Ex Secretaria Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis die 21 Iulii 1888.

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. D. LAURENTIO SALVATI, Secretario,
Ioannes Canonicus Ponzi Substit.

DECISIONS OF THE CONGREGATION OF RITES.

SUMMARY.

I. The ceremonies, as prescribed in the Pontifical, are to be observed on the occasion of the Episcopal Visitation.

II. Mass "pro Anniversario electionis et consecrationis Episcopi dioecessani" may be celebrated on a double major feast which is not a day of obligation. This may not be done when the anniversary falls in a privileged octave.

III. (a) A solemn Requiem Mass, "etiam praesente cadavere," is forbidden on the Feast of St. Joseph. (b) A solemn Requiem Mass is forbidden on the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, even in those places where the solemnitas Festi is transferred to the following Sunday. (c) It is also forbidden on the Sunday to which the solemnitas Festi is transferred. (d) The Requiem Mass may be said on the following Sunday in places where the solemnity of the feast is transferred to the Sunday, but the people, either forgetful of the fact, or ignoring it, celebrate the feast on its proper day.

IV. In the 2nd Vespers of the Feast of S. Paul in concurrence with the Feast of the Most Precious Blood, a commemoration of SS. Peter and Paul is to be made by the common antiphon, *Petrus Apostolus, &c.*

V. Where the Feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph is a duplex 1st classis, and happens "in concursu cum Officio S. Georgii. Mart. Patroni Principalis Cathalauniae" which is there celebrated "sub ritu Dup. 1 cl. et Octavae, attamen sine apparatu et feriatione," the Vespers will be "integrae de S. Georgio cum Comm. l'atrocinii S. Iosephi."

URGELLEN.

Hodiernus Magister Caeremoniarum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Urgelensis de mandato sui R.mi Episcopi insequentia Dubia Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi pro opportuna resolutione humillime subiecit, nimirum :

Dubium I. An Episcopus in actu Visitationis Cathedralis Ecclesiae vel aliarum Insignium Ecclesiarum suae Dioeceseos, indui possit, ad maiorem solemnitatem, amictu, alba etc. cum pluviali et mitra, ad portam ipsius Ecclesiae, antequam aspersorium accipiat ac thurificetur, prout alicubi factum est?

Dubium II. 1° Utrum, recurrente officio duplici maiore non de praecepto, cani possit in Cathedrali Missa pro Anniversario electionis et consecrationis Episcopi Dioecisani? 2° Potestne cantari in die infra Octavam privilegiatam, quando praedictum Anniversarium incidit in ipsam?

Dubium III. Quum non idem sentiant Rubricistae circa Missam de Requie, corpore praesente, in Festis S. Ioseph Patroni Ecclesiae Catholicae et Nativitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptistae, ideo ad uniformitatem in praxi stabiliendam, quaeritur :

1. Utrum Decreta Sacrae Rituum Congregationis in Veronen. diei 7 Februarii, 1874, ad I, nec non in Lucionen., diei 28 Decembris, 1884, ad VII., ita absolute intelligenda sint, ut nulla ratione nulloque in casu permittatur sollemnis Missa de Requie, praesente cadavere, in Festo S. Patriarchae Ioseph, necne?

2. Utrum Missa de Requie cani possit in Nativitate S. Io: Baptistae, ubi solemnitas huius festi translata invenitur ad Dominicam sequentem? Et quatenus negative :

3. An prohibita etiam censenda sit in memorata Dominica? Et quatenus affirmative :

4. An praedicta Missa cani possit his in locis, ubi quamvis generaliter translata sit solemnitas festi S. Ioannis ad Dominicam sequentem, prout accidit in Hispania per Decretum S. R. C., diei 2 Maii, 1867, attamen populus, nihil curans nec memoriam habens de hac translatione, fere eodem modo ac antea S. Ioannis Nativitatem recolit?

Dubium IV. An in II. Vesperis Commemorationis S. Pauli Ap. in concurrentia cum Officio Pretiosissimi Sanguinis D. N. I. C. fieri debeat Commemoratio SS. Petri et Pauli per Antiphonam communem *Petrus Apostolus*, etc.

Dubium V. Ubi Patrocinium S. Ioseph colitur sub ritu Duplicis 1. cl. quomodo ordinandae Vesperae in concursu cum Officio S. Georgii Mart. Patroni Principatus Cathalauniae, quod quidem celebratur sub ritu Dupl. 1. cl. et Octavae, attamen sine apparatu et feriacione; an integrae de Patrocinio cum commemoratione S. Georgii; an vero e contra?

Et S. R. C. ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, exquisitoque voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, omnibus mature perpensis, ita propositis Dubiis rescribendum censuit videlicet:

Ad 1. Serventur dispositiones Pontificalis Romani, in ordine ad visitandas parochias.

Ad II. Affirmative iuxta Decretum in Mechlinien. diei 12 Septembris, 1840, quoad primam partem: Negative et fiat commemoratio sub unica conclusione quoad secundam partem.

Ad III. Affirmative ad 1^{am} quaestionem: Negative ad secundam: Affirmative ad tertiam iuxta Decretum in Namurcen, diei 23 Maii, 1835; et Affirmative ad quartam.

Ad IV. Detur Decretum in Meliten. diei 24 Martii, 1860.

Ad V. In casu Vesperae celebrentur integrae de S. Georgio cum commemoratione Patrocinii S. Ioseph. Atque ita recipsit et servari mandavit die 20 Aprilis, 1888.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED CLEMENT MARY HOFBAUER
By Rev. O. R. Vassall, C.S.S.R. Dublin: James
Duffy & Sons.

THE simple story of the simple life of the Blessed Clement, as told in the above admirable little book, is delightful reading for all who study the lives of the saints from pure motives of piety. In the subject of it they cannot but discern a holy man, a man whose character of saint is stamped on all his actions and sayings, and withal a man in whose uniformly upright life we see nothing of the

marvellous, of whom nothing is recorded to which we do not give the readiest assent. The dazzling elevation of sanctity attained by many of God's favoured servants, whose lives we can only remember as a series of miracles, ecstasies, and visions, inspires us with deep reverence for Him whose power and glory the heaven of the saints proclaims more unmistakably even than does the material firmament. But such lives as these we cannot have the faintest hopes of imitating. The Blessed Clement belongs to the class of practical saints whose acts and words we conceive as those of a perfect Christian and a saintly priest, and whose example it is not impossible to follow in all circumstances and vicissitudes of life.

A Moravian by birth, and the son of model Catholic parents, he appeared in the world in the year 1757, amid surroundings which precluded any reasonable conjecture that a career of eminent and extended usefulness was in store for him. Indeed, he was in no sense a pet child of fortune. The poverty of his family was aggravated by his father's death six years after Clement was born. Notwithstanding his burning desire and unchanging predilection for the priesthood, he was thus obliged to tread in the lowest walks of life, following for very many years the humble avocation of baker, without education and without the means of procuring it, until he had reached the ripe age of thirty. He then happened to be plying his trade at Vienna, and casually arrested the attention of some pious ladies, who, like himself, frequently visited the church. Unstinted means were placed at his disposal, and he at once set about qualifying himself for the sacred ministry.

In 1784 he travelled to Rome, where he entered the Noviciate of the Redemptorist congregation, and in the following year he made his profession, and was ordained priest.

The great mission for which he seems to have been specially raised up by God was now entrusted to him—to carry the banner of St. Alphonsus to the countries north of the Alps, and to extend the influence of the Congregation of the Holy Redeemer to the Germans and Poles, in order to stem the tide of Jansenism then overrunning Central Europe. He founded a house at Warsaw, where his patience and zeal were blessed with the most unexpected and abundant fruits; and when he and his companions were banished thence, they left the lamp of faith burning brightly in the hearts of hundreds who at their advent had been either Lutherans or indifferent Catholics. The remainder of his busy and useful life he spent in Vienna, where he closed his eyes to all the cheating and changing scenes of earth in 1820.

In reading over the edifying and elegantly written biography before us, one cannot help comparing Clement and his brother Redemptorists of our own time, and reflecting that the mantle of Clement has descended on those pious, indefatigable missionaries of the Congregation of the Holy Redeemer, whose simple instructions and untiring labours in the confessional have endeared them alike to pastors and people in this country.

The *Life of Blessed Clement* we unreservedly recommend. It has the *Imprimatur* of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, and bears on its every page the impress of good taste and simple elegance of style.

E. M.

SERMONS, MORAL AND DOGMATIC, ON THE FIFTEEN MYSTERIES OF THE HOLY ROSARY. By the Rev. Matthew Jos. Frings. Translated by J. R. Robinson. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1888.

THIS is a good book—good in its purpose and execution. It consists of a series of fifteen sermons written with a view “to explain the Mysteries of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, in a simple and intelligible manner . . . to the end that all may be able to meditate upon these mysteries more fruitfully, and use this holy devotion with greater zeal and profit.”

The Rosary is a model form of prayer—at once a prayer of praise, thanksgiving, and impetration. It is a compendium of Catholic doctrine, and embraces all that a Christian should believe, hope for, love, and practise.

To render the Rosary more fruitful in its effects, St. Dominic joined meditation to the vocal prayer. He chose the fifteen principal mysteries or events in the life of our Lord and His Blessed Mother as subjects of reflection while reciting the fifteen decades. The fifteen decades are divided into three parts or divisions. Each division consists of five *Our Fathers*, fifty *Hail Marys*, and five *Glorias*, and this is what is commonly understood as a bead or chaplet.

We have said that the Rosary, as commended by our Blessed Lady, and as indulgenced by the Church, unites mental with vocal prayer. An exception is made in favour of the poor and illiterate. All others, however, who wish to gain the Rosary indulgence, must meditate on the mysteries.

The origin of the devotion of the Rosary is traceable to remote antiquity. Its present form, however, dates only from the thirteenth

century, when it was revealed by our Blessed Lady herself to St. Dominic.

The devotion of the Holy Rosary has been repeatedly recommended to the faithful by Popes, and by none more warmly than by our present Holy Father. For several years past he has ordered a public recitation of the Rosary during the month of October; and has moreover ordained that our Blessed Lady shall be invoked in the Litany, under the title of "Queen of the most Holy Rosary."

By none more scrupulously than by his Irish children are the Holy Father's wishes carried out. The Rosary is the great devotion of their lives. To them especially do we recommend the volume before us, confident that its perusal will lead to a higher appreciation of the eloquence of that beautiful prayer, as well as to the deeper meaning of its simple words.

J. M'D.

ST. JOSEPH'S HELP, OR STORIES OF THE POWER AND EFFICACY OF ST. JOSEPH'S INTERCESSION. From the German of the Very Rev. J. A. Keller, D.D., Priest of the Diocese of Freiburg, author of "Angeli Dei," etc. London: R. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row. 1888.

To make known St. Joseph's intercessory power and thus spread devotion to him, this volume has been published. It contains a large number of interesting stories, which are well suited to show that the clients of St. Joseph will find in him a powerful and loving advocate.

THE BANQUET OF THE ANGELS. London: Burns and Oates (Ltd.)

THIS is a little volume of meditations on the Eucharist for every day in the month, "taken from the well-known *Priest's Manual*." Two meditations, one before and the other after Holy Communion, are assigned to each day. The thoughts suggested by various texts of Scripture are exceedingly simple, and such as are calculated to excite in the reader sentiments of the greatest love for Jesus in the Holy Eucharist. The attractive style in which the book is brought out adds an additional beauty to the many it already possesses.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1888.

THE SECRET WORKINGS OF DIVINE GRACE.

“Es ist selbstverständlich, dass die Einheit der Creatur mit Gott hier nicht in Sinne der Natur = Substanz-Einheit genommen werden kann, sondern dieser gegenüber als eine moralische, resp: Verhältnisseinheit (*ἑνωσις σκευική*) bezeichnet werden muss. Ebenso klar ist es aber auch, dass sie nicht auf irgendwelche Einheit der Gesinnung beschränkt werden darf, sondern im Gegensatze zu dieser als eine natürliche Einheit (*unitas naturalis*, *ἑνωσις φυσική*) d.h. als Einheit der Gleichartigkeit des Lebens und als eine dieser Gleichartigkeit entsprechende Einheit innigster Verbindung zwischen dem Wesen Gottes als dem Prinzip und Objekt des übernatürlichen Lebens der Creatur und der letzteren bezeichnet werden muss, wie sie den auch von den Vätern sehr oft genannt wird.”—*Dr. M. Scheeben—Theol.*: vol. ii. p. 276, § 665.

HOW silently all the great forces of nature perform their appointed tasks! With what secrecy they carry out their various and often complicated operations! Consider the morning light. How softly it steals over the eastern mountains, driving before it the gruesome night, and arousing men to labour and toil; stirring into activity the sleeping cities and towns, and filling the streets and the market-places the parks and the squares, with their bustling, noisy, restless throngs! Or even if we turn aside from the haunts of men, and wander into the deserted woods and forests in the early spring of the year, the same truth forces itself upon the observant mind. How noiselessly the life-giving sap begins to stir in the lifeless trees, and in the long-naked stems and branches; how secretly it gathers in the roots and suckers, swelling and gathering strength till at last it forces its way

beneath the hard, rough bark ; pressing up from innumerable invisible capillaries through trunk, and branch, and slenderest twig—yea, to the extremity of the topmost bough it works its way, carrying life, and vigour, and health, till the unnumbered buds burst forth, and the tender leaves unfold, and the whole forest becomes one vast sea of swaying green and waving branches.

Or consider even our own mysterious corporal life. How unobtrusive and hidden is the growth and development of the child into the man ! How silently the blood courses along through artery and vein ; how secretly it bears nutriment and supplies to every organ ; how noiselessly and methodically it builds up, molecule by molecule, and fibre by fibre, bone, and muscle, and ruddy flesh—imparting vermilion to the lips and bloom to the cheeks, brilliancy to the eye, and strength and vigour to every limb ! Yet how silently withal ! How stealthily, how modestly is all this change brought about !—who ever stays to consider it ? Who pauses to reflect upon it ? The work is done in secret and without attracting the least attention or surprise.

If the action of God on material things is so secret and so silent, still more secret and silent is His action on the immaterial souls of men. We think not of it, nor do we pause to reflect ; but the most marvellous transformations are taking place all the while : transformations in our very soul, compared to which the transformation of the shapeless seed into the graceful and delicately tinted flower, or of the acorn into the majestic oak-tree, is but insignificant.

Take any simple object in nature—the egg of the nightingale, for instance. Gently lay your ear against its fragile shell. Can you (listen as you will) catch any sound, or detect the slightest change or movement within that fragile envelope ? No ! Not a tremor, nor a vibration falls upon the attentive ear ; yet, as you listen, order is actually proceeding out of chaos and the vocal chords and the tuning pipes are being adjusted for future use ; the rude material is being fashioned, and moulded, and wrought up into the sweetest of summer songsters. Not a sound betrays the presence of the Divine Artist as He performs

His task. There is no indication of His handicraft till the task is done and fully completed; only when the final touches have been given, does the shell break asunder and disclose the living bird in all its beauty and symmetry of parts—only then does the nightingale fly forth into the summer sky, into the leafy forests, along the sunny lanes, filling woods and glades with its ringing song and awakening, as it goes, the echoes in rock and mountain cave. We all rejoice in the result; but the process itself is far too secret and hidden to be noticed. Shall we, who cannot follow God's hand as it moulds and fashions the simplest material form, detect His far more subtle and spiritual action upon the immaterial soul of man while He transforms it by His grace? The soul is a spirit, and, consequently, invisible and impervious to the senses. We cannot see it; still less can we watch the action of grace upon it with our material eyes. No; "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation" (*Luke*, xvi. 20). Hence, if we are not at pains to learn what the Church teaches on this subject, we shall be in danger of letting life slip away without appreciating the choicest and greatest among the many gifts of God to man—the gifts He bestows upon us in the supernatural order.

Of these, the only one we shall now touch upon is grace and some of its more direct consequences. What does Divine grace do for us? When a man is first born into this world he appertains to the order of nature. Then grace comes and takes him, as it were, lovingly in its arms, and elevates him above the natural order on to a higher plane; placing him in the supernatural order—setting him in a position wholly and entirely above his own deserts and natural capacities; so far above them, indeed, that no power of man or angel, or of all men and angels combined, could so exalt him, but the power of God alone. This effect is not at once apparent to our dull intellects. It is as hidden as many of the differences existing in nature. Thus, between an acorn which drops from an oak-tree, and an acorn which is manufactured by the industry of man—carved from a piece of wood, or formed in a mould—there may not appear externally any very marked

distinction. To the eyes of a casual observer they will present much the same appearance; but, in reality, what an immeasurable distance divides them! The one contains a certain hidden virtue which enables it to develop into a superb oak—nay, give it time and it will expand into a forest covering many a square mile;—but the other, its counterfeit, can never develop into anything. Whence this difference? The acorn produced by the oak contains a principle of life; that which man's cunning hath devised, in rude imitation, is dead and destined only to corruption. This may serve as an illustration of the essential, though invisible, difference between a man in grace and a man devoid of grace. Though externally, and as far as the most careful examination can detect, the two are identical; yet, in reality, they are absolutely different. One possesses the principle of an eternal supernatural life; the other is without any such principle. As in a real acorn we have the promise of a future living oak, but find no such promise in its counterfeit; so, in the baptized child, we have a promise of an eternal life of glory in heaven, but no such promise in the unbaptized child.

Grace lifts us above nature—above the highest and sublimest nature. Thus, in the order of creation the Angels are above man; still more above him are the Archangels; yet higher still tower the Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, and Powers; and still more immeasurable does the distance grow as we approach the Cherubim and Seraphim who stand nearest to God: yet, when God's grace enters into the heart of man, it raises him, as though by a single bound, far, far above the highest and sublimest even of the Seraphim and Cherubim, *when considered in their nature alone, and apart from grace*. In fact, the highest angel, considered in his own nature, and abstraction made of supernatural gifts, would be immeasurably and incalculably below the least child on earth, in whose soul the grace of God resides as a principle of present life and future glory.

In fact, as Fr. Nieremberg, S.J., so forcibly remarks:—

“If all the perfection, excellence, and beauty of all natures both existent and possible, were all collected into one, it were all

nothing in comparison of the least particle of grace, which gives a soul pre-eminence above all pre-eminences, and a beauty above all other beauties of nature. There is no resemblance betwixt God and all natural perfection; so he that is endowed with grace exceeds all the good that is found in creatures, for he is in a divine degree." Hence it follows that "one man alone is more indebted to God for the least degree of grace than all creatures besides (from the Seraphim to the sands of the sea) for the creation of all other natures."—(See *Adoration in Spirit and Truth*, chap. xii.)

Indeed the gift of grace is a far greater gift than that of creation, or, rather, it is like a new creation; but a creation in a higher order. It is literally being born anew, in a spiritual sense; hence, our Lord so speaks of it: "Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven." "Born again." What is the nature of this second birth? As in the first birth we are born children of Adam; so, in the second birth, we are born children of God. Not indeed by nature, but by grace. We become *adopted* children. As Jesus Christ is the natural and true Son of God, so we become sons by adoption; hence, St. John says in the Gospel we recite at the end of Mass: "He came unto His own, and His own received Him not; but as many as received Him, He gave them *power to be made the sons of God*." (*John* i., 12.)

This relationship with the Eternal and Omnipotent is an honour and a privilege, not fictitious and fanciful, but most true and well established, carrying with it all the special privileges and advantages of real sonship; such as a claim to the inheritance of sons and the possession of God's paternal love in all its marvellous manifestations. Indeed it confers upon those who possess it a spiritual rank and dignity which no words can adequately describe, nor tongue utter nor mind fully conceive. The relationship is indicated in many passages of Holy Scripture, and in various ways. Thus, we are taught to address God in the most familiar of all prayers by the title of Father: "Our Father, who art in Heaven." So, again, the Apostle implies the same consoling truth when he speaks of the Incarnate Son of God as "the first-born among many brethren." (*Rom.* viii., 29.)

This brings us to a second startling effect of Divine

grace, viz., the fellowship of Christ. By becoming the adopted sons of the Eternal Father, we become brothers of the everlasting Son of the Father, *i.e.*, of Jesus Christ. A relationship quite without a parallel in its condescension, and breathing the most consummate love and affection. A relationship, too, which Jesus Christ, so far from repudiating, has sought still further to accentuate and intensify. He became man and participator in our human nature, so that we might become in a certain sense gods (*Dei estis*) and participators in His Divine nature; He took upon Himself the burthen of our temporal life, that we might one day possess eternal life; He embraced our poverty and miseries, that we might one day share in His eternal riches and honours in the world beyond the grave: in a word, there is nothing which He has not done to show all the affection, solicitude and interest of the tenderest of brothers towards each and every one of us. Men of the world are proud of noble ancestry, and exult if they can trace some connection, however remote, fanciful and far-fetched, with royalty; but what is there in all earthly ties compared to the honour of being by grace the brothers and sisters of Jesus Christ? All other kinships are forgotten when we think of Him who has chosen to stand towards us in the relationship of a brother. Seeing how men value the tinsel honours and privileges that the accidents of birth or fortune confer, it seems a pity that preachers and teachers should not insist more frequently and more earnestly upon the far more inestimable and enduring honours that accrue to them from the union by grace with Jesus Christ. The true secret of sanctifying souls is surely not to ignore the natural desires and aspirations of the heart, but rather to direct them to their true objects and highest ends. Further, grace makes us living tabernacles of the Holy Ghost. "Know ye not," asks St. Paul, "that you are the temples of the Holy Ghost." The Holy Spirit enters into possession of the soul when it is filled with grace, and purifies, sanctifies and adorns it by His holy presence; so that regenerated souls may say, in an altogether peculiar sense: "In Him we live, and move, and have our being." And where the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity is, there also

must be likewise, by concomitance, the Father and the Son. Hence, our Lord says: "If any man love Me, My Father will love him, and We will go to him, and We will take up our abode with him." Who can realize what it is to possess thus within our own souls the adorable Trinity—Father, Son and Holy Ghost? Yet such is the happiness of every creature in a state of grace. God dwells within such a one, not merely by His operation, but substantially: "non per operationem tantum sed etiam per substantiam" as theologians teach. Hence the enormity of any offence committed by a soul in grace becomes intelligible, for such a one "defiles the temple of the Holy Ghost," besides "crucifying to himself the Lord of Glory."

This brings us to those remarkable words of St. Peter—words which no one can meet for the first time without emotion, and which are well calculated to fill any man of vivid faith with a perfect ecstasy of joy and jubilant wonder. In his second Epistle he says: "He hath given us most great and precious promises, that by these you may be made partakers of the divine nature" (2. Peter, i. 4). Partakers of the divine nature: "divinæ naturæ consortes"—sharers in the nature of God. This sublime doctrine is difficult to understand, and still more difficult to explain.¹ It undoubtedly indicates a most extraordinary and ineffable union between the soul and God. It is not that the soul, or any portion of it, actually becomes God, or loses its personality; or in any way forfeits its identity, but that God himself enters into its innermost recesses, as it were, residing within it and flooding it with His divinity, as the daylight floods and fills a clear and transparent crystal. Indeed, this is one of the illustrations actually made use of by the Fathers, so we may pause for a moment to consider it. When a pure crystal is exposed to the sunlight, the rays enter it, fill it, pervade it, and render it all bright, glittering, and luminous. It is not itself

¹ St. Thomas gives us the key to the situation in the following words:—"Quia gratia est supra naturam humanam, non potest esse, quod sit substantia, aut forma substantialis, sed est forma accidentalis ipsius animæ. Id enim quod substantialiter est in Deo, accidentaliter fit in anima participante divinam bonitatem."

the light, but the light is within it and around it, and shines through it, and pervades it in every part, so that we may say that it partakes of the nature of light; so does the divinity shine through the soul and beautify it, clothing it with the beauty and comeliness of God Himself. Another example frequently made use of by the Fathers is that of a piece of metal at a white heat. The metal is metal still, even while it emits light and heat. Its nature is not changed, yet the heat possesses it. It is, as it were, penetrated with fire, and indistinguishable from it. It partakes of the nature of fire. As a piece of molten iron in the midst of the furnace, so a soul in grace is in the midst of God. It borrows beauty and magnificence from the presence of God Himself, so that this beauty and magnificence are the uncreated beauty and magnificence which are "from eternity unto eternity," and not the mere beauty and magnificence of the soul, though it is the soul that reflects it. We say this just as we may say that the beauty of the full moon is the beauty, not, strictly speaking, of the moon, but of the sun, since the moon possesses it *only indirectly and by reflection*. And as different bodies reflect light in different degrees, so may we say that different souls reflect in varying measure, according to their degree of grace, the beauty of God, and "differ as star from star in glory."

As the incandescent metal may be said "to share in the nature of fire," so the soul is said, in the words of Holy Scripture, to become a sharer or participator in the divine nature.

These and many other examples are made use of by the Fathers to illustrate the effects of divine love on the human soul. Yet, though they may help us in a measure, they all fall far short of the truth, since we can never hope to know all the effects of grace till our eyes are opened in the next world, and we can see God "face to face," and "know him as we are known."

Let it suffice to say that a soul in grace enjoys the special care and protection of God, who watches over it with more than paternal solicitude, so disposing, indeed, that all things whatsoever, without exception of any kind and whether

prosperous or adverse, may be made to contribute to its essential and eternal happiness. In the words of the Holy Ghost, "all things co-operate unto good for such as are to be saved."

Grace furthermore bestows a special knowledge¹ of spiritual things, and a power to discriminate between the precious and the vile—the gifts of heaven and the vanities and baubles of earth. "He that is of God knoweth the things of God." This is shown to demonstration in innumerable examples of saints and heroes, who have testified by their lives and actions how immeasurably they valued the spiritual and the supernatural above all the treasures and riches of earth. And if it gives knowledge, so does it impart strength to act upon that knowledge. If we wish to witness the power of grace, and see, as it were, for ourselves the valour and courage it bestows, we have but to turn to the lives of the martyrs and confessors. Consider the constancy with which they went forth to meet death in its most hideous and cruel form, and the calm and peace—nay, the positive joy they exhibited—in the midst of torture and agony which exceed all words. Not strong men alone, but delicate women, tenderly brought up, sensitive and weak—yea, and children, too, unused to suffering and the sight of blood—stood unconquerable before their tormentors, and could be subdued neither by fire nor sword, nor the worst forms of persecution. The weakest by nature became the strongest by grace, and characters accustomed to shrink from every pain and infliction grew robust and indifferent to torture and death under its mysterious influence. The grace of God is above all power, and must triumph over all opposition, if corresponded with, for it is the power of God Himself.

Let us conclude by one last reflection. The grace of God in the soul renders it so near and dear to Him that He views its very actions and thoughts in a wholly special way. God becomes, as it were, enamoured with a soul in grace; He looks down upon it, and is wholly conquered by the beauty with which He has decked it, so that not only the

¹ St. Thomas speaks of grace as "*quædam lux animæ*."

soul, but every act of the soul, becomes pleasing and gratifying to him. The least act, were it but an aspiration or a kind word, when performed (1) by one in grace and (2) from a supernatural intention, is of greater value, before God, than the greatest and noblest action performed by one in sin, or even by a soul free from sin if devoid of all supernatural grace.¹ All of us have probably sometimes sighed in our childhood for the fabulous philosopher's stone, which is said to possess the property of converting all it touches into gold. Far more marvellous is the power actually possessed and exercised by a soul in grace of converting every act it performs into a priceless treasure—into an eternal weight of glory. Yet this we know to be the simple, unvarnished truth taught by the Church.² Every pain, cross, or affliction, however slight, if borne for the love of God by a soul in grace, is more pleasing to him, and better in itself, than the conquering of a kingdom or the ruling of an empire when such acts are not inspired by a supernatural motive. Thus is our future life made dependent upon our present. Thus it is that, day by day and week by week, are being wrought within our souls the principles and seeds of future glory and happiness. How silently does the work proceed, how secretly God operates His wonders within our unconscious souls, until they reach at length their final development! Yet how certainly is His hand ever upon us all our lives long, transforming and beautifying us, if we place no obstacle in the way and resist not His operation!

Who, appreciating this truth, could allow himself to grow remiss or lukewarm in guarding and defending so priceless a treasure? If men "did but know the gift of God," they would surely take considerably greater pains in securing its preservation, especially considering the fragility of the vessels in which so inestimable a treasure is carried. Men are always glad to hear of what redounds to their own honour and advantage. Even the most scoffing democrat would pos-

¹ In the present order of things a human soul "free from sin" yet "devoid of grace" does not, of course, exist. The case is therefore merely hypothetical.

² See Concil. Trid., Sess. vi., can. 32, and commentators on that canon.

sibly think better of crowns and coronets were they placed more within his reach, and so would Christians esteem more highly the supernatural gifts of God were they made more sensible of their actuality, and more fully aware of the power they possess to acquire them.

Even among reflecting men, not one in five thousand realises the honour, privilege, and dignity that grace confers. We priests, with all our familiarity with theological works and spiritual books, can hardly be said to bring the truth home to ourselves. But if this be true of those whose very profession supposes greater knowledge, what shall we say of the masses of the faithful? What of the multitudes whose lives are passed in work and toil and bitter privation? Is it not our duty to point out oftener than we do those truths which are joy-giving and sustaining—truths which cause the heart to bound with joy and the spirit to rise in wonder and gladness, even in the midst of earthly sorrows?

The anger of God upon unrepenting sinners is a familiar theme with most preachers, and the pains and penalties of the lost are often depicted by them with considerable warmth and vividness. But the more attractive truths of the Gospel—those truths which melt the hearts of men rather than break them—are seldom put so prominently before the faithful, and make but little impression. Yet, while none need the solace that these truths bring so much as the sorrow-laden and the miserable, none so readily grasp at them or embrace them so eagerly when presented for their contemplation.

The heart is made for happiness and joy. The more completely, therefore, earthly consolations are withheld and denied, the more readily will it accept and treasure up the promise of a joyous hereafter, and the more fervently will it cherish that inward and invisible grace, which is, as it were, an earnest of an eternity of peace and delight in the Kingdom of the Father.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

THE PSALMODY OF THE CHORAL OFFICE.

II.

IN last month's issue of the RECORD,¹ after some observations on the general principles of Psalmody, I explained the various methods in which those principles may be applied in the chanting of Psalms to the Gregorian Tones.

It was the main purpose of my paper to direct attention to the method of Psalmody adopted by Fr. Haberl, and to the excellent little Manual by the publication of which he has so notably facilitated the practical adoption of that method. I may here briefly recapitulate the essential points of my explanation of Fr. Haberl's method in its application to the 8th Tone. This will facilitate the explanation of it as applied to the remaining Tones. Of these, I purpose in the present paper to deal with the 5th, 2nd, and 4th, reserving the remaining Tones for another number of the RECORD. The order in which I have thus placed the various Tones is, I should observe, by no means arbitrarily selected. It is the order naturally suggested by the relation of the various principles requiring explanation in each case.

THE EIGHTH TONE.

| <i>Initium.</i> | <i>Mediatio.</i> | <i>Finalis.</i> |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1 2 | 1 2 | 1 2 3 4 |

Di - xit Dóminus . . me - o. Sede a dex - tris me - is.

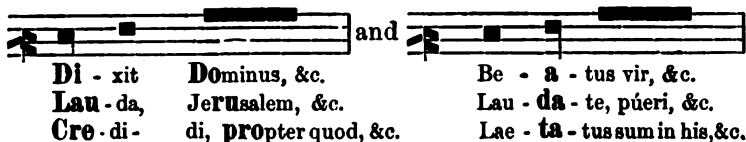
As regards this Tone, I may summarise as follows the results of my former paper:—

I. The *Initium*. This inflection (except in the case of the first verse of the *Magnificat*) consists of two notes: *sol*, *la*. To these are to be sung the two first syllables of the verse, the

¹ IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, vol. ix., n. 9 (September, 1888), pages 769-86.

accentuation of the notes being regulated exclusively by that of the syllables.

Thus we have



Di - xit Dominus, &c.
Lau - da, Jerusalem, &c.
Cre - di - di, propter quod, &c.

and

Be - a - tus vir, &c.
Lau - da - te, púeri, &c.
Lae - ta - tus sum in his, &c.

and, in the solitary exceptional case of the first verse of the *Magnificat*,



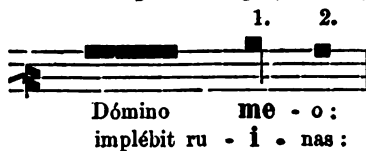
Ma - gni - ficat.

II. The *Mediatio*. This inflection, in its normal form, consists of two notes: *re, do*.

RULE.—To the two notes of the *Mediatio* are to be sung the two last syllables of the first section of the verse.

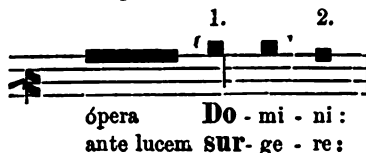
EXCEPTION.—When the last word of the first section of the verse is a word of three or more syllables, with the *last syllable but one* unaccented, the *last syllable but two* is sung to the first note (in other words, to the *last note but one*) of the inflection, and the unaccented *last syllable but one* is treated as a “secondary” syllable (and is consequently, in this case, to be sung to the same note as the preceding syllable.)¹

THE RULE
EXEMPLIFIED



1. 2.
Dómino me - o :
implébit ru - i - nas :

THE EXCEPTION
EXEMPLIFIED



1. 2.
ópera Do - mi - ni :
ante lucem sur - ge - re :

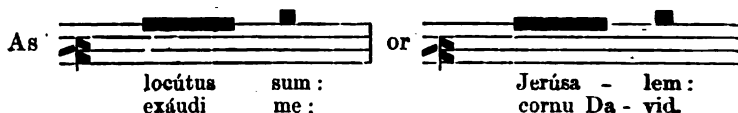
¹ Fr. Haberl's rule for the singing of “secondary” syllables is, it will be remembered, as follows:—

“When the interval separating the two notes is *not greater than a tone*, the syllable is to be sung to the *first* of the two notes.

“When the interval separating the two notes is *greater than a tone*, the syllable is to be sung to the *second* of the two.”

See the September number of the RECORD, page 777.

In the special form of the *Mediatio* known as the *intonatio in pausa correpta*, the second note of the inflection is omitted: this occurs when the first section of the verse ends in a monosyllable or an indeclinable Hebrew word.



III. The *Finalis*. This inflection consists of four notes: *si, do, la, sol*.

It is unnecessary here to repeat, as it is to be understood throughout as a fundamental principle, that the accentuation of the notes is in every instance to be regulated exclusively by that of the syllables.

It cannot be too distinctly stated, as a *principle of absolute universality in the ecclesiastical chant*, that each note of the chant is to be regarded as accented or unaccented, according as it is sung with an accented or an unaccented syllable.¹

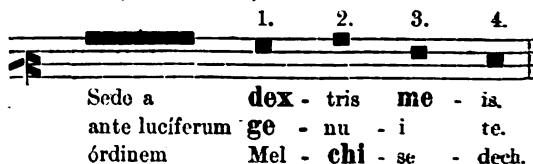
The following Rules and Exceptions, therefore, for the various Tones, regard only the distribution of the syllables.

RULE. To the four notes of the *Finalis* of the 8th Tone are to be sung the four last syllables of the verse.

EXCEPTION. When the last word of the verse is a word of three or more syllables, with the *last syllable but one* unaccented, the *last syllable but two* is sung to the *last note but one*, and the unaccented *last syllable but one* is treated as a "secondary" syllable (to be sung, therefore, in this case, to the same note as the preceding syllable).²

The exception does not apply in the case of Hebrew words such as *Melchisedech, Jerusalem, &c.*

THE RULE
EXEMPLIFIED



¹ See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, vol. ix., n. 9 (September, 1888), page 778.

² See page 877, footnote.

THE EXCEPTION EXEMPLIFIED

1 2 3 4

laudáte no - men Do - mi - ni.
 laudáte eum, 0 - mnes po - pu - li.

Spécial attention is to be given to cases such as the following (whether under the Rule or under the Exception), in which the syllable to be sung to the first note of the inflection is an unaccented syllable of a word, the accented syllable of which is to be sung to the reciting note. Thus, for instance, we have, under the Rule:—

1 2 3 4

Scabellum po - dum tu - o - rum.
 et misera - tor et ju - stus.

And, under the Exception:—

1 2 3 4

Manet in sae - cu - lum sae - cu - li.
 exaltabi - tur in glo - ri - a.

In all such cases very special care should be taken to avoid singing with an accent the unaccented syllable with which the inflection begins. This, as has already been observed, may most easily be secured by attending with special care to the accentuation of the accented syllables preceding and following.¹

In the preceding summary, I have dealt only with one form of the *Finalis* of the 8th Tone. In this Tone the *Finalis* has two forms, designated, respectively, as the 1st and 2nd. The form hitherto dealt with is that known as the first.

The second form of the *Finalis* also consists of four notes: *la, do, re, do*. The arrangement of the syllables is in all

¹ See the September number of the RECORD, pages 783, 784.

respects the same as in the first ending. Thus, then, we have,

1 2 3 4

UNDER THE RULE

Sede a dex - tris me - is.
 ante luciferum ge - nu - i te.
 ordinem Mel - chi - se - dech.

1 2 3 4

UNDER THE EXCEPTION

laudáte no - men Do - mi - ni.
 laudáte eum, o - mnes po - pu - li.

And, in the class of cases to which special attention has just been directed:—

1 2 3 4

UNDER THE RULE

scabellum pe - dum tu - o - rum.
 et misera - tor et ju - stus.

1 2 3 4

UNDER THE EXCEPTION

manet in sœ - cu - lum sœ - cu - li.
 exaltabi - tur in glo - ri - a.

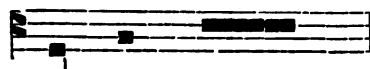
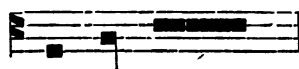
THE FIFTH TONE.

The inflections of the 5th Tone may be seen from the following:—

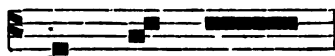
| <i>Initium.</i> | <i>Mediatio.</i> | <i>Finalis.</i> |
|--|------------------|-----------------|
| 1 2 | 1 2 | 1 2 3 4 |
| | | |
| Di - xit Dóminus . . me - o : * . Sede a dex - tris me - is. | | |

As regards the distribution of syllables, the *Initium* and the *Mediatio* of this Tone are dealt with precisely as those of the 8th: the *Finalis* is treated somewhat differently.

I. The *Initium* (except in the case of the first verse of the *Magnificat*) consists of two notes: *fa*, *la*. To these are to be sung the two first syllables of the verse. Thus we have,

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------|---|
|  | and |  |
| Di - xit | Dominus &c. | Be - n - tus vir &c. |
| Lau - da, | Je rusalem, &c. | Lau - da - te, pueri, &c. |
| Cre - di - | di, propter quod &c. | Lae - ta - tus sum &c. |

and, in the solitary exceptional case of the first verse of the *Magnificat*,

| |
|---|
|  |
| Ma - gni - ficat. |

II. The *Mediatio*, as regards both its normal form and the *intonatio in pausa correpta*, consists of the same notes (*re*, *do*), and is dealt with in all cases in precisely the same way, as the *Mediatio* of the 8th Tone.

The examples, then, given in the case of the *Mediatio* of the 8th Tone will suffice also for that of the 5th.¹

III. The *Finalis* consists of four notes: *re*, *si*, *do*, *la*.

The arrangement of the syllables to these notes is regulated by the same general rule as the arrangement of the syllables to the four notes of the *Finalis* in the 8th Tone. But there is a twofold exception.

RULE (as in the 8th Tone). To the four notes of the *Finalis* are to be sung the four last syllables of the verse.

EXCEPTION I. (as in the 8th Tone). When the last word of the verse is a word of three or more syllables, with the *last syllable but one* unaccented, the *last syllable but two* is sung to the *last note but one*, and the unaccented *last syllable but one* is treated as a "secondary" syllable (to be sung, therefore, in this case, to the same note as the following syllable.)²

EXCEPTION II. (consisting in an extension of the same

¹ See pages 877, 878.

² See footnote, page 877.

principle). When the *second note* of this inflection is sung with the *last syllable* of a word of three or more syllables, having its *last syllable but one* unaccented, the *preceding*, or *last syllable but two*, is sung to the *first note* of the inflection, and the unaccented *last syllable but one* of the word is treated as a "secondary" syllable (to be sung, therefore, in this case to the same note as the following syllable).¹

The observation already made regarding Hebrew words in reference to the 8th Tone is applicable also here.

THE RULE
EXEMPLIFIED

| | | | | |
|------------------|----|-----|-----|--------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | | | |
| Omnis | ho | mo | men | - dar. |
| in mandátis ejus | vo | let | ni | - mis. |
| in médio tui; | Je | ru | sa | - lem. |

EXCEPTION I.
EXEMPLIFIED

| | | | | |
|-----------|----|-----|----|-------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | | | |
| laudáte | no | men | Do | - mi - ni. |
| et exal - | ta | vit | hu | - mi - lea. |

EXCEPTION II.
EXEMPLIFIED

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|----|----|----------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | | | |
| et super coelos | glo | ri | a | e - jua. |
| quae re - | tri | bu | it | mi - hi. |

BOTH EXCEPTIONS
EXEMPLIFIED

| | | | | |
|-------------|-----|-------------|-----|-------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | | | |
| manet in | sae | - ou - lum | sae | - cu - li. |
| de stércore | e | - ri - gens | pau | - pe - rem. |

The cases, then, in which the first note of the inflection is to be sung with an unaccented syllable must be notably fewer in the 5th than in the 8th Tone. But special attention should, of course, be given to them when they occur,²—all the more so indeed, as in this tone the inflection begins with an *ascending* interval from the reciting note.

¹ See footnote, 877.

² See the September number of the RECORD, pages 783, 784; and the present number, page 879.

Thus, for instance, we have the following, occurring under the Rule :—

| | | | |
|-----------|-----|-------|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | | |
| misera - | tor | et - | ju - stus. |
| peccato - | rum | per - | i - bit. |
| fon - | tes | a - | qua - rum. |

And, under the 1st Exception,

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----|----|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | | |
| sed nómini tu - | o | da | glo - ri - am. |
| sémini e - | jus | in | sae - cu - la. |

Cases, also, in which the verse ends in a monosyllable should be carefully attended to :—

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------|-------|----------|
| | | | |
| qui co - | gno - | sce - | ret me. |
| ad Dominum de - | pre - | ca - | tus sum. |
| protector | e - | o - | rum est. |
| confortati | sunt | su - | per me. |

THE SECOND TONE.

The inflections of the 2nd Tone may be seen from the following :—

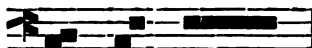
| <i>Initium.</i> | <i>Mediatio.</i> | <i>Finalis.</i> |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 2 | 1 2 | 1 2 3 |
| | | |
| Di - xit Dominus | me - o : * | Sede a dex - tris me - is ; |

The *Initium* and the *Mediatio* of this Tone are dealt with in precisely the same way as those of the 8th. The notes, however, are (in the *Initium*) *do*, *re*, and (in the *Mediatio*) *sol*, *fa*—instead of *sol*, *la*, and *re*, *do*, respectively.

I. The *Initium*, then, of the 2nd Tone is to be sung as follows :—

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|
| | and | |
| Di - xit Dominus &c. | | Be - a - tus vir &c. |
| Lau - da, Jerusalem &c. | | Lau - da - te, púeri, &c. |
| Cre - di - di, propter quod &c. | | Lae - ta - tus sum in his &c. |

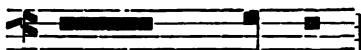
and, in the solitary exceptional case of the 1st verse of the *Magnificat*,



Ma - gni - ficat.

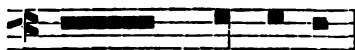
II. The *Mediatio*, as regards (a) the Rule, (b) the Exception, and (c) the *intonatio in pausa correpta*, may be illustrated as follows:—

THE RULE
EXEMPLIFIED



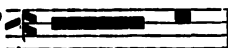
Dómino me - o :
implébit ru - i - nas :

THE EXCEPTION
EXEMPLIFIED

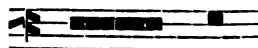


ópera Do - ni - ni :
ante lucem sur - ge - re :

THE INTONATIO
IN PAUSA
CORREPTA
EXEMPLIFIED



locútus sum :
exáudi me :



Jerúsa - lem :
cornu David :

III. The *Finalis*, in this case, consists of only three notes: *mi do, re*.

Here Fr. Haberl follows the same general principles as in the 8th Tone. The Rule and the Exception may, then, be stated as follows:—

RULE.—To the three notes of the *Finalis* are to be sung the three last syllables of the verse.

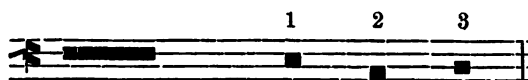
EXCEPTION.—When the last word of the verse is a word of three or more syllables, with the *last syllable but one* unaccented, the *last syllable but two* is sung to the *last note but one*, and the unaccented *last syllable but one* is treated as a “secondary” syllable (and is consequently, in this case, to be sung to the same note as the preceding syllable).¹

The observation already made regarding Hebrew

See page 877, footnote.

words in reference to the 8th and 5th Tones is applicable also here.

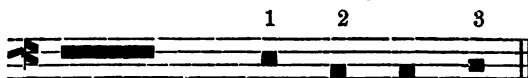
THE RULE
EXEMPLIFIED



1 2 3

Sede a **dex** - tris **me** - is.
 scabellum **pedum** tu - **o** - rum.
 ordinem Mel - **chi** - se - dech.
 ante luciferum **ge** - nu - i - te.
 miserator et **ju** - stu3.

THE EXCEPTION
EXEMPLIFIED



1 2 3

laudate **no** - men **Do** - mi - ni.
 manet in **sae**cu - lum **sae** - cu - li.
 exalta**bitur** in **glo** - ri - a.

In reference to this inflection, it is specially to be noted that the cases are very rare in which an accented syllable is to be sung with the first note. In all other cases, then, care should be taken to sing that note without an accent.¹

THE FOURTH TONE.

The inflections of this Tone may be seen from the following:—

| <i>Initium.</i> | | <i>Mediatio.</i> | | | | <i>Finalis.</i> | | | | |
|--|---|------------------|---|---|---|-----------------|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|  | | | | | | | | | | |
| Di - xit Dominus Do - mi - no me - o : * Sede a dex - tris me - is. | | | | | | | | | | |

I. In the *Initium* of this Tone we meet, for the first time, with a pair of combined notes, which, as regards the distribution of syllables, are to be treated practically as one note; that is to say, the two notes, *sol*, *la*, thus combined, are in all cases to be sung to one syllable.

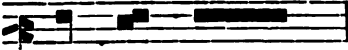
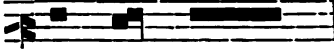
In this, as in all other cases, the fundamental principle of accentuation in Gregorian melody holds good. The first syllable of the verse being sung with the first note of the inflection, and the second syllable being sung with the pair of combined notes, the first note, or the combined pair of notes,

¹ See the September number of the RECORD, pages 783, 784, and the present number, pages 879 and 882.

will be accented in singing, according as the first, or the second, syllable of the verse is an accented syllable.

When the accented syllable is sung with the two combined notes, the accent is to be placed on the *second* of the pair.

These various points may be illustrated as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 2 | 1 2 |
|  |  |
| Di - xit Dominus, &c. | Be - a - tus vir, &c. |
| Lau - da, Jerusalem, &c. | Lau - da - te, pueri, &c. |
| Cre - di - di, propter quod, &c. | Lae - ta - tus sum in his, &c. |

and, in the solitary exceptional case of the first verse of the *Magnificat*,

1 2



Ma - gni - ficat.

In this exceptional case, it will be observed, a pair of combined notes also occupies the first place in the inflection. It may be useful here to direct attention to the method in which this pair of notes is printed : the first of the two notes is printed with a stem : but in this case the stem is not to be regarded as of the same import as when a single note is so printed.

A single note printed with a stem is technically designated a *virga* : such a note should never be used except with an accented syllable. The use of an ascending pair (*podatus*), or group (*scandicus*), of notes in which the last note is printed with a stem, is similarly restricted. But in the case of a descending pair (*clivis*), or group (*climacus*), of notes, the first note may be printed with a stem, whether the syllable to which the group of notes is to be sung, is accented or unaccented. In this case, the stem indicates merely that the syllable in question, whether accented or unaccented, is to be sung with a diminution of tone-power (*diminuendo*) from the upper to the lower notes.

II. The *Mediatio*. This inflection, in the 4th, as in the 2nd, 5th, and 8th Tones has, in addition to its normal form, a special form known as the *Intonatio in pausa correpta*.

In its normal form, the *Mediatio* of this Tone consists of four notes : *sol, la, si, la*.

The arrangement of syllables is regulated by the same rule, subject to the same Exception, as in the *Finalis* of the 8th Tone.

RULE.—To the four notes of the *Mediatio* of the 4th Tone are to be sung the four last syllables of the first section of the verse.

EXCEPTION.—When the last word of the first section of the verse is a word of three or more syllables, with the *last syllable but one* unaccented, the *last syllable but two* is sung to the *last note but one* of the inflection, and the unaccented *last syllable but one* is treated as a “secondary” syllable (and is consequently, in this case, to be sung to the same note as the preceding syllable.)¹

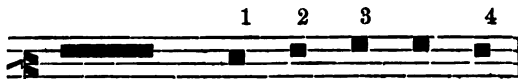
THE RULE
EXEMPLIFIED



1 2 3 4

Donec ponam ini - **mi** - cos **tu** - os :
non poeni - **te** - bit **e** - um :

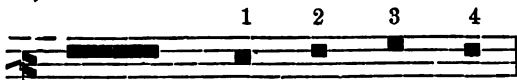
THE EXCEPTION
EXEMPLIFIED



1 2 3 4

Súscitans a **ter** - ra **in** - o - pem :
sedes in ju - **di** - ci - o :

Here also it may be well to direct special attention to the cases (whether under the Rule or under the Exception) in which the syllable to be sung to the first note of the inflection is an unaccented syllable of a word, the accented syllable of which is to be sung to the reciting note.² Thus, for instance, we have under the Rule :—



1 2 3 4

Dirupisti **vin** - cu - la **me** - a :
Miseric**or** - di - a **e** - jus :
in splen**dori** - bus san - **cto** - rum :
bene**placi** - tis e - **o** - rum.

¹ See footnote, page 877.

² See the September number of the RECORD, pages 783, 784; and the present number, pages 879, 882, and 885.

| | | | | |
|--------|-----|------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | | | |
| Magna | o - | pe - | ra | Do - mi - ni : |
| Semi - | tas | ju - | sti - ti - ae : | |
| Vidu - | am | su - | sci - pi - et. | |

In the special form of the *Mediatio* known as the *intonatio in pausa correpta*, the last note of the inflection is omitted.

As, for example :—

| | | | | | |
|------------|-----------------|-------|---------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | and | | | | |
| Dóminus | su - per | vos : | Dóminus | ex | Si - on : |
| et incre - | pa - bit | me : | dómui | Is - ra - el : | |
| clama - | vi ad | te : | verbum | su - um | Ja - cob. |

III. The *Finalis*. This inflection consists of five notes :
sol, la, si, sol, mi.

Here also Fr. Haberl follows the same general principles as in the 8th Tone. The Rule and the Exception may, then, be stated as follows :—

RULE.—To the five notes of the *Finalis* are to be sung the five last syllables of the verse.

EXCEPTION.—When the last word of the verse is a word of three or more syllables, with the *last syllable but one* unaccented, the *last syllable but two* is sung to the *last note but one*, and the unaccented *last syllable but two* is treated as a “secondary” syllable (and is consequently, in this case, to be sung to the same note as the following syllable).¹

The observation already made regarding Hebrew words in reference to the 8th, 5th, and 2nd Tones, is applicable also here.

Before proceeding, as usual, to illustrate the Rule and the Exception by examples it may be useful to note that the 4th Tone furnishes probably the most striking illustration of the difference of effect produced in singing by the adoption of the “syllabic” as distinct from the “accentual” method.² As Fr. Haberl aptly remarks, the “syllabic” method of Psalmody communicates to the chant the same charm of

¹ See footnote, page 877.

² See the September number of the RECORD, pages 777-781.

variety as may be noticed in a peal of bells, when in the successive changes, now one, and now another, of the bells comes into special prominence. This, as illustrated in the chanting of the 4th Tone according to the syllabic method, may be seen from the following examples. Two sets of examples, it will be observed, are given both for the Rule and for the Exception.¹ In the first set of examples, in each case, the accents fall on the 2nd and 4th notes of the inflection: in the second set of examples, in each case, they fall on the 1st and 4th notes. Thus, we have,

I.
THE RULE
EXEMPLIFIED

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|------------|-----------|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | | | | |
| Sede | a | dex - tris | me - is. | | |
| propterea | ex - al - | ta - bit | ca - put. | | |
| in omnes vo - | lum - | ta - tes | o - jus. | | |

II.
THE RULE
FURTHER
EXEMPLIFIED

| | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | | | | |
| scabellum | pe - dum | tu - o - rum. | | | |
| annuntiabit | po - pu - lo | su - o. | | | |
| super coelos | glo - ri - a | o - jus. | | | |

And again,

I.
THE EXCEPTION
EXEMPLIFIED

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | | | | |
| páuperes ejus | sa - tu - | ra - bo | pa - ni - bus. | | |
| et | vin - di - ctam | pau - pe - rum. | | | |
| et ex - | al - ta - vit | hu - mi - les. | | | |

II
THE EXCEPTION
FURTHER
EXEMPLIFIED

| | | | | | |
|-------------|----------------|-----------------|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | | | | |
| manet in | sae - cu - lum | sae - cu - li. | | | |
| de stercore | o - ri - gens | pau - pe - rem. | | | |
| ópera | ma - nu - um | ho - mi - num. | | | |

It may not be superfluous in this Tone also to direct attention to the special class of cases (whether under the Rule or under the Exception) in which the syllable to be sung to

the first note of the inflection is an unaccented syllable of a word, the accented syllable of which is to be sung to the reciting note.¹

Of this class we may take the following examples:—

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|----------------------------|---------------------|----------|----------------|---|---|
| UNDER THE RULE | | | | | |
| | in mandatis e - jus | vo - let | ni - mis. | | |
| | sedes su - per | do - mum | Da - vid. | | |
| | quæsi - vi | bo - na | ti - bi. | | |
| UNDER THE EXCEPTION | | | | | |
| | laudabi - le | no - men | Do - mi - ni. | | |
| | colles sic - ut | a - gni | o - vi - um. | | |
| | ani - ma | me - a | Do - mi - num. | | |

Finally attention may be directed to the case of verses which end in monosyllables or in Hebrew words. They will be found to furnish especially useful exercises in the observance of the golden rule of Guidetti, *Cantabis syllabas sicut pronuntiaveris*:—

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|-----------------|------|-------------|---------|------|-------|
| | | | | | |
| ante lucife - | rum | ge - nu - i | te. | | |
| escam dedit | ti - | men - ti - | bus | se. | |
| et prote - | ctor | e - | o - rum | est. | |
| secundum ordi - | nem | Mel - | chi - | se - | dech. |
| in medio tu - | i | Je - | ru - | sa - | lem. |

I reserve for the December number of the RECORD the explanation of Fr. Haberl's method as applied to the remaining Tones.

✠ W. J. W.

¹ See the September number of the RECORD, pages 783, 764; and the present number, pages 879, 882, 885, and 887.

ON THE CATHOLIC PRINCIPLE OF A LITURGICAL LANGUAGE.

AMONGST the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion of the Anglican Establishment agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and published by the authority of the King, as Supreme Head of the Church of England in 1562, we find this statement (Art. xxiv) :—"It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people." This sentence may be fairly said to formulate the anti-Catholic principle concerning the use of the vernacular in the official and public prayer of the Church. There can be little doubt as to the fact that the carrying into practice of the teaching contained in this principle contributed in a large measure to the ultimate success of the Protestant Reformation in uprooting the Catholic faith in this kingdom. The Liturgy in the vernacular has served more effectually perhaps than anything else in keeping the minds and hearts of the English people isolated and estranged from the religious ideas and sentiments of the rest of Christendom. It helped more than anything else could have done in building up and fostering that national Anglican and racial religion which, like the Jewish, is so essentially opposed to the international and world-wide character of Catholic Christianity where "there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free," and where "all are one in Christ."

Before the twelfth century there does not appear to have been any large or notable movement in favour of the introduction of the use of the vernacular into the service of the Church. Up to that time men seem to have been mindful of the words of Jesus Christ in the Gospel "Give not that which is holy to dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest perhaps they trample them under their feet, and turning upon you they tear you." (*Matt.* vii., 6.) The minds of the Christian men and women of those days were trained to a deep and

filial reverence for holy things by those vestiges of the ancient "disciplina arcani," which has always been preserved in the practice of the Catholic Church. Brought up in the midst of a rich and lavish symbolism, which appealed to them through all their senses, they had grown accustomed to enshrine that which was sacred and holy in the depths of their nature, and when they brought it forth in outward expression, they strove to do so in a manner commensurate with their deep-felt esteem and reverence. Hence the wealth of gold and silver and jewels decking those costly shrines of mediæval Christendom in which the relics of God's saints reposed. Hence too the elaborate and matchless symbolism of their architecture causing the very stones to speak and fill our minds with holy awe. Hence the gorgeous richness of that ritual reminding us in every word and action of the beauty of holiness, and re-echoing so eloquently the words of the Royal Psalmist, "Domine dilexi decorem domus tuæ; et locum habitationis gloriæ tuæ;" and of those other words, "Domum tuam decet sanctitudo, Domine, in longitudinem dierum." But towards the end of the twelfth century we can trace the beginnings of that movement which afterwards broke out with such terrible success in the sixteenth century. The Waldensian and Albigensian heresies which were the first to preach the principle of private judgment in the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, were likewise the first to protest against the use of a liturgical language other than the vernacular, and to celebrate the mysteries of religion in the vulgar tongue. Moreover they made this principle a fundamental doctrine of their sects, which together with those of Wickliffe and Huss were the true precursors of Protestantism from which has sprung the rationalism and naturalism of our time. It is the same rationalistic spirit that entered into all these movements, and applied its principles alike to the faith and practice, the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church.

The object of this paper is to draw out and set forth in a short form the Catholic principle concerning the use of a language, other than the vernacular, in the Official and Public religious services of the Church. The treatment of the

question is taken almost entirely from the work of the late learned Abbot of Solesmes, Dom Prosper Guéranger, entitled *Institutions Liturgiques*, wherein over one hundred pages are devoted to its discussion. There is no need here to insist upon the weight of authority in liturgical matters that attaches to the name of Dom Guéranger. Let it suffice to recall the words of Pope Pius IX. (of blessed memory) in an Apostolic Brief addressed to the Bishop of Poitiers concerning this illustrious Benedictine monk :

“ Among the ecclesiastics of our times, who have been most distinguished for their virtues, learning, zeal, and labours in the advancement of Catholic interests, we must in all justice count our beloved son, Prosper Guéranger, Abbot of St. Peter's at Solesmes, and Superior-General of the Benedictine congregation in France.

“ The principal object to which he turned his whole solicitude and attention was that the Roman Liturgy should, as by right of recovery, be restored to France. So well did he labour in this, that to his writings, perseverance, and extraordinary activity, must be mainly attributed the adoption of the Rites of the Roman Church by all the dioceses of France, as he himself witnessed before leaving this life.”

Dom Guéranger begins his treatment of the subject by citing the ninth canon of the twenty-second session of the Council of Trent, which runs thus : “ Si quis dixerit lingua tantum vulgari Missam celebrari debere anathema sit.” Now it is quite clear that the principle laid down in the twenty-fourth Article of the Anglican establishment, concerning the use of the vernacular in the Church services, excludes the use of any language but the vernacular, and therefore falls directly under this anathema of the Council of Trent. So that the whole discussion resolves itself into this question : What is the motive, reason, or principle upon which this authoritative decision of the Church is based ? Here it may be useful to call to mind the fact that the Catholic Church has always regarded the Liturgy not only as a most important branch of ecclesiastical science, but as the principle instrument of ecclesiastical tradition, according to the famous axiom, “ Legem credendi statuit lex orandi.” That it has been constantly regarded by the Church as a science with fixed definite principles is certain. That most learned Pope, Benedict XIV., in a discourse delivered as the inaugural

address before the Academy of Liturgy founded by him at Rome, to be found in the eighth volume of the complete edition of his works, after enumerating five chief branches of ecclesiastical science, viz., the interpretation of Sacred Scripture, mystical, moral, and dogmatic theology, together with canon law, goes so far as to state that the Liturgy as a science holds a higher place than any of these, and is superior to all of them. Firstly, because they have all appeared and grown up in later ages, whilst the Liturgy began with the Church itself. Secondly, they have at best but a remote, indirect, and speculative relation to God ; whilst the Liturgy is the direct and immediate carrying out in the actual worship of God of that which they teach. Thirdly, they point out the way to virtue and good life, whilst the Liturgy brings to us those solid fruits of religion and piety of which they treat ; and lastly, they generally stop short at the bare knowledge of the Divine truths, whilst the Liturgy is so bound up and intimately connected with the Divine truths, that it cannot be separated from them. But its highest dignity comes from the fact that its first Author and Master was God himself, that it has a direct and immediate reference to Him, and that He has plainly and distinctly delivered to man those acts of religion such as prayer and sacrifice by which due and fitting worship is paid to Him.

Dom Guéranger complains of the inadequate treatment which the subject of the exclusion of the vernacular from the Liturgy has received at the hands of many Catholic writers on Ritual of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He tells us that these writers for the most part have lost sight of those high considerations which give a reason for the disciplinary laws of the Church. He especially mentions such authors as Le Brun, Dom Martene, Renaudot, Bocquillet, and also Papebrock. He contrasts, however, with these the lofty and solid teaching of Cardinal Bellarmine, and the great theologians of the sixteenth century, especially mentioning the famous censure of the Sorbonne on the opinions of Erasmus concerning the use of the vernacular in Church services (1526). The great Cardinal Bona is also brought forward as an upholder of the true principle upon which the Church's practice in this matter is founded.

In order to obtain a clear idea of the motives of the Church in the exclusion of the vulgar tongue from the services of the Altar, we must, in the first place, recall the ancient "discipline of the secret." It is certain that the Church has modified her practice in this regard, but it is equally certain that she has never abandoned the principle upon which it rests. There are no longer any public penitents to be expelled from the church at the moment that the Sacrifice of the Mass is about to be offered. But there is always the same profound depth in the mysteries of the faith, the same weakness and the same dangers in the human heart, ever inclined to the things of earth. For us who accept the institutions of the Church as the work of a superhuman wisdom, there is no need to apologise or make excuse for her intentions in the means which she has taken to guard the prayers of her Liturgy in a sacred language. That such a sacred language exists is the constant teaching of the early Fathers and most celebrated Doctors of the Church, as well in the East as in the West. In the writings of St. Hilary of Poitiers, who lived in the fourth century, we find this passage: "His maxime tribus linguis sacramentum voluntatis Dei, et beati regni expectatio praedicatur; ex quo illud Pilati fuit, ut in his tribus linguis regem Judaeorum Dominum Jesum Christum praescriberet" (*Prologus in librum Psalmorum* XV.) God has then guided the hand of the Roman governor in the choice of the languages which should appear in the inscription as well as in the terms in which that inscription was couched, and His divine spirit, speaking to men in the Sacred Scriptures, has been likewise pleased to consecrate those same three languages which the Jewish people, gathered from the four winds of heaven for the Paschal feast, read in the title placed over the head of their Redeemer on the Cross. The dignity of the three languages which proclaimed on Calvary the Royalty of the Crucified has not struck only the mystic writers of the Middle Ages. In modern times Joseph de Maistre has recognised this consecration quite as much as the devout Honorius of Autun, and both repeat in their own day the teaching of the great St. Hilary.

The Hebrew language after the Babylonian captivity was lost in the Chaldean, which is one of the forms of the Syriac. The same body of Sacred Scriptures unites the books of Moses, of Samuel, of David, of Solomon and the Prophets, and the books of Daniel and Esdras, the first speaking pure Hebrew, the second giving one part of their utterances in Syro-Chaldaic. And when Christ, foretold by the Prophets, came into the world it was in the language then spoken by His people, that is in the Hebrew become Syro-Chaldaic, that He preached His doctrine.

But already, before the fulfilment of the prophetic utterances, a second language had been sanctified to serve as an organ of the Holy Spirit. Not only had the Greek language been raised to the rank of an interpreter of the Divine Word in the famous Septuagint version of the Scriptures, but the Holy Ghost announcing already the future outpouring of the grace of the adoption of sons to the Gentiles, dictated in Greek the book of Wisdom and the second book of Machabees. Then Christ having appeared for our redemption and His testament in our favour being opened by His death, the Holy Spirit the inspirer of the Scriptures gave to man in the three languages of the title of the Cross the books of the New Testament. St. Matthew wrote his gospel in Syriac, the vernacular Hebrew of his time, as Papias, a disciple of the apostles, St. Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine testify.

The Greek language had the honour of receiving in its idiom the gospels of St. Luke and St. John, the Acts, and the Epistles of the Apostles, except perhaps the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews which may have been written in their language. Christianity having been preached in Jerusalem and in the language of Israel, was to spread itself first of all to that portion of the Gentile world where the Greek language was used.

But since the Chair of the Prince of the Apostles was soon to be transferred to the capital of the Latin tongue it was fitting that this same Latin tongue which was the official language of the whole Roman world, should likewise become

the official language of the Church, and as such take precedence of the Hebrew and the Greek, in the same way that Rome was to take precedence of Jerusalem and Antioch in the hierarchical order and in the spiritual government of the whole of Christendom.

Eusebius and St. Jerome both state that St. Mark, who composed his gospel at Rome under the eyes of St. Peter, wrote it in Latin. But if it cannot be quite proved for certain that any of the books of the New Testament were originally composed in Latin, it is certain at least that the first Christian translation of the Sacred Scriptures was given to the world in that language, in that most venerable version called the *Itala* which was written during the lifetime of the Apostles themselves, and received the approbation of St. Peter as head of the Church, according to the testimony of some of the earliest writers upon Church history. This version may be said still to exist in the actual Vulgate, which has been declared by the Council of Trent to contain the pure Word of God for both the Old and New Testaments.

So that from the beginning of Christianity the three languages inscribed on the Cross became the organ of the Holy Ghost in proclaiming to the world the written Word of God.

But besides their use in Sacred Scripture these same three languages were destined to occupy a place in the Liturgy of the Church which no others can claim. As regards all the countries of Europe it is true to say that from the first introduction of Christianity no other language, save one of these three, was ever used, with one only exception, which was Russia, where leave was granted by the Holy See to SS. Cyril and Methodius to celebrate the Liturgy in the Slavonic language; but this leave was given at a period long after the Faith had been preached in the other nations of Europe. The use of any language save the Latin in the Liturgy was unknown in France, Spain, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Poland, and the British Isles from the introduction of Christianity to any of these countries. With regard to Italy it is most probable that the Liturgy was celebrated for a short period in Greek, but

the use of the Latin became universal in that country before the end of the second century. Latin was the only language in use throughout the once most famous and flourishing Church of Africa, from whence have sprung the greatest of the Latin Fathers. So that up to the ninth century the Liturgy was exclusively celebrated in the three languages of the Cross, and the use of the Slavonic granted during that epoch is the only exception we can find of a nation where the Liturgy was celebrated in the vernacular. Thus we are forced to the conclusion that if the three sacred languages were the sole depositories of the Sacred Scriptures during the first period of Christianity, no other language was admitted to share the same privilege with them until the Christian religion had been flourishing for many centuries throughout the greater part of the known world.

With regard to the concession granted by Pope John VIII. to SS. Cyril and Methodius for the use of the Slavonic in the provinces evangelised by them, Dom Guéranger does not fail to call attention to its fatal result in estranging those provinces from the union of Latin Christendom and so facilitating and preparing the way for their ultimate fall into schism in the twelfth century. Moreover he quotes a passage from the Annals of Cardinal Baronius which shows us very plainly the light in which the character of Pope John VIII. was viewed even by the most devoted children of the Church. The passage is to be found in the Annals *ad annum* 875, No. V. In this passage the illustrious Cardinal tells us that Pope John VIII. on account of his weak-mindedness was called a woman pope "*Papissa non Papa,*" and that it was his feebleness of character which afterwards gave rise to the too famous historical myth of Pope Joan.

As an instance of the way in which the Holy See has, with the sole exception above referred to, constantly refrained from authorising the use of the vernacular in the Liturgy it will be well to recall the attitude it assumed with regard to the petitions presented by the Jesuit missionaries in China during the seventeenth century for the use of the Chinese

language in the services of the Altar. This petition was first made in 1615 by Father Ricci to Pope Paul V., who is reported to have ordered that a Brief should be drawn up to grant the request, but Pope Benedict XIV. tells us that this Brief remained at Rome and was never sent to China. However this may have been, the superiors of the mission did not judge it expedient to carry their design into execution at that time. In 1657 a second petition composed by Father Rougemont was submitted to the judgment of the Holy See. A special congregation composed of cardinals, prelates, and distinguished theologians, was formed to examine the demand of the missionaries, and in spite of the grave reasons that were brought forward by them for the use of the Chinese language the Holy See refused to grant their request. A third petition was made for the concession in 1678 to Pope Innocent XI., and with a like result. The last effort in this direction of the Jesuit missionaries in China was made in 1697 when they laid a memorial before Pope Innocent XII., but the concession was never granted.

The community, then, of a liturgical language which has triumphed over national and racial separation has been the chief exterior means of union of the Christian peoples. By its means the idea of a centre of union and of a common origin has penetrated into their minds and hearts, breaking down the natural frontiers that divide the dwelling-place of men, so that the Christian finds himself at home in the most distant land and amongst a people whose manners and traditions may be most unlike his own. This reason alone would be sufficient to prove the wisdom of the Church in confining herself as far as possible to those three sacred languages which represent by their wide extent the chosen portion of the human race.

But it still remains to be shown that the Church has constantly attached an intrinsic value to these languages as having been made sacred and set apart for the Divine Service.

The objection that is commonly brought against their being looked upon as more sacred than any other languages is the fact that they were once the common speech of the

respective peoples to which they belonged. But the same objection would hold good against almost everything that is looked upon as sacred in the world. From the beginning of history amongst all the peoples of the earth certain actions and particular things have been regarded as sacred, and set apart from common use. For instance, where is the nation of antiquity that had not its sacred vestments or sacrificial garb for its priests? Or when was there a time in which there did not exist certain sacred ceremonies? Indeed, if we were to push this objection to its extreme logical conclusion, we should have to cease to look upon the Cross itself as sacred because it was once the common instrument of execution for ordinary malefactors who were punished with death. But in reality it is impossible for man, constituted as he is, to rid himself entirely of the notion of sacred things and of the distinction of sacred and profane, because it has its root in his nature, which is surrounded on all sides with that which is mysterious, and which he is unable to penetrate or understand with his limited intelligence. Therefore it is that the notion of sacred things is universal. The teaching of God to men has been from the beginning through the means of mysteries. The prophets of the Old Testament, guided by the inspiration of the Spirit of God, clothed the divine oracles in enigmatical and oftentimes very obscure language, and when the Word Incarnate was seen on earth, and conversed with men, He conveyed to them His chief teaching in parables, and the whole Bible is so full of figurative allusions as to necessitate its always remaining a book of mystery, and the most profound knowledge of the Holy Scriptures can never remove the necessity for the exercise of faith. In the twilight of this present life, the human intelligence must always bow down before and worship mysteries, and can never make them submit to the searchings of human thought. If this, then, be true of the Sacred Scriptures, which simply announce the mysteries of salvation to men, surely it ought to be at least equally true of the Liturgy, through means of which the fruit of those mysteries is applied to our lives. Dom Guéranger quotes a passage from the writings of Origen

which bears directly upon the principle now under consideration :—

“ There are things, seemingly obscure, which nevertheless, by the very fact of their appealing to our sense of hearing, carry with them great profit to our soul. If the Gentiles believed that certain verses of poetry, which they called charms; that certain names, not understood even by those who invoked them, were able to draw forth serpents from their caves or put them to sleep; if it can be said that such words as these were able to disperse fevers and to cure diseases of the human body; that they could even sometimes send the soul into a kind of ecstasy, how much more ought we not to believe that the words of Holy Scripture should be far more powerful in their effects.” (*Origen's In Librum Jesu Nave Hom. xx.*)

St. Basil, in his book on the Holy Ghost, sets before us the same principle. In chapter xxvii. we find these words :

“ Moses, in his wisdom, knew that things which were made common and familiar were by that very fact liable to contempt, and that those which are rare and scarce, and somewhat withdrawn from the common gaze, excite naturally a certain admiration and laudable curiosity. Following his example, the Apostles and the Fathers have established from the beginning certain rites in the Church, and have thus guarded the dignity of the mysteries by the discipline of silence and the secret; for that is no longer a mystery which is offered without reserve to the ears of the multitude.”

This passage from St. Basil might almost be taken for a commentary on the words of Our Lord to His Apostles, “ To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to the rest in parables, that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand.”

There is another passage in the writings of Origen in which the same thought is still further unfolded. It is in his fifth homily on the *Book of Numbers*, and runs thus :—

“ When the time had come for the children of Israel to move their camp, the tabernacle was taken down. Aaron and the priests, his sons, entering into the Holy of Holies, covered each object with the veil belonging to it, and, leaving them thus veiled in the place where they stood, they brought in the sons of Caath, who were set apart for this ministry, and placed upon their shoulders that which had been already veiled by the hands of the priests. If you under-

stand the historical meaning, strive to rise to the splendour of the mystery it signifies ; and if the eye of your soul be pure, contemplate the light of the spiritual law that shines from it. Let him know to whom the mysteries are entrusted ; that it is not good to unfold them before those who are not fit to see them unveiled ; but that he ought to veil them, and, thus veiled, to place them on the shoulders of those who have not the capacity of appreciating them, and whose duty is simply to receive them. Therefore, it is that there are many things in the observances of the Church which it is proper to do, but the reason of which is not manifested to all. These covered and veiled rites we bear upon our shoulders, having received them from the Supreme Pontiff and his priests. For as they remain hidden, except we have in our midst Aaron or the Sons of Aaron, to whom alone it is given to contemplate them openly and unveiled." (Origen's *In Num. Hom. v.*)

These few extracts from the writings of some of the early Fathers will suffice to show how the principle of a language "not understood of the people," in the services of the altar, was recognised during the first ages of Christianity. As a proof of the constant existence of the same principle in the subsequent history of the Church, we have the explicit testimony and most weighty evidence of Pope St. Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), in the eleventh century ; of the Faculty of the Sorbonne, in the sixteenth ; and that of the Papal Constitution, *Unigenitus*, in the seventeenth century.

Vratislaus, Duke of Bohemia, had petitioned Pope St. Gregory VII. for the extension to his dominions of the dispensation granted by John VIII. for Moravia, on the ground that his subjects belonged to the Slavonic race. St. Gregory, in refusing to grant the request, sets before the Duke very clearly the Catholic principle of a liturgical language. Here are his words, in a letter written to Vratislaus in 1080 :—

"As regards your request of obtaining our consent to the celebration of the Divine Office in the Slavonic language, be it known to you that we can in no way accede to your wishes. For those who have seriously reflected upon this question, it is evident that it is not without reason that it has pleased Almighty God to allow the Holy Scriptures to remain hidden in certain places, from the fear lest if they were made accessible to the eyes of all, they might be exposed to that kind of familiarity which breeds contempt, or being badly understood

by shallow minds, they should become to them an occasion of error. It is no excuse to say that certain religious men (SS. Cyril and Methodius) have condescended to the wishes of a people full of simplicity, or that they have not judged it fitting to apply the remedy for it, for in primitive times the Church herself has suffered many things to be done which the holy Fathers, after mature consideration, have abrogated or corrected when Christianity had taken firm root and religion had increased. It is for this reason, that by the authority of the blessed Peter, We forbid that to be done which you, with imprudence, have asked for ; and for the honour of Almighty God, We command you to oppose yourself with all your power to this vain temerity."—(*Labb. Conc. Tom. x., p. 234.*)

The testimony of the faculty of the Sorbonne in the sixteenth century is of immense value as representing the mind of Catholic Christendom on one of the chief points *then* being attacked by the innovators and heretics of the time. It is contained in the famous censure on the writings of Erasmus, put forth in the year 1526. Erasmus, in his preface to the Gospel of St. Matthew, had expressed himself thus: "It is unbecoming and ridiculous to see uneducated people and women repeating like parrots the words of psalms and prayers *which they do not understand.*" The Faculty of the Sorbonne condemned this proposition in the following terms:—

"This proposition, which is calculated to prevent the simple and uneducated and women from joining in the Vocal Prayers prescribed by the rites and custom of the Church, as if this Prayer ceased to be of use to them because they did not understand it, is impious, erroneous, and open to the reproach of the Bohemians, who have wished to celebrate the Ecclesiastical Office in the vulgar tongue. Otherwise it would have to be confessed that under the Old Law it was unbecoming and ridiculous for the simple folk to observe the ceremonies of the Law which God had established because *these people could not understand* the text that prescribed them, an opinion which would be blasphemy against the Law and against God who gave it, and what is more—heretical. In effect the intention of the Church in her prayers is not only to instruct us by the collocation of words, but principally to bring it about that we, conforming ourselves to her end and object as her members, should declare the praises of God, render to Him the thanksgivings which are due to Him, and implore the necessary graces for ourselves. God, seeing this intention in those who recite these prayers, deigns to inflame their wills, to enlighten their minds, to strengthen their human weaknesses, and to dispense to them the fruits of His grace and of His

glory. This is also the intention of those who recite these prayers without understanding the meaning of the words. They resemble an ambassador who is ignorant of the words of the dispatches with which he has been entrusted by his sovereign to bear to a foreign court, but which nevertheless he delivers according to the orders he has received, and so fulfils his office both to his sovereign and to him to whom he has been sent. Besides, a great many passages from the Prophets are chanted in the Church, which, although they may not be understood by the greater part of those who sing them, are nevertheless useful and profitable to those who chant them, because in chanting them a duty is discharged to God who has revealed them. Whence it follows that the practice of prayer does not consist only in the understanding of the words, and that it is a dangerous error to suppose that vocal prayer has no other end than the understanding of the Faith, since this kind of prayer is intended chiefly to inflame the affections of the will, to the end that the soul in raising itself to God by piety and devotion in the manner aforesaid, might bear in mind that its efforts are not in vain, but that it obtains that which its intention demands, and its intelligence merits, the light and the other graces which are necessary for it.

"Now, all these effects are far richer and more precious than the simple understanding of the words, which brings with it but a slight profit when the love of God is not excited within them. Even when the psalms are translated into the vulgar tongue, it is by no means certain that the ignorant and simple people understand them with any more real appreciation than when left in the Latin."—(D'Argentre, *Collectio Judiciorum*, Tom. ii. f. 61.)

The seventeenth century offers its testimony in the Papal Constitution *Unigenitus*, which condemned the errors of the Jansenist heresy. In that document, which bears altogether upon things which are of faith and errors against the faith, we find the following condemned proposition, taken from the writings of Quesnel :—

"To take away from the simple people the consolation of joining their voices to the voice of the whole Church, is a practice contrary to the Apostolic custom and the intention of God."—(*Prop.* 86.)

Now, a greater testimony than this in favour of the principle of a Liturgical language we could not have, for it condemns the contrary principle, not merely as dangerous or rash and temerarious, but as heretical, and this with all the authority that attaches to a Pontifical Constitution condemning errors against Catholic teaching.

This error of the Jansenist heretics had been anticipated a century before by the Council of Trent, for we read in the Acts of the Council (*Sess. xxii. cap. viii.*):—

“Although the Mass contains a vast store of instruction for the faithful, still it has not seemed fitting to the Fathers that it should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue. Therefore, each church shall retain its ancient rites which are approved by the Holy Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all the churches, but to the end that the sheep of Christ should not suffer from hunger, and that the little children should not ask for bread and find no one to break it for them, this Holy Council orders pastors and all those who have care of souls, to explain often during the celebration of Mass, either themselves or through the ministry of others, some portion of those things which are read in the Mass, and amongst other things to explain some details of the mysteries of this most Holy Sacrifice, especially on Sundays and Festivals.”

It is not then without the greatest reasons that Dom Guéranger speaks of the existence of an anti-liturgical heresy which he has traced from the time of St. Jerome, when its principles were represented by the heretic Vigilantius, down to our own day when its principles are supported by all the heretical sects that have been the principal offspring of Protestantism. Efforts in the same direction as those of the Jansenists in the seventeenth century were made in the reign of Joseph II. in Austria, in the eighteenth century, and it was the strange zeal of that emperor for ecclesiastical innovation that caused Frederick to speak of him as “my brother the Sacristan.”

But perhaps the wildest outburst during the eighteenth century of this dangerous error, condemned so often by the Church, is to be studied in the abortive schismatical Synod of Pistoja, held under the protection of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and presided over by Scipio Ricci, Bishop of Pistoja and Prato, in which it was determined amongst other innovations contrary to the practices of the Church, to celebrate the Liturgy in the vulgar tongue, and to read all the prayers of the Mass in a loud voice, suppressing entirely this particular application of the discipline of the *Secret* which has come down to us from the earliest times, and the principle of which is so manifestly maintained in the prayers and ceremonies of

the Holy Sacrifice. It is needless to add that the doings of this synod were condemned by Pope Pius VI., in the Bul *Auctorem Fidei* published in 1794. Ricci, after considerable delay and hesitancy finally retracted his errors, and died in communion with the Church.

In 1797 there was held in Notre Dame, at Paris, that strange assembly composed of twenty-nine bishops of the so-called "Constitutional Church of France." Some of its decrees are very similar in character to those of the *conciliabulum* held at Pistoja in 1786. One result of its labours was the publication of a Ritual in French, and the expression of a wish that the national language should be used in the services of the Church. However, after a short session, the meeting broke up in disorder, and the Constitutional Church of France was too short-lived and too weak to be able to carry its designs into execution, although we read that a certain priest, named Duplan, Curé of Gentilly, near Paris, distinguished himself by having Vespers sung in French in his church, at which one of the Constitutional bishops assisted.

Dom Guéranger takes notice of a custom that has prevailed for a long time in many parts of Germany, which consists in the singing of the *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus*, and other parts of the Mass by the people in the German language, and which he censures as a custom quite contrary to the spirit of the Church, adding "that a practice further removed from the intention of the Universal Church could not be imagined." He recalls to our minds the words of the Decree of Cardinal Otho, Bishop of Augsburg, in 1548 :

"The Latin language, which, as a divine instrument, was dedicated to sacred usages upon the altar of the Cross itself, and to which the Western Church is indebted for the Christian religion, shall be preserved in the administration of the Sacraments, and in the other offices of the Church, throughout the whole of our diocese, and shall be re-established in those places where it may have fallen into disuse."

It was at the beginning of this century, in 1802, that the last effort in the direction of a national Liturgy was made in France by order of those "*articles organiques*" which were drawn up to serve as a limitation to the powers granted to

the Holy See by the Concordat, and which became the law of the land upon the 5th July of that year. A commission was then formed to draw up and appoint the new liturgical books of the Church of France; but the result of its labours was never made known, and it failed utterly to produce any real effect in the practice and discipline of the Church in France.

Thus we are able to look back through the records of more than fifteen centuries, and to recognise in each the same principle regarding the use of a liturgical language in the service of the Church. We can see how this principle has been maintained in the face of heretics and innovators by the repeated decisions of the Holy See, and how it has even been proclaimed by the canons of an Œcumenical Council.

From all this it is evident that the reasons on which this principle is based must lie very deeply imbedded in the foundations of Catholic Christianity. And in truth a liturgical language is one of those visible signs of that "Sacrament of Unity" which is shown to the world in the Catholic Church. It is one of the chief means for securing that universality of discipline and practice which is a constituent part of the Church's catholicity. It is the bond that connects together and unites in one common prayer, not the people of one nation, but all the nations of the earth, in the unity of truth. It is the chain of Peter thrown around the earth, and keeping it firmly bound to the centre of unity established by Jesus Christ in the Roman See. It constitutes one of the chief reasons why the Liturgy of the Church has always been regarded by Catholic theologians as the first instrument of ecclesiastical tradition. It is, moreover, perhaps, the chief exterior means for the conservation of Catholic dogma in all its integrity, and it was this that gave rise to that world-famous axiom first formulated by Pope St. Celestine I., "*Legem credendi statuit lex orandi.*" It is the one means, too, by which, in the Catholic sense of the word, popular religious services are possible, for by it there is offered to all the peoples of the earth a common channel for the united expression of their faith and of their prayer. But a yet more

weighty argument, if possible, in favour of the use of a liturgical language can be gathered from the fact that it has served in a wonderfully efficacious manner in guarding and fostering that Catholic instinct of reverence which has been so well styled by Goethe, "The soul of all religion that ever has been among men, or ever will be."

In concluding his treatment of the subject of the use of a liturgical language, Dom Guéranger laments the frequent substitution in France of so-called "cantiques" in the French language for the Latin hymns of the Church in certain occasional devotional services—such as those commonly held during the month of May, to which he especially alludes; and he asks how much better would it not be on these occasions to make use of such well-known and venerable hymns as the *Ave Maris Stella*, the *Inviolata*, the *Regina Cœli*, or the *Magnificat*, than to join in singing those couplets of such inferior merit, the melodies of which are too often suggestive of the concert hall, and which only serve to attract to our churches a crowd of "*blasés amateurs*," who come periodically only to satisfy their eyes and their ears.

"Dignity," he writes, "in all that concerns the Divine service is a necessity with which nothing can ever dispense, and the Church has placed the secret of this dignity in the liturgical language and in the severe melodies of the Gregorian chants. Is there not a real danger of exposing the faithful to the loss of all taste for the Latin tongue in the Church service if they are allowed to become unaccustomed to the sound of those masculine chants which were one of the principal sources of the simple and robust faith of our forefathers? For us, far from resigning ourselves to see the liturgical language share a divided allegiance with the vernacular in our churches, we desire very soon to see the knowledge of Latin spread itself beyond the limits within which it has been confined by modern custom. If Fénelon said, a hundred and fifty years ago, in speaking of the education of girls, that 'the study of Latin would be much more reasonable for them than that of Italian and Spanish, because it is the language of the Church, and there is an inestimable fruit and consolation in understanding the sense of the words of the Divine Office, at which one assists so often,' it would seem that in this age, when the education of children has been so fully developed, the moment had come to enlarge the circle in this direction. Piety would gain by it, and the knowledge of religion, so necessary to the

mothers of families, would assume a degree of authority and of gravity, the happy influences of which we would not be slow to recognise."

May it not be allowed to English-speaking Catholics to unite in the lament and in the desire of the learned Abbot of Solesmes, in his lament upon the too frequent substitution of services in the vernacular, for the liturgical services of the Church, especially on the afternoons and in the evenings of Sundays and holidays of obligation, more particularly in those churches where a liturgical service is feasible, and where nevertheless the preference is given to private forms of devotion, and in his desire of seeing a more widespread knowledge of the Latin language amongst the faithful, in order that they may more easily unite their minds and hearts as well as their voices, not in the mother tongue of one nation but in the universal mother tongue of Catholic Christendom? That so there may ever grow up and increase in our midst that appreciation and love for the prayer of the Church which St. Ignatius of Loyola has laid down in his *Book of Spiritual Exercises* as one of the signs of a mind in harmony with the spirit of the Catholic Church. These are his words: "To esteem the ecclesiastical chant, as also the psalms, and long prayers that are accustomed to be recited either within or outside churches; also to think well of the times appointed for the Hours of the Divine Office, and every prayer whatsoever of the Canonical Hours." (*Regulae aliquot servandae ut cum Orthodoxa Ecclesia sentiamus*). Perhaps no better words can be placed as a seal to this paper than those of the late Cardinal Wiseman, to be found in his charming essay on "Prayer and Prayer Books," contributed to the *Dublin Review* in 1842:—

"There can be no doubt that while the ancient Christians had their thoughts constantly turned towards God, in private prayer, the Church took care to provide for all the regular and necessary discharge of this duty by her public offices. These were not meant to be holiday services, or mere clerical duties; but the ordinary, daily, and sufficient discharge of an obligation belonging to every state and class in the Church. It never was understood that *besides* the public offices there should be certain long, family or private prayers, as necessary to discharge the duties of morning and evening spiritual

sacrifice. For all that was right on this score she took care to provide, and where she has done this we may be sure of its being done beyond hope of rivalry. Unfortunately, those offices have, for the most part, been reduced to a duty discharged by the clergy in private, and have thus come to be considered by us as a purely ecclesiastical obligation superadded to, not comprehending, the discharge of ordinary Christian duty. One is apt to forget that Prime is the Church's morning prayer, and Complin her evening devotions. Yet so the two manifestly are. But what greatly helps to make us overlook this fact is that we have been accustomed to consider morning and evening prayers as necessarily of a specific form, composed of certain definite acts of devotion, arranged in formal order; and have lost sight of that model which characterizes all the offices of the Church; and which is and must be far the most perfect. . . . There is a fragrance, a true incense, in those ancient prayers, which seems to rise from the lips, and to wind upwards in soft balmy clouds, upon which angels may recline, and thence look down upon us, as we utter them. They seem worthy to be caught up in a higher sphere, and to be heaped upon the altar above at which an angel ministers. In them we look in vain for that formal arrangement, that systematic distribution of parts which distinguishes our modern prayers. We never have petitions regularly labelled and cut to measure, and yet nothing can we want that is not there asked for. What seems at first sight almost disorder, is found, on examination, to be a most pleasing variety, produced by a most artless, yet most refined, arrangement. They lack the symmetry of the parterre; there seems to have been no line and compass used in laying them out; the flowers are not laced according to a rigid classification; but they have the grandeur, and the boldness, and withal the freshness of a landscape; their very irregularities give them beauties, their sudden transitions effect; and their colours are blended in a luxurious richness with which no modern art can vie. They partake of all the solemnity and all the stateliness of the places in which they were first recited. They retain the echoes of the gloomy catacomb, they still resound with the jubilee of gilded basilicas, they keep the harmonious reverberations of lofty groined vaults. The Church's sorrows and her joys, martyrs' oblation, and confessors' thanksgiving, anchorites' sighs, and virgins' breathing of love—all are registered there. He that would muse over a skull hath his *Dies Irae*; she that would stand at the foot of the Holy Rood, her *Stabat Mater*; and they that would adore in concert before the altar, their *Lauds Sion*. Nor had the Church at any time lost her power of prayer, her mastery over the harp of David; but silent and unstrung as it may for a long space appear, she hath only to attune it when she lists, and strike it, and it brings forth the same sweet, soothing notes as at the beginning. Every new service or prayer which she has added to the Pontifical or Ritual dissolves into the mass of more ancient compositions, so as to be undistinguishable, and blends with them, as

a new ingredient in 'the sweet confections of the apothecary' (*Eccles. xxxviii.*, 7) equal to the rest in savour as in virtue . . . In the Church offices everything is prayed for that ought to enter into the exercises for which they are intended; but they being composed of 'psalms, hymns, and spiritual canticles,' most beautifully selected, the various petitions run blended through the entire offices, according as the various portions of the chosen parts express them. This prevents weariness; it is like a variety of modulations in music, full of passages through various keys, with occasional apparent and momentary dissonances that only give zest to surrounding harmonies. On the other side, our modern devotions have each petition, and each act of virtue, accurately distinct; no room is left for a varied play of feeling; there are no contrasts, no light and shade. The former is the language of nature, the latter that of art."

Then after a brief analysis of the offices of Prime and Complin as the morning and evening prayer of the Church, the Cardinal asks:

"Why should not this use be restored? Why should they not become the standard devotions of all Catholics, whether alone or in their families? Why may we not hope to have them more solemnly performed, chanted even, every day in all religious communities; or where there is a sufficient number of persons, even in family chapels? Thus would be more truly exemplified that resemblance to the Church in the Christian family, which St. Paul intimates when he speaks of the Church that was in the house of an individual. (*Coloss. iv.*, 15). Surely, if in other respects the resemblance will hold, it should not be despised in this, that the family united in prayer, should speak the *very language of the Church*; should observe the forms of devotion which she has herself drawn up and approved; and, as in good discipline, in spiritual affection, in communion of good works, in mutual encouragement to virtue, so likewise in the regularity and in the order of prayer, assimilate itself to those religious communities which, in every part of the Christian world, praise God in her name, and under her especial sanction. We strongly suspect that many who will join the Church will hail with joy every such return, however imperfect, to the discipline and practice of the ancient Church; they will warm to us the more in proportion to our zeal for the restoration of its discipline."

W. H. KIRWAN.

THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.¹

II.

THE OLD CHAPELS OF DUBLIN.

HAVING registered the names of the devoted priests who laboured successfully to keep the faith alive in Dublin during the exceptionally severe and trying years which inaugurated the last century, it is now time that I should try and localise the temples—or, to describe them more truthfully, the consecrated stables, barns and back rooms which had to do duty for churches in those days of terror. This, however, involves a glance back into the preceding century.

The prolonged and merciless reign of Elizabeth had successfully obliterated all *public* evidence of Catholicity in Dublin. The two cathedrals—that of the Most Holy Trinity

¹ In our last article the accidental omission of the name of James II. in the beginning of the second paragraph, page 843, makes the sentence read as if Louis XIV. had appointed Dr. Creagh Archbishop of Dublin and not the unhappy Stuart monarch.

This, perhaps, may be the place to publish a document copied from the Propaganda archives, setting forth the collation of this right of nominating bishops on James II., James III., and his successors, a right which was used by them and recognized by the Holy See up to the nomination of Dr. Carpenter, 1770:—

“Modus antiquus et modernus providendi Ecclesiis Hiberniae de Episcopis et aliis Ecclesiae dignitatibus. Rev. J. Madden, S^{ci}. Isidori in Urbe, Dec. 31, 1719.”

Post mortem Caroli II^{di}, succedente Jacobo II^o, pio et orthodoxo Principe, per Legatum suum in Urbe Comitena de Castlemain institit pro nominatione Episcoporum apud Innoc. XI., veluti jure avito majorum sibi competente in omni ditione Britannica, quam quidem post varias hinc inde concertationes cum nonnullis restrictionibus obtinuit, eoque regnante in Anglia usque ad expulsionem nullus fuit renunciatus Episcopus nisi nominatus ab illo. Modo vero jus nominandi Episcopos est extra omnem aleam controversiae, vi Indulti Clementis XI., hodie feliciter regnantis qui Jacobo III^o. (quem Deus diu incolumem servet) omne jus nominandi Majorum nedum concessit, verum etiam cum plenitudine potestatis, si quod hujuscemodi jus nominandi non habuissent, de novo vult esse datum et collatum praefato Regi ejusque successoribus. Quoad reliquas dignitates Ecclesiasticas Regni Hib. nunc dierum Rex Anglia non se immiscet.

(Christ Church), and that of St. Patrick—all the parish churches, chapels of ease, and churches of religious communities;—everything, in fine, that had the semblance of a Catholic temple about it, had been seized upon early in the reign, and given over to heretical worship, or else allowed to fall into ruin. The miserable apostacy of the archbishop (Curwen) helped to complete the catastrophe; for, though the Holy See took immediate steps to provide, by exceptional methods, for the more urgent spiritual needs of the faithful, the records of the time are ominously silent with regard to chapels, churches, or any public organization whatever; which indeed the fierce and relentless laws in force would never have permitted to subsist. But very few names even of the clergy,—mostly as they occur in legal processes,—are preserved to us during that terrible half century. When Matthew De Oviedo was chosen by the Holy See as archbishop in 1600, things could have been no better, for he never was allowed to put foot within his See, and it is only in 1611, when the energetic Dr. Matthews was transferred from Clogher to Dublin, that we can trace the first returning signs of the organic life of the Church.

Before leaving Rome, where he happened to be when appointed to Dublin, he addressed a significant petition to Pope Paul V., asking for a privileged *portable* altar, and giving as his reason for this unusual request, that: "As all the churches of that kingdom are either profaned and destroyed by the late persecutions, or occupied by the heretics, and as it is nowise allowed to offer up there the Holy Sacrifice in public, but only in private houses, or in orchards, or in caverns, we," etc.¹

In 1612, a year after the appointment of Dr. Matthews, the Green of Oxmanstown was purpled with the blood of two glorious martyrs, Dr. Cornelius O'Devany, the aged Bishop of Down and Connor, and Father Patrick O'Luorchain, a priest of the Diocese of Cork. The Archbishop himself was eagerly sought after and many times hotly pursued, and during the whole time of his Episcopate was compelled to

See Dr. Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 241.

lead a hidden and fugitive existence, in constant and oftentimes imminent danger of arrest. Nevertheless within three years of his promotion, in 1614, he managed to bring together a Provincial Synod in Kilkenny, where parishes were re-constructed, their boundaries determined, and pastors assigned to them, but the temples in which these pastors should exercise their priestly functions, and where the faithful should have the Word of Life preached to them, are best conceived from the wording of one of the Decrees of this Synod, whereby it was enacted, that: "To provide for the reverence due to the Sacred Mysteries the most becoming localities should always be selected for celebrating Mass; and to guard against all irreverence from dust, etc., linen cloths were, if possible, to be suspended above or around the altar; and when it was celebrated in the open air, care should be taken lest the sacred vessels should be disturbed by sudden showers or gusts of wind."¹

A government list of the clergy made out in 1618 (but a very incomplete one) enables us to identify some of these shrines in the City of Dublin, at that period. "The places," it says, "of most public note, whereunto the priests resort for Mass in Dublin, are:—

"The Bakers' Hall, in the College, adjoining St. Audeon's Chancel.

"A back-room of Brown, near Newgate (then in Corn Market).

"A back-room of Mr. Plunkett, in Bridge-street.

"A back-room of Nicholas Queitrot's, in High-street.

"A back-room of Cary, in High-street.

"A back-room of Widow O'Hagan, in High-street.

"Shelton's House, beyond the Bridge, at the corner of the so-called Hangman-lane (Hammond-lane.)"

Such were the temples of the faith at the close of the reign of James I.

Dr. Matthews died in Rome in 1623, and was buried there in *S. Pietro in Montorio*, side by side with O'Neill and O'Donnell.

¹ See *Constitutiones Provinciales*, 1770, and Dr. Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*.

He was succeeded in the See of Dublin by Dr. Thomas Fleming, brother of the Baron of Slane, and a Franciscan Friar. The Franciscans had stolen back to Dublin, under the conduct of Father Mooney, in 1615, but not to their old convent in St. Francis-street, which was now in lay hands, but to a very obscure lane off Cook-street, where, when their chapel came to be established, it was known to the initiated by the sign of a public house which stood at the corner—*Adam and Eve*—a name preserved to the Franciscan Church to the present day. Hither came the new Archbishop to dwell with his brethren in July or August, 1625.

Charles the First had come to the throne in the previous month of March, and his accession was marked by a disposition on the part of his Ministers to conciliate the Catholics, not, indeed, that they loved them any better than did their predecessors, but because they loved the Parliament less, and felt that they should look elsewhere for the subsidies the Parliament had refused to grant in order to carry on the war against the most powerful monarchs in Europe, then leagued against England. Lord Conway warned the Viceroy, Lord Falkland, of the “apprehensions of danger if any reformation in religion should (*for the present*) be attempted there.” The Catholics were not slow to read the signs of the times, and turn the difficulties of the monarch to their own advantage. Wherefore they offered “to constantly pay an army of five thousand foot and five hundred horse for his Majesty’s service, provided they might be tolerated in the exercise of their religion.” It was not much to ask in return for such an offer. The offer was accepted, but no precise stipulations were made, nor any definite result obtained except that whilst the laws against Popery remained unrepealed, toleration was connived at, and the Archbishop was able to write in his first letter to Rome:—“At length the tempest of uninterrupted persecution has been somewhat appeased, and the orthodox inhabitants enjoy a more tranquil repose than was granted to them for many years.”

The result of this tacit toleration was immediately visible. The scattered stones of the sanctuary were hastily

gathered together, and houses were rented to be converted into chapels. A contemporary writer gives a description of the artistic decoration and rich furniture of a spacious chapel opened by the Jesuits in Back-lane!¹ The Discalced Carmelites made their first appearance in Dublin about this period, and establishing themselves close to the Franciscans, opened a chapel in Cook-street, which street, as we shall see, all through this and the following century may be regarded as the the head-quarters of Popery in Dublin. A letter from the Superior of the Dublin Carmelites to the Sacred Congregation, written in 1629, amongst other things, conveys the intelligence that "now ecclesiastics publicly perform their sacred functions, and prepare suitable places for offering the Holy Sacrifice. With open doors they now preach to the people, say Mass, and discharge all their other duties without being molested by anyone."² But this toleration was short-lived. In January, 1628-9, the Privy Council of Ireland addressed a letter to the King and Privy Council of England, bearing the signatures of the Viceroy, of Adam Loftus, the Chancellor; of James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh; and of others, soliciting permission to act against the Papists. "We have already," they say, "made your Lordships acquainted with the intolerable increase and progress of Jesuits, seminarists, priests and monastic friars, who have arisen in this kingdom, . . . we only ask that authority be given us to that effect, to restrain their arrogance, coerce their jurisdiction, diminish their numbers, deaden their attempts, and make known their practices." The permission thus asked was not long delayed, and on the 1st of April, 1629, a proclamation was issued by the Lord Deputy against the Catholic clergy, wherein it is recited "that they have dared to assemble in public places . . . to erect edifices called public oratories, colleges, mass-houses, and convents of friars, monks, and nuns;"—and it commands that all such be dissolved, that all

¹ In the dispatch from the Earl of Cork, dated January 9th, 1630, and just published in the latest volume issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, he describes the Jesuit's house as "richly adorned and furnished by the Dowager Countess of Kildare."

² See Dr. Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 313.

religious and priests "desist from preaching or performing any rite in any public chapel or oratory," and that "all owners of such houses and schools should apply them without delay to other uses." To this Proclamation the Catholics paid little heed for a time, continuing as before, only closing the front doors of their oratories and admitting the faithful by private passages. But a *coup* was in preparation, and Launcelot Bulkeley, then Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, was the man to deliver it. On St. Stephen's Day, 1629, whilst the Lords Justices were at service in Christ Church, a rumour reached them that High Mass was being celebrated in one of the Chapels of Cook-street with special pomp and solemnity. This was too much. The Archbishop instantly requested to be allowed to punish the offenders, and a troop of soldiers being drawn out he issued forth at their head invaded the Chapel during the Holy celebration, demolished the Altar, and hewed the statue of St. Francis into atoms. Two of the religious were seized, and the archbishop was about leading them to prison when the heroic women of the congregation, assisted by some youths, assailed the troops and their leader with stones and clubs so vigorously and so successfully that, as Ware assures us, Bulkeley "was compelled to take to his heels and cry out for help, and with difficulty saved himself by taking shelter in an adjoining house."¹ A few days later, all the religious houses (stated by L'Estrange to have been *fifteen*)², and one chapel of the secular priests, were seized upon by the government; whilst the college or academy established by the Jesuits in Back-lane, with all its furniture and belongings, was quietly annexed to Trinity College and may be regarded as the beginning of its medical and chemical laboratory.

The miserable shuffling and hypocrisy that characterised the dealings of Charles and his ministers with the represen-

¹ For a detailed account of this unseemly scuffle, see Dr. Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, also Father Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries* amongst the appendices. The cardinal considers the attack was made on the Carmelite chapel, though some strong evidence would rather indicate the Franciscan.

² The Earl of Cork's letter, which is official, states the number of the houses seized to be *ten*, and this number includes houses of nuns.

tatives of the Irish Catholics in the matter of the so styled "Graces," may here be passed over as foreign to our purpose. Confining ourselves, therefore, to the strict letter of our enquiry, we find that the sum total of results in the way of erecting or opening places of Catholic worship, during this period of comparative toleration (from 1625 to 1630), may best be gathered from an original document preserved in the Library of T.C.D. (MSS. f. 3-17), drawn up by the aforesaid Archbishop Bulkeley within a few months after his undignified retreat from Cook-street. It was published in *extenso* in the fifth volume of the first series of the I. E. RECORD (January, 1869), but the reproduction here of a few items will, we are sure, prove interesting :—

"*St. Michael's*. . . . There is one Mass-house in that parish, which stands in the back of Mr. George Taylor's house ; it is partly in St. Michael's parish, and partly in St. Nicholas's parish within the walls ;¹ the recusants of that parish and of the parishes adjoining resort thither commonly. The priest that says Mass there, and is commonly called the priest of that parish [P.P.], is Patrick Brangan. . . ."

"*St. Michan's*. . . . The most part of the parishioners are recusants, who go to one Browne, a priest, to hear Mass, who says Mass commonly in the houses of one Patrick White and the Widow Geydon, or Geaton."

"*St. Audeon's*. . . . There are but sixteen Protestant houses in the parish ; all the rest, being above three parts, are recusants. . . ."

"*St. Nicholas without the Walls*. . . . The most of the parishioners are recusants, and some of them repair to Patrick Brangan aforesaid to hear Mass, and other some to one William Donagh a Mass-priest, who liveth in St. Thomas-street. . . ."

"*St. Catherine and St. James*. . . . There is a place in that parish called the Priest's Chamber, *lately built* by one that the Papists call Sir William Donnogh, who says Mass there. This house or chamber is situated over one Charles's or Carroll's house, a victualler. There is a school kept in that parish by one James Dunne, a Papist, in the house of one John Crosby, a stabler. . . ."

"*St. Kevin's and St. Bride's* [part of St. Nicholas Without]. . . . There is a Mass-priest, named John Begg, in that parish, who

¹ Between High-street and Back-lane.

² The Mass-house for this parish is not named ; but we need have little difficulty in tracing it to the "Bakers' Hall," already mentioned.

bath out of every recusant's house in that parish, being fifty, eight shillings per annum. . . ."

So much for the city. Let us now take a few examples from the country parishes:—

"*Swordes.* . . . There is one Doyle, a Mass-priest, who keeps a school in the Town of Swordes, to whom many gentlemen's sons do resort. This priest commonly says Mass in the house of Michael Taylor, of Swoordes, gentleman, whereunto there is great concourse of people on Sundays and Holydays. . . ."

"*Howthe.* . . . Mass is commonly said by one Shergall, a priest, in the house of Mr. Richard St. Lawrence, of Corstown, in the parish of Howthe. . . ."

"*Baldoyle.* . . . There is Mass commonly said in Mr. Fitzymon's house. There are no Protestants in the parish. . . ."

"*Portmarnock.* . . . Mass is said in Walter Plunket's house. . . ."

"*Mallahyde.* . . . All the parishioners are recusant, and go to Mass now at Mr. Talbot of Mallahyde's house."

"*Garristowne.* . . . There is in the town of Garestowne a great void house, of nine couples long, covered with straw, whereunto the parishioners resort to hear Mass. . . ."

"*Luske.* . . . There are two public Mass-houses, one in the town of Luske, belonging to a farmer called Dermott, of Raheny, the other in the town of Rush, upon that part of it which is called the land of the king, which is held by one George Delahyde. The priest's name is Patrick Duffe. . . ."

"*Tallaght and Templeoge.* . . . The priests are maintained and Mass frequently said in the houses of Adam Tallbott, of Belgart, Barnaby Reily, of Timon, Mrs. Ellenore Talbott and Mrs. Henry Talbott, of Templeoge, and Pierse Archbold, of Knocklin, which Pierse Archbold doth maintain a Popish schoolmaster in his town. . . ."

"*Mounctowne.* . . . There is a house in the town of Mounctowne converted from a dwelling house to be a Mass-house—Turlough Reilly, Mass-priest. . . ."

These extracts will perhaps suffice to tell us how Catholic worship prospered in Dublin in the year 1630.

This connivance at semi-toleration continued with varying vicissitudes until the year 1641, when the great civil war burst upon the country. The Archbishop (Dr. Fleming) being made a member of the Supreme Council of the Confederation, went to Kilkenny to attend its deliberations and never afterwards was able to return to his see. We do not deem it necessary

to go through that terrible period from 1642 to 1660. It commenced with the cruelty and treachery of Borlase and Ormond; in 1649 after the battle of Rathmines it saw Jones, the Cromwellian general, commander of Dublin, and subsequently the Protector himself made Dublin his headquarters, whence he issued forth north, south, and west, dealing death and devastation everywhere around him. Catholics could not remain within the city walls, nor come nearer to it, even for the requirements of commerce, than two miles. These laws and the manner in which we know them to have been enforced, removed we may be sure even those timid attempts at a public existence which was made by the Catholics of Dublin in the earlier part of the reign of Charles the First.¹

The Archbishop (Dr. Fleming) died in Galway in the year 1656, and the Holy See, fearing that the appointment of a successor at such a time might only mark him out for persecution and death, contented itself with nominating Dr. James Dempsey, Vicar-Apostolic of Dublin. In his very first report to the Holy See, forwarded in 1657, this distinguished prelate thus sums up the effect of the the Cromwellian visitation:—“*There are not, in the Diocese of Dublin, Catholics enough to form three parishes.*”²

Three years later the monarchy was restored, and with it the hopes of the Catholics. Their loyalty to Charles the First, their steadfastness in confronting his enemies whilst struggling to vindicate their own rights, and the unparalleled atrocities that they were compelled to endure at the hands of the Puritans because of this line of action which they had

¹ *Ex uno diace omnes*:—In 1641 Sir Charles Coote entered Wicklow while the people were at Mass on Sunday. The chapel then stood in a field opposite what is now the postern gate of the curate's garden. The Parliamentary troops collected the bundles of firewood that lay outside the cottages close by, piled them up against the chapel door, and set fire to them. All who were not burned or suffocated inside were put to the sword as they tried to escape. Father O'Byrne, P.P., was slain on the steps of the doorway. (Traditions of the late Matt Kelly, derived from his mother, a storehouse of local lore, kindly furnished by Father MacEnerny).

² “*Dublinii non sunt tot Catholici quot constituerunt tres Paroecia.*” Ex actis Sac. Cong., Aug., 1657.

adopted, furnished them with good grounds of hope that the son of Charles, now seated on his throne, and credited, not only with sympathy for their cause, but with sharing their religious belief, although clandestinely,¹ would lift up the old faith at least to the extent of securing to its adherents the rights of conscience and the freedom of public worship. The beginning of his reign did much to sustain these hopes, and give confidence to the Catholics to venture somewhat into the open. Hence, we may fairly conclude that such of the old chapels as we shall find to have existed in 1700 were called into existence during this reign, especially while Dr. Dempsey was Vicar-Apostolic; for, though the so-called Acts of Settlement went far to disappoint the hopes of the Catholics, and the unfair use made against them of the conspiracy of Titus Oates,—culminating in the martyrdom of Oliver Plunkett and in the imprisonment unto death of Archbishop Talbot,—taught them to look upon the faithless heir of the Stuarts as no better than his predecessors, nevertheless from 1660 until 1670 great activity was displayed in calling into existence, for the city parishes at least, some improvement on the back rooms and outhouses of the first quarter of the century, and in erecting buildings specially set aside for purposes of Divine worship, and worthy to be dignified with the style and title of *sacella* or *chapels*. The nearest approach that could be found in the List of 1630 to these still unpretentious and more or less concealed structures were the “Priest’s Chamber,” over the butcher’s stall in Thomas street, doing duty as parish church for St. James and St. Catherine, and the “great void house, covered with straw,” in Garristown. Now however, convenient halls or large rooms were built (oftentimes they were stables adapted to their new use), and thus was made the beginning of those venerable *old chapels* that have now all disappeared. We are aided in coming to this conclusion by the List of 1731, preserved in the Irish Record Office, where a distinct enumeration

¹ It is pretty generally believed, and fairly well attested, that Charles II. was received into the Church by Dr. Peter Talbot, afterwards Arch bishop of Dublin.

is made of the "Popish Mass-houses" built previous to the first year of the reign of George the First [1714]. As it is beyond all doubt that no chapel building could have been dared or attempted under the terrible reigns of William III. and Anne, we may infer that such as existed before the first of George the First had been in existence previous to the Battle of the Boyne [1690], and most probably during the episcopates of Archbishops Russell and Talbot—that is, going back to 1670. Assuming this surmise to be correct, and in the absence of all details, it is the nearest approximation that can be made, we shall now proceed to enumerate and localise the chapels of Dublin existing in the year 1700. But I fear the present paper has already reached its appointed length, so that it may be better to hold over these details until the next number.

✦ N. D.

QUID MIHI ET TIBI EST, MULIER?

S. Joannes, ii. 4.

I HAVE read with care the interpretation given in the RECORD by Father O'Brien to those words spoken by Our Lord at the Marriage Feast of Cana.

I do not believe that the pious ears of the faithful would listen unmoved to his version of the sacred text. He says, "I think the notion that she has made a request has come about in this way: 'Our Lord rebuked her,' but he would not have rebuked her unless she made a request; therefore, she must have made a request." He says "that those who occupy themselves in trying to find out matter for a rebuke are engaged in an inglorious task." He adds, "Now it does not appear from the Gospel that she made any request," and that the meaning of the words *τί μοι καὶ σοί* is literally "what to Me and to thee," and mean, in his view, "what an unsuitable thing to Me and to thee." "The deficiency of the wine was an unsuitable thing to Our Lord and His

Blessed Mother. It would be awkward for both, and the time he had arranged to leave the banquet had not yet come." Now, I fully agree with Father O'Brien that the Blessed Virgin was not rebuked or reprehended on this occasion, but I hold with equal certainty that the words spoken by Our Blessed Lady to Our Lord when the wine was failing, "They have no wine," convey, not, perhaps, an explicit request, but a quiet suggestion, to Our Divine Lord for the performance of a miracle. It is quite clear, then, that I do not come to the conclusion, or "notion," that a request was made because a rebuke had been given, as I do hold that Our Blessed Lady was not rebuked or reprimanded on the occasion; and, again, that the miracle was wrought at the suggestion of the Blessed Virgin.

Before I make any reference to the parallel passages in the Sacred Scriptures to which Father O'Brien so lucidly refers, and to one or two which he has omitted, I will give the general arguments, from reason, Scripture, and authority, for my two propositions—one which he admits, the other which he denies. I am sorry that he has not in every instance given chapter and verse for his Scripture passages for the benefit of his readers.

To avoid the difficulties suggested by those who hold that Our Lord would not have rebuked his Blessed Mother unless she had made a request, Father O'Brien abandons the idea that anything like a request or suggestion was made on this occasion. His reasons I shall refer to later on. It is quite true that Father O'Brien may say, "You may speak as long as you please on the subject of 'rebuke.' I am prepared on that score to be entirely with you. I do not want any argument to convince me on the subject: the Blessed Virgin was *not* rebuked." I do not take this view. I hold that if Our Lady was not rebuked for her language, but, on the contrary, addressed in words of the tenderest love by her Son, and this taken in conjunction with the actual performance of the miracle, that we have, indeed, a very strong argument that a suggestion had been made. To suppose for an instant that our Blessed Lady was reprehended would be also to suppose that she was guilty of a fault, which, I believe,

no Catholic will hold. Again, if she had been guilty of a fault in making the request, assuredly she would not have persisted in that fault by directing the waiters to prepare for the miracle; and most assuredly Our Lord would not have endorsed these faults by the performance of a miracle. Who can conceive that He who came to "fulfil the law," in commanding us to love and honour our parents, would be Himself the first to violate it? And on what occasion? On the solemn and interesting celebration of the solemnities of a marriage, probably of the relatives of His own mother. To reprehend His Blessed Mother on such an occasion is utterly at variance with His tender love for her and the charity that moved her to appeal to His omnipotence, as well as to His compassion.

I fail to see the slightest fault on the part of Our Blessed Lady in suggesting a miracle, the performance of which ended in the "manifestation of God's glory and in strengthening the faith of His disciples."

The Gospel tells us that Our Blessed Lord and His disciples were invited to the feast. It is not recorded that the Blessed Virgin was invited. She had been at the preparation for this banquet. "*Et Mater Jesu erat ibi.*" She must have had a perfect knowledge of the insufficiency of the store of wine, and how inadequate it was for the number of guests, as well as for the large unexpected number who must have been present to witness so glorious a scene, and one which must have continued for so many days.

Maldonatus thinks that there may have been on this occasion a *Reprehensio simulata*, like to the one in St. Matthew, xii. 48: "Who is My mother, and who are My brethren?" and to the one in St. Luke, ii. 49: "How is it that you sought Me? Did you not know that I must be about My Father's business?"

On both occasions Our Lord manifests His love and obedience to His mother; and on this occasion the learned commentator suggests that Our Divine Lord wished to show that it was for God's glory He performed miracles, and that He received this power from God, and not through carnal generation. Maldonatus holds that a request was made on

this occasion on the part of the Blessed Virgin, and adds that the number of the disciples who were present with Our Lord, having contributed to lessen the quantity of wine, was one special reason why our Blessed Lady had made the request. He adds that the "*Mea Hora*" means, "In a little time My hour will come, when everything is prepared, and the guests shall notice the failure of the wine." The learned Jansenius does not agree with this latter view. He says that the Virgin's request manifested a singular desire to relieve the wants of others, and this before the wine had completely failed—"deficiente vino"—for the purpose of showing that the necessity was not extreme, and to prevent a blush of shame appearing on the countenance of the host and his numerous relatives. The waiters alone, who had drawn the water, knew how the miracle was wrought. The chief steward did not know whence the wine had come, and he says to the bridegroom in astonishment, "Every man at first setteth forth good wine, but thou hast kept the good wine until now!" That no rebuke was given, and a request made, cannot be sustained by any authority of the schools explaining the meaning of *words* with at all the same force as can be deduced from the *manner* in which the words were uttered by Our Lord and understood by His Blessed Mother. She who spoke the words, and she who heard the words addressed to her, is my witness that a request was made, and that there was no reprehension. Now, I am sure that the context proves that the Blessed Virgin perfectly understood that her request was granted, and that she had not been guilty of a fault. She understood that the word "woman" was the special title and privilege of the Virgin, who was spoken of in the Garden of Eden in similar language. She must have known that it was no offence to ask the God of Charity to come to the assistance of the distressed; and her immediate direction to the waiters to prepare for the miracle clearly proved that she, at least, had understood, not only that her request was granted, but the very manner in which the miracle was to be wrought—"Whatsoever He shall say to you, do ye." I am now done with the general reasons in support of my proposition, and I shall now refer to the

meaning of the words, "What to Me and to thee" in this and a few of the parallel passages; and I think I shall come to a different conclusion from that drawn by Father O'Brien.

His reasoning, I think, is this, "There is absolutely no foundation in the Gospel for saying that the Blessed Virgin made a request; the translation of the words into 'what have I to do with thee' is outrageously wrong; the phrase is the statement of something in the form of an interrogation. It is an expression in which some words must be supplied to make out the sense. To get the meaning of the phrase we must inquire what are the words to be supplied to make out the complete sense." The ordinary version, he says, makes it out in full "what is there common to Me and to thee," or "what have I to do with thee." "There is nothing common to Me and to thee," and he asserts that this is an unnatural meaning to give the word "what," and I will add a still more unnatural meaning to give the entire phrase. I could perfectly understand the meaning of the phrase, as we read it in the Vulgate, "*Quid mihi et tibi est mulier*" to be "What is there common to Me and to thee" in the sense in which Maldonatus suggests that there was *reprehensio simulata* as already explained; but I cannot approve of this view, as there is no evidence from the Scriptures that the language was uttered in the hearing of the guests, and there was no necessity of assuring the Virgin that Our Lord's power was from on high. But to devote one moment in refuting those who say that the words "*Quid mihi et tibi est*," mean "What have I to do with thee," appears to me to be not only a waste of words, but entirely derogatory to the dignity of the Mother and her relation with her Son. She who was the chosen instrument whereby we were redeemed in the precious blood of her Son, had something in common with that Son. I would ask those who use the phrase in this light to read the 4th verse of the 4th chapter of St. Paul to the *Galatians* "*At ubi venit plenitudo temporis misit Deus filium suum, factum ex muliere, factum sub lege.*" It would be hard indeed to say that the Apostles of the Gentiles would write those words if there was nothing in common with Jesus and his Blessed Mother.

Father O'Brien says that the natural meaning of the word *what*, when used as an exclamation, is to express surprise, but he gives no proof that a note of exclamation has been attached to the word or phrase. There is none in the Vulgate. He does not add the note of exclamation either to the word or to the phrase, but says that the natural meaning of the phrase is the same as "What! have you been absent again?" "What! have you returned?" "What! are we late for the train?" and then gives his meaning of the text thus: "What an unsuitable thing to you and to me this deficiency of the wine. To stay under the circumstances would be awkward for Himself and His mother, and his hour for leaving the banquet had not come." This interpretation is in my mind a very unnatural one. Had Our Lord no feeling of compassion for the host and his guests? He whose singular compassion for the temporal wants of his people was one of the special characteristics of His divine life, and to add that the *Mea Hora* means the intended hour for leaving the banquet is utterly at variance with all that we have read as the special meaning of those celebrated words in the Sacred Scriptures.

If Father O'Brien had devoted a little of his time in searching for the parallel passages to the *Mea Hora* in Scripture he would, I believe, abandon for ever the strange view he has taken of this Gospel. Let me give one or two passages. The most apposite will be from another chapter of the beloved disciple in the Gospel of *St. John*, 7th chap., vv. 1-6. "Jesus walked in Galilee, for he would not walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill Him. The Feast of the Tabernacles was at hand. His brethren said to Him, pass from hence and go into Judea that Thy disciples may see the works which Thou dost. . . . Manifest Thyself to the world. Then He said to them, 'My time is not yet come, but your time is always ready.'" I think that Father O'Brien will admit that the "*tempus meum*" in the 7th of *St. John* is precisely the same as the "*Hora Mea*" in the 2nd of the same disciple so far as the meaning of the words is concerned, but the word "*Hora*" conveys the idea of a more solemn and graver event. In the 22nd chap. of *St. Luke*, v. 53, we

read, "When I was daily with you in the Temple, you did not stretch forth your hands against Me, but this is your hour and the power of darkness." "The hour is come, behold the Son of Man shall be betrayed into the hands of sinners." *St. Luke* xiv. 41. "No man laid hands upon him because His hour had not yet come." *St. John*, vii. 30.

I am quite satisfied that in the interpretation of the 2nd of *St. John* we are not at liberty to pass by unnoticed the fact that the words "*Mea Hora*" when spoken by Our Lord always refer to an event of grave importance, and should not be applied to the less remarkable event of Our Lord leaving the Banquet of Cana.

I now will give the interpretation of the words as I have learned them, and their perfect harmony with nearly all, if not all, the passages in the Testament which are parallel to this. I cannot do better than quote the *ipsissima verba* of the learned Primate, Dr. Dixon, from whose lips I have heard them when he was Professor of Scripture in the "*Alma Mater*." He says:—

"Many ancient interpreters think that Christ in employing those words wished to point out to his disciples the necessity of not being influenced by carnal love in their public ministry; this opinion is not probable. Mary's conduct is not reprehensible; her words to the waiters prove this. The *store* of wine had completely failed, but was not yet exhausted; the Virgin does not command a favour, but quietly and moderately insinuates or suggests a request. The words '*Quid mihi et tibi est*,' are used almost invariably in the Scriptures as a most respectful expostulation, and mean as in this text not 'What is it to me and to thee, or what is it to us?' In not one of the parallel passages has it this rendering of the text, but the text means, 'What to me and to thee?' The *est* is not in the Greek. What is there between you and Me? What cause of complaint is there on your part, dear mother, against me? Why have you asked me for such a request since you knew that I could not refuse your powerful request, even though '*Mea Hora*' the time for the performance of my public miracles had not yet arrived, and even though I were to anticipate that predetermined time (probably the approaching feast of the Pasch). The best criterion of the meaning of the words is that of the parallel passages in the Old Testament. The rendering in the Douay of those passages can by no means have any weight against the interpretation; for we have the same diversity of renderings in all the languages of Europe."

So far Dr. Dixon. Now, Dr. M'Carthy says that those words mean as if one should say, "What harm have I done thee? In what have I offended thee? What have I done to thee?" and he adds, "Whenever a phrase in the original admits of different meanings we must not limit it to one definite sense in the translation." Let us then take up the parallel passages quoted by Father O'Brien and see whether they harmonise with his notions of "unsuitability," or with the learned Primate's views as expressed.

I. In *Judges*, xi., 12, we read that Jephthe was thrust out of his father's house by his brethren because he had been born of another mother; but when the children of Ammon made war against Israel this once despised Jephthe is pressed by the ancients of Galaad to leave Tob, his land of exile, and to assist the Israelites. Jephthe enters into a compact with the Israelites that in the event of his success he should be their prince. This is promised him on oath, and Jephthe was made prince. His first attempt was to prevent a contest with the Ammonites, and he sends messengers to their king to say in his name, "*Quid mihi et tibi est quod venisti contra me.*" Here we have a complete harmony with the Primate's interpretation. Jephthe had no quarrel with the King of Ammon. His life was spent in exile, and this by his own brethren, and he says to the king what cause of complaint is there between me and thee? Why should we enter into a deadly conflict and waste each others lands? I have never injured you or your subjects, and now that I am raised to the principedom of Israel there are hopes of a perpetual peace between the two nations. The King of the Ammonites does not accede to the request of Jephthe, and he assigns as his reason that the Israelites took away the land of Moab, &c. Jephthe sends his messengers a second time to the King of Ammon with a very long explanation, which concludes in the following words:—

"Israel did not take away the land of Moab nor the land of the children of Ammon, but what the Lord our God obtained by conquest shall be our possession. Why have you for so long a time attempted nothing about this claim? Therefore I do not trespass against you, but thou wrongest me by declaring an unjust war against me. The Lord be judge and decide between us."

Here, again, we have the clearest proof that there was no reasonable cause of antagonism between Israel and the Ammonites, and what could express Jephthe's views more clearly than by saying, "What is there between me and thee? What cause of complaint is there on your part of the action of Israel in seeking to possess her own." Expostulation is to be seen in every line of the chapter.

It was unsuitable, indeed, for the King of Ammon to fight against Jephthe, but it was perfectly suitable that Jephthe would defend his own, and the King of Ammon had no cause against him.

I fear I should weary your readers by reference to the other passages in Scripture; but I shall summarise.

II. In the 3rd *Book of Kings*, xvii., 18, we read: "Elias is fed by ravens, and drinks of the torrent. After some time the torrent is dried, for it had not rained upon the earth. He appeals to the widow of Sareptha. He asks her for a little water in a vessel to drink. She gives it. After this the son of the woman gets sick, and she says to Elias, "Quid mihi et tibi, *vir Dei*"—"Art thou come to me that my iniquities should be remembered, and that thou shouldst kill my son?"

Father O'Brien asserts that Elias attributed the affliction of the widow to his presence in her house, and quotes the words of Elias, "O Lord God, hast thou afflicted *also* the widow with whom I am maintained?" There is not one particle of proof for this interpretation. The Almighty sends his trials, as he did on Elias himself, for reasons inscrutable to man. There is no evidence whatever that Elias attributes the death of the widow's son to his presence in her house. The widow of Sarephta, however, believed that the presence of one so holy as Elias in her house made God remember her past sins. Elias disabuses her. He takes the son, breathes into him the breath of life, and restores him to his mother. How beautifully does the interpretation of Dr. Dixon coincide with the narrative in the *Book of Kings*! What cause of complaint is there, Elias, on your part against me that I should suffer such a calamity in consequence of your holiness and my unworthiness? This is her view. It is not the view of the prophet. Her expostulation was most

respectful. She calls him the "Vir Dei" before the miracle, and she emphasises it when she sees her son again in the land of the living.

III. In the 2nd chap. 2nd *Book of Kings*, Abisai, the son of Sarvia, reproves the wicked monster Semei, who stoned her kinsman David. The sons of Sarvia ask leave of David to take away the life of Semei, and the king replies, "*Quid mihi et vobis est, filii Sarviæ.*" Here Father O'Brien says that the meaning is *not* "There is nothing in common between me and you; there is no friendship between us." I don't know how any man could give such an interpretation of the text, where the sincerest friendship existed on both sides.

He says that the meaning of the words is, "What an unsuitable thing to you and me, this cursing." No; it was the intention of the sons of Sarvia to take off the head of that monster Semei which David reproved, and not the *cursing*, for David says, "The Lord hath bid him (Semei) curse David, and who is it who shall dare say why he hath done so?" v. 10. The meaning of the passage, in the words of Dr. Dixon, runs thus—I take them from his notes:—

"David expostulates with Abisai; and, seeing that he was put to flight by his own son Absalom, *a fortiori* strangers might be permitted to curse him. He deprecates the interference of the sons of Sarvia, saying, 'What cause of complaint is there on your part against me? What is there between you and me that you should interfere between me and the will of Heaven?' Resignation to Divine Providence was the motive of David's appeal to the sons of Sarvia not to carry out their threats."

I may be permitted to add that, although the death of Semei at that period of time was unsuitable to David's aspirations for charity and perfection, because he had hoped for the conversion of Semei, he had once prayed thus: "When I passed over the Jordan, I swore by the Lord I will not kill thee by the sword," v. 10. Yet who shall say that it was unsuitable for the sons of Sarvia to dispose of the life of a man who was guilty of the most treasonable outrages? At the close of David's reign he declares that "Semei should not be held faultless;" but Semei had persevered in his iniquities.

IV. The next passage is from the 4th *Book of Kings*, c. iii.:—The three kings, at the suggestion of Josaphat, visit the Prophet Eliseus. They were in danger of perishing for want of water while besieging the chief city of Moab. Eliseus answers the idolatrous King of Israel (Joram), “*Quid mihi et tibi est.*”

Now, here we have the clearest evidence of a reproof of the King of Israel; and the prophet leaves no doubt as to the meaning of his words. He says, “If I did not reverence the face of Josaphat, King of Juda, I would not have hearkened to thee nor looked on thee.” Here the entire context proves that a most serious reprimand was given to the King of Israel. It is not, then, a parallel passage so far as the clear meaning of the text is concerned, and is simply worth nothing in the argument.

But possibly this text may harmonise with Father O'Brien's notion of unsuitability? By no means; it is strongly against his interpretation of St. John. Father O'Brien says the words mean, “Your coming to me is unsuitable to you (a worshipper of Baal) and to me, a prophet of God.” These are his words. The words in the Douay Bible are: Eliseus said to the King of Israel, “What have I to do with thee? Go to the prophets of your father and mother.” If those words were unsuitable for the King of Israel to ask deliverance from the children of Moab, assuredly Josaphat would not be present at the interview; and it was not because of the unsuitability of the *request* that Eliseus reproves Joram, but because of his personal character; and, to prove the perfect suitability of the request made by Josaphat, Eliseus interposes, performs a miracle, fills the channels with water, and delivers Moab into the hands of the kings, vv. 17-18. Josaphat sustains the petition, and Eliseus would not, and could not be supposed capable of performing an unsuitable *act*. He performs a most suitable one, and through “reverence for the face of Josaphat.”

V. The next argument is drawn from the 2nd *Paralipomenon*, xxxv., 21. Now, this chapter proves conclusively for Dr. Dixon's interpretation of the disputed passage. Egypt, taking advantage of the weakness of Babylon, wished to

reconquer a portion of her lost territory. Josias, the King of Israel, goes out to meet Nechao, the King of Egypt, with a view to oppose him. Here Father O'Brien says that Josias acted against sound policy, and adds, "as the *Scripture* says, against the voice of religion." But where does he find this? Not in the Scriptures. To be sure, Nechao, through his messengers, says to Josias, "God hath commanded me to go; forbear to do against God, who is with me, lest He kill thee." We have read a great deal like to this in the last Franco-German war! But does Josias believe that this idolatrous king had spoken by the mouth of God? Assuredly not; he merely repeats the words of Nechao in irony. Josias, who just at this time had completed the repairing of the Temple of God, did not believe that God had spoken through the King of Egypt. Josias enters on the contest against Nechao; he is grievously wounded in the fight, and for the course he had pursued on that day "all Juda and Jerusalem mourned for him, and the *Lamentations of Jeremias* for Josias are written and repeated unto this day," vv. 24-25. What was the message of Nechao to Josias? "Quid mihi et tibi est Rex Juda?" "I come, not against thee, but I fight against another house"—a most respectful expostulation on the part of Nechao, giving him the glorious title of "King of Juda." Nechao does not say to Josias, "There is nothing common between you and me—no friendship;" so Father O'Brien holds, and so would the learned Dixon. There was a great deal in common between the two kings, so far as a common enemy was concerned; but there was no identity of faith or charity. Nechao's appeal to Josias was one of respect, asking his assistance in crippling a mutual antagonist; and his words to Josias did not charge him with the performance of an unsuitable act, but was an appeal to a powerful monarch to come to his aid in an engagement in which both would reap laurels, but which Josias not only refused, but took part against Nechao. I should be sorry to say that Josias acted unsuitably, as, if he had done so, posterity would not lament his death until the present day, and the language to him was not of reproof, but "What cause of complaint is there on your part against me, that we should

be at enmity while mutual interests would suggest a wiser course?" But right does not always succeed against might, and Josias is wounded in the field of Mageddo.

VI. There is another parallel passage from *Joel*, iii., 4, not quoted by Father O'Brien: "Verum Quid mihi et vobis, Tyrus et Sidon et omnis terminus Palæstinorum." Here it is recorded that the Almighty, through the voice of His prophet, asks the Tyrians and Sidonians what they have against Him in joining with the Chaldeans in the oppression of the Jews: "But what have you to do with me, O Tyre and Sidon? Will you revenge yourselves on Me? You have taken away my silver and my gold, and the children of Juda and Jerusalem you have sold to the children of the Greeks, that you might remove them far off from their own country." Here we have the same reasoning as before; it does not militate against my position, but sustains it. What cause of complaint is there, O Tyre and Sidon, between you and Me?

The quotation from the 1st *Book of Esdras*, iv., 3, (not iii.) should not be called, Father O'Brien thinks, a parallel passage, yet he draws from it a conclusion in favour of his "unsuitability" doctrine: "Non est nobis et vobis ut ædificemus domum Deo nostro." There is assuredly no unsuitability in obtaining the aid of Protestants in constructing a Catholic temple; but in this instance the Samaritans strive by all possible means to hinder the raising of this temple unless they are allowed to assist in its construction. They richly deserved a strong reproof from the "Children of Captivity" for their outrageous and public violation of the permission given by Cyrus.

VII. With regard to the passages from the New Testament, they are all in favour of Dr. Dixon. The cry of those possessed by demons was of the most respectful character, "What have we to do with Thee, Jesus, Son of God?" *St. Matt.* viii., 29, and in *St. Luke*, viii., 28, "What have I to do with Thee, Jesus, Son of the Most High God?" and in *St. Mark* i., 24, "I know who Thou art, the Only One of God;" and in *St. Luke*, iv. 34, "What have we to do with Thee, Jesus of Nazareth? I know Thee, who Thou art, the Holy One of God." The demons did not say, "There is no friend-

ship between us." This would be utterly inconsistent with the open declaration that Christ was "the Son of the Most High," "the Only One of God." They merely deprecated the punishment of being dragged into the abyss before their time, and they had given no additional proof that their punishment should be anticipated.

To conclude. If the Gospel of *St. John* was explained to our people as Father O'Brien supposes in the view which he has taken, I am quite sure that this glorious Gospel would lose all its significance. The Blessed Virgin speaks to her Divine Son, "They have no wine." He had already known this. He replies, in Father O'Brien's notion, "A very unfortunate or unsuitable thing has occurred for you and for Me, as I am not going to leave the banquet for some time." This is his meaning. Had Our Lord of Sweetness no feeling of compassion for the guests and the bridal party? What evidence does Father O'Brien adduce that the Blessed Virgin would have left the banquet in company with Our Lord? She was there before his arrival, and very probably she remained after his departure.

I do not agree with Father O'Brien. I doubt if there be any Scripture scholars of note who maintain his theory.

For myself, I am done. I hope I have said nothing unkind. I know that Father O'Brien has encountered a weak antagonist, but sometimes the weak confound the strong.

I have always spoken to my people on this subject once every year, and while I urged on that occasion those who were well disposed to prepare themselves for the Sacrament of Marriage, and those who had already received the sacrament to preserve its sacramental grace, I have never omitted to tell my flock that the Gospel affords the most ample proof of the power of Mary with her Son; that even in temporal matters she is solicitous for our interests; and that as she obtained by this miracle a vast supply of wine, which held for several days to come, so that same Son would give to us, through her intercession, an abundance of grace in time and at the hour of our death.

M. J. KENNY, P.P.

AN ACCOUNT OF O'CLERY'S MS. IRISH "LIFE OF
HUGH ROE O'DONNELL."—(CONTINUED).

WHEN the English learned the news of O'Donnell's escape," continues our author, "a deadly quaking and mighty fear seized them. Some of them had gone as far as Donegal, had seized on the monastery there, torn down its altars and cells, and burned the vestments of the servants of God. Hearing of the profanation of the monastery O'Donnell came to Donegal face to face with them. He sent word to them to be gone without delay by whatever road they pleased, but they should take nothing with them, neither cattle, nor flocks, nor anything they had plundered. All these things they left behind them, and thankful they were to be allowed to go away with their lives. The brethren then returned to the monastery and set about cleansing and renovating it after the departure of that barbarous crew, and performed the divine offices and offered Mass, as was their wont, and they gave praise to the Lord in their prayers and petitions on behalf of their friends and benefactors, but most of all for Hugh O'Donnell, since he had brought them back to their abode of psalmody and to their peaceful dwelling, and driven off the savage foreigners."

O'Donnell went back to Ballyshannon, and remained there on his sick bed. He called in his physicians to examine his feet, and they could not heal them until his two great toes were cut off, and they were not quite healed for a whole year. Yet he did not omit during that time to do what was needful to unite his people, to root out evil doers, and to take vengeance on his enemies.

His father was an aged man and ill-fitted to cope with the troubled times in which his lot was cast, and therefore he determined to hand over the headship of the clan to his son. The chief men of the principality were called together, O'Doherty, the M'Swineys, O'Boyle, and others. There came there also his mother. "That assembly was the better of her coming," says our author, "for she was the chief counsellor and best protector of the Cenel Conaill, and

though she was slow and very deliberate, and much praised for all the qualities that become a woman, she had the soul of a soldier and the heart of a hero, being specially anxious to avenge the wrongs done to her people." When the chiefs had assembled they withdrew to a place apart. And it was agreed on by the nobles and by O'Donnell himself (since he knew that he was far advanced in years and weak) to transfer the chieftaincy to his son and to proclaim him The O'Donnell. "The Erenagh O'Fregil was sent for. He inaugurated Hugh, with his father's blessing, and he performed the ceremony of naming him in a legal way, as was the custom of the tribe, and called him The O'Donnell. The clergy of the church prayed to the Lord on his behalf, and sang psalms and hymns in honour of Christ and of Columb for the success of his rule, as was their custom."

It would be tedious to give in detail, no matter how briefly, an account of each of the exploits of the young chief. I will call your attention to two or three of the leading events of his career, and from thence you may form an estimate of the rest.

At this time (1598) the English power was supreme over a considerable part of Ireland. Gerald, the great Earl of Desmond, had been defeated a few years before. He had been hunted down, and at length he was found in a cabin in the mountains of Kerry. His head was cut off and sent as a gift by his kinsman, the Earl of Ormond, to the Queen, that she might feast her pious eyes on the sight. Saunder, the Papal Legate, who had been sent by the Pope to urge on the Irish of Munster to fight for faith and fatherland, died in the wild woods of Aherlow "raving in a phrensy." The fairest part of Munster, the golden vale, was a wilderness, so that a man might travel from one end to the other of it almost without hearing the lowing of a cow or seeing smoke from a household. Here is Spenser's well-known description of the condition of Munster at this very time. "Notwithstanding that the same was a rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, yet ere one year and a-half the people were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they

came creeping forth on their hands, for their legs could not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves. They did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them, yea and soon after one another, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able to continue there long withal, so that in a short space of time there were almost none left, and a most populous and plentiful country was suddenly left void of man and beast."

And so the war could be transferred to Ulster, which the prudence and valour of O'Neil had saved from such ruin hitherto. Here is how the war had its beginning:—

"The English had a fortress on the Blackwater to the north of Armagh, impregnable with strong walls of earth around it, and loopholes in the walls for shooting from. Here they placed three hundred of their best men, and they had the same number employed in plundering the country all round. O'Neil complained much of the harm done by these, and O'Donnell wished to attack it, and pull it down about their ears. O'Neil assaulted it, but the garrison held their ground. He set to besieging the place in the hope of starving out the garrison." When the news reached the Council in Dublin that their men were in straits they assembled the best army of the English that they could, five thousand horse and foot, with ample supplies of everything that was needed. "Not within the memory of the oldest man, not even since the English had first foot in Ireland, had they got together so great an army." The author describes them as "rising at the dawn of day, and proceeding to clothe themselves in their strange armour, in their high-crested bright shining helmets, and with their strange shields of iron covering the body and even the face." He speaks of their "broad-shouldered spears, their wide-edged battle axes smooth and bright, their long sharp-edged swords, and their loud-voiced straight-firing guns." Their foot were placed in three separate bodies back to back. The cavalry were on the wings, and the marksmen outside these, so that "it was as easy to

attack a nest of griffins or a den of lions as these foreigners with their strange weapons and armour." The weapons and dress of the Irish were not to be compared with these. None of them wore armour, their implements for shooting were bows and a few lock guns. O'Neil and O'Donnell addressed their men briefly "bidding them be of good heart and not to be frightened by the strange appearance and the novel arms of their enemies. They had justice on their side, for were they not fighting for their homes, for all that was dear to them, against those that would rob them of everything? A foreign race wished to seize on their country which was theirs for three thousand years. Should they allow themselves to be driven from it now, and exiled to other lands."

The Irish leaders put their men in position, and bade them remain where they were until the English should attempt to cross the deep trenches and large mounds which had been made to prevent their progress. As the English drew near they began to shoot from their guns. They reached farther than the guns of the Irish, so that these adopted the following plan by order of their leaders:—They closed in on the English, and drove the skirmishers and the cavalry in among the foot, and so the fight continued for a good part of the day.

"At this time the Lord permitted that one of the Queen's soldiers who had exhausted all the powder he had with him should go to the nearest barrel of powder, which was in the very middle of the English army, to replenish his pouch. And when he was reaching his hand to the powder a small spark fell from his match which he had lighting into the barrel, and the fire went from one barrel to another, so that everything near the place where he was, men and horses, arms and armour, and everything else all round was scattered and destroyed by the force and flame of the powder. The English general was slain, and very many of his captains with him. This army was defeated, as usually happens when the leader falls, and the Irish pursued them and slew them in twenties and thirties and fifties, until they found refuge in Armagh, and this place they were soon obliged to surrender."

The number of their slain was set down at two thousand five hundred. Such was the battle of the Yellow Ford.

Some three years later—for we must hurry on—a secret message came to O'Donnell from a friend in Dublin that a

neighbour of his, O'Connor Sligo, one whose treachery he had forgiven in former times, was again plotting to betray him, and to seize on him and hand him over to the English. O'Connor was then residing in his castle of Collooney, some six miles south of Sligo, "a strong castle," says our author, "for it had the river on three sides of it, and on the fourth a thick wood well fenced in." When the Earl of Essex, then Lord Lieutenant, heard that O'Connor was in such a strait—his friend and companion—he ordered the governor of the province, Sir Conyers Clifford, to come meet him at Fercall. The plan they adopted was to bring together under the governor's orders at Athlone all the soldiers and hirelings of the Queen in this province and in Munster, and all their allies throughout the country. A fleet was ordered to set sail from Galway and to put in at Sligo with every sort of provisions that they could need. O'Donnell hearing of their advance by Roscommon and Tulsk to Boyle, left Neil Garv O'Donnell in command of the party engaged in the siege. "In this," says the author, "he acted as did Julius Cæsar when he left Decius Brutus to carry on the siege of Marseilles, while he himself set out with his army to assail Pompey's two lieutenants in Spain." O'Donnell's people were glad, very much delighted at the order to march. He took possession of the passes from Boyle towards Collooney, and night and day his watches and ambuscades were spread about watching the enemy's movements.

O'Donnell's captains told him of the great risk he was running. The enemy were numerous, well armed, and well equipped. His forces were fewer, many of them having been kept back to carry on the siege; they were but poorly armed, ill-fitted to cope with the strangers. "But," says our author, "O'Donnell made little or nothing of their advice and warnings." He reminded them of the ancient saying that it was not by the number of the army, but by the power of God, that battles were decided; that he who puts his confidence in the one true God, who is ever on the side of justice and the enemy of all that is wicked, he is sure to conquer.

"It is true," said he, "we are fewer, but we are arrayed against

robbers who would rob you of your native land; and it is far easier for you to fight now boldly, bravely, for your country, for your lives, when you have arms in your hands, than when your arms are taken from you, and you are in chains, and your limbs are held fast with iron chains, and you are carried along in carts through the streets of the English towns, objects of contempt and of mockery. My blessing on you, my brave men. Bear in mind that the time has come when you must not endure any longer what so many of your race have endured. Harden your hearts, strengthen your hands. Have no fear of the numerous soldiers of London; fear not their strange arms. Put your trust in God, and you will conquer."

Each and all promised to follow his advice. The whole army joined in prayer to the Blessed Mother of God, for it was the eve of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

"The pious clergy with O'Donnell offered continually the sacrifice of the mysterious body of Christ and of His blood, and all, priests and people, prayed to the Son of the Virgin who lay on her breast, and to the Virgin herself; and asked her to intercede with the Eternal Father and her Son on their behalf. On the morning of the day all heard Mass, and then proceeded to their tents to take their meal, for they had fasted the day before in honour of Holy Mary. And they rose up with great joy and with the sure hope that they would be that day victorious."

I cannot give the details of this battle, which goes in Irish history by the name of the Battle of the Curlews. Here again the tactics found by the Irish leader to be so successful at the Yellow Ford stood him in good stead. He bade his forces not to remain standing opposite the foreigners, but to close in on them on every side rapidly. In this way the wings were driven in on the main body, and the whole army thrown into utter confusion.

"Not slowly nor negligently did they retreat," says our author, "for not one of them thought of his friend or of his companion after him. Many heads and many weapons did the English leave behind them on that day. The Governor, too, Sir Conyers Clifford, was slain in the very beginning of the fight. No one knew who gave him the wound, but only that a leaden ball had passed through him. No one even knew that he was the governor until O'Rourke came up and ordered his head to be cut off. O'Donnell's people proceeded to look after their wounded, and great was their exultation and loud their thankoffering to God for the victory. The unanimous voice of the army was that it was not to the power of their arms, but to the prayers which O'Donnell offered up the day before, and those with him, to God and the Blessed Mary it was due."

Among the chiefs of this clan hitherto professing obedience to Hugh O'Donnell was one, Neil Garv by name. Here is how he is described by O'Clery: "He was a violent, stern man; he was spiteful, irreligious, with the venom of a serpent and the impetuosity of a lion. He was a brave man at the head of an army in the fight; but he was envious of Hugh, though his wife was Hugh's sister, and, moreover, Hugh had been fostered in his youth by Neil's parents." Hugh O'Donnell was at this time (October, 1600) in the territory of the Earl of Clanricarde, where he had gone to punish this chief for giving aid and succour to the English; and he had left Neil Garv to continue the siege of Derry, the garrison of which, under Dowcra, was reduced to the last extremity. "The English began privately to entreat and implore him to join them, offering to confer the chieftainship of the territory on him should they prove victorious, and they promised him besides many jewels and great wealth." He listened for a long time to their proposals, and his ill-luck allowed him in the end to consent to join them, and to allow himself to be deceived by their lying promises. "Woe to the mind that conceived such a thought, woe to the heart that entertained it, woe to the tongue that uttered it, woe to the kinsman who abandons his own relatives to unite with their foes." Neil went to the aid of the garrison, and supplied them with all they needed.

One of his faithful people brought word to O'Donnell of the treachery. He set off in hot haste, and none but a few of his horsemen could keep up with him. He reached Lifford, where Neil Garv then was. There he waited until his foot came up. He set to besiege the castle. Frequent and fierce were the encounters between the two parties. In one of them Hugh's brother singled out a brother of Neil Garv for a hand-to-hand encounter. The spear which he thrust at his adversary was turned off by his reining in his horse. It entered the horse's brain, and was broken. His opponent, seeing him powerless, drove his spear right through his shoulder, and inflicted on him a mortal wound, of which he died a few days after. The old man, his father, was still living near the Monastery of Donegal. When he heard of

his son's death he was greatly affected; he grew weak and died, having gained a victory over the world and the devil.

This was the first check that befell Hugh Roe in his career of war—in great part the cause of the subsequent disaster that came on him, on O'Neil, and, through them, on the Irish race, for they were its bravest and its ablest defenders.

Time will not allow me to trace, even in the hurried and imperfect way I have done hitherto, the wonderful expedition of O'Donnell, O'Neil, and Maguire to South Munster, or to give an account of his rapid march from the confines of Tipperary to the borders of Cork, or the details of the encounter between Maguire, chief of Fermanagh, and Norris, the English general, who both fell mortally wounded.

A word about Kinsale. The Spanish fleet landed there, under Don Juan de Aquila, towards the close of the year 1601. Spain has at all times been, among foreign nations, the truest friend of Ireland. To her kings, her clergy, and her people we Irish owe a vast debt of gratitude. A fleet came, and O'Neil and O'Donnell set off from the north to go to the aid of the Spaniards, who, having landed, had taken possession of a part of the town, and by and by were besieged by the largest force that the English could collect from every garrison throughout the land. The Irish came, and hemmed them in in their turn, and reduced them to straits as great as those to which the Spaniards were reduced. The Spanish commander contrived to have a letter conveyed to O'Neil, asking him to assault the English lines on a certain night, and he and his companions would do the like from the opposite quarter; but a traitor revealed the plan to the enemy. Their guides either lost their way or on purpose led them astray, and when morn dawned they found themselves close under the English guns. A panic arose among the men. Their leaders called on them to stand their ground—that the enemy could not pursue them. But it was all in vain—the fight was lost. The Irish chiefs met in council that night. They determined, some of them, to return to their homes; O'Donnell would go to Spain to ask for aid from the king once more. "When this plan was told the army, loud was

their wailing throughout the encampments at the thought of losing their leader, for those whom he left behind believed they would never set their eyes on him again; and no wonder tears of blood should flow down their cheeks at the thought."

He set sail from Castlehaven, and landed at Corunna. Immediately on landing he went to visit the king, and set before him his wants. The king promised him aid in men and money. But time went on, month after month, and no aid came. And so, weary with hope deferred that maketh the heart sick, he took ill in the city of Simancas, and died after a few days' illness. "God permitted, and the misfortune and wretchedness attending the island of Erin and the Irish of fair Banba in general would have it that he should die."

There is a common belief, and one not without foundation, that he was poisoned by an emissary of Carew, the President of Munster. On the 19th of October, 1602, Carew wrote to Mountjoy:—

"O'Donnell is dead. The merchant that brought me the news is one I do trust. I do think it will fall out that he was poisoned by James Blake, of whom your lordship hath been lately acquainted. At his coming into Spain he was suspected by O'Donnell, because he embarked at Cork; but afterwards he managed to insinuate his access, and O'Donnell is dead. He never did tell the President in what manner he would kill him, but did assure him it should be done."

Froude's remark is: "In the desperation of such scenes as were witnessed in an Irish rebellion any means *seem* lawful." Strange morality is this, surely. "His body was then taken to Valladolid to the King's Court, great numbers of the officers of State, the Council, and the Royal guard accompanying it and bearing lighted torches. He was buried in the chapter of the Monastery of St. Francis. Mass and hymns, chants and sweet canticles were offered up for his soul, and his requiem was duly celebrated."

Here is the author's description of Hugh Roe's character

"He was the head of wisdom and counsel, of advice and consultation, of the majority of the Gaels of Ireland both in peace and war, a mighty bounteous lord, with the authority of a prince to en-

force his laws, a lion in strength and might, with determination and force of character, so that no one was allowed to contradict his word, for what he ordered to be done should be done immediately, a dove in meekness and gentleness towards the clergy and learned men, a man who impressed everyone far and near with dread, and who had no fear of anyone, an expeller of rebels, a destroyer of robbers, an exalter of the sons of life, and the enemy of the sons of death, a man who suffered neither injury nor defeat, contempt nor insult without being avenged, a determined, fierce, and bold invader, a destroyer of the English and of all such as opposed him, a man who never omitted to do what was fitting for a prince to do so long as he lived, a sweet sounding trumpet, with power of speech and eloquence, good sense and wisdom, with the look of amiability in his face which captivated everyone who beheld him."

No monument marks the spot where the mortal remains of as brave, as noble-hearted an Irishman as ever lived lie. Even the monastery and its church have disappeared. But on the stone that covers the grave of his brothers Rory and Caffar in the church of San Pietro Montorio in Rome, there is a brief record of the virtues of their elder brother Hugh. What nobler monument could be raised to him than that work which the historian of the Clan O'Donnell has transmitted to us, *vere perennius*?

D. MURPHY.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

REGARDING SUFFICIENCY OF CONFESSION OF SIN IN GENERAL.

The following answers given by the late Very Rev. Edmund O'Reilly, S.J., to the important question proposed will be read with interest by our subscribers. We are indebted to the priest to whom the letter was written for this valuable communication.

This question has been already treated with considerable fulness in the I. E. RECORD, by Rev. W. M'Donald, Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment, Maynooth College, who

has arrived at the same conclusion with the eminent Jesuit Theologian, Fr. O'Reilly.—[Ed. I. E. RECORD.]

QUAER.—An *hæc confessio*—"I am sorry for all my sins"—
"I am a sinner"—sit *per se sufficiens materia absolutionis*?

. . . . "Coming to your question. My own opinion is as follows :

"1. Sins *as such*—without any statement of species or number—are sufficient matter of absolution, provided they be determinate, for instance *all sins*, *all mortal sins*, or *all sins*, or *all mortal sins*, *of a particular period*, say a certain month or year.

"For (1) the *ratio peccati* is what makes any act or omission a proper object of absolution, and there is no proof that anything more is wanted. Sins *as such* are true matter of accusation, and true matter of repentance, and therefore of absolution. The confessor truly judges that the sins—whatever they are—have been committed, and he judges thus on the statement of the penitent, who, by accusing himself of his sins, implicitly affirms that he has committed them. It is no matter that the confessor knew already that the penitent must have committed some sins, at least venial. Independently of this knowledge, the confessor knows from the statement of the penitent that it is so, and it is on this statement that his judgment is founded.

"(2) If the statement of the species be necessary, then why not of the *species infima*, which is commanded to be expressed by the only law we know of on this point? Again what is to be done with a penitent who knows he has committed a mortal sin but cannot remember the species? No one will say that he cannot be absolved.

"(3) A general accusation is sufficient in a case of necessity, as before a battle, or in impending shipwreck. Therefore it is sufficient out of such cases: for the essence of the Sacrament is the same everywhere. I am abstracting here, of course, from positive preceptive law, of which I will speak lower down. I assume the *antecedent* as to the sufficiency in case of necessity, but I must own that I have not clearly before me how far this assertion is agreed on among

theologians. Some introduce for security the mention of some venial sin on which the absolution may fall directly. But this involves more than one difficulty. If there be a large number of persons, in shipwreck or before a battle, the priest cannot *hear* each one's specific accusation, though he can understand that all accuse themselves of their sins, and there seems to be no use in a specific accusation which cannot be heard. Again, in order that a specific accusation be of any avail, there must be proper and sufficient sorrow for the particular sin. Now it is by no means so easy to have this sorrow for a particular venial sin. Assuredly a man may be quite sufficiently sorry for his mortal sins and not for his venial sins, or specially for the particular one he mentions.

"One objection against the sufficiency of a general accusation is that, if it were sufficient so far as the essence of the Sacrament is concerned, and justified by the circumstances as to lawfulness, a person would be *directly* absolved from all his mortal sins, though never confessed before, and yet he would be bound, if able, afterwards to tell them in detail for the purpose of obtaining direct absolution from them; for this is the object of telling sins that have not been distinctly mentioned. Now here there is a contradiction. The sins have been directly absolved from, and yet they must be told in a subsequent confession for the sake of direct absolution, which is therefore supposed not to have been had, for it need not be had more than once.

"This objection is specious and puzzling, but by no means conclusive, and perhaps not very solid even as an objection. We must not go too far in judging of doctrine by *terms*, which have been reasonably adopted to represent it, but may not represent it adequately. The substance of the doctrine is that every mortal sin committed after baptism must, as far as is quite morally possible, be told specifically in confession *with a view to subsequent absolution*, though this last requirement has been called in question by respectable theologians, who deny or doubt that a forgotten sin, however necessarily to be told afterwards, need when told be followed by absolution, in which I conceive they are altogether mistaken. Well then, the obligation I have stated is

imposed by a Divine law, and, until this is done, that law is not fulfilled, and the sins have not been absolved from *in the way which that law requires*, though they may have been remitted through the operation of the Sacrament of Penance, whether the remission be called direct or indirect. It is called indirect where the sins in question have not been told at all; and the term may perhaps be extended—though not quite properly—to the case of a genuine confession. Yet, it is true to say that in another and more natural sense they have been directly absolved from in this latter case.

“The objection if effectual would prove too much. If, for instance, a man confessed having committed many thefts—grievous thefts—and, through inculpable ignorance, said nothing of the number, and had no other sin to tell; supposing him to have proper sorrow, he would, beyond doubt, be validly absolved, and yet would be bound, on being better informed, to confess the thefts again with their number and receive absolution from them.

“II. Apart from the obligation of integrity, that is of confessing every mortal sin specifically once, there is no law commanding that any sins should be told specifically, nor forbidding a penitent to confine himself to a general accusation, nor forbidding a priest to absolve him, on that accusation, from the sins comprised in it. The proof of this negative proposition is that the law cannot be shown to exist. All that we can find to be commanded is that sufficient matter be subjected in a sufficient way—a way sufficient from the nature of the sacrament.

“III. Consequently when penitents confess the sins of their past life in order to secure the sufficiency of matter, either because there is no certain venial sin since the preceding confession, or because there is not certainty of sufficient sorrow for venial sins committed in that interval and told, a generic accusation will serve the purpose.

“IV. Such is my opinion, and I consider it sufficiently safe to be acted on. I prefer, however, the mention of a specific sin along with the general accusation, as being still more safe. In conclusion I add the following remarks:—

“(1) When the penitent has committed mortal sins in the

past, I think it better that the generic accusation should precisely comprise all the mortal sins, because it is easier to have sorrow for *them* all than for all the sins, and the matter is thus more definite—the matter of absolution, I mean, which falls only on the sins for which there is sorrow.¹

“(2) When a person has sinned mortally in the past, and wishes to mention a particular sin, I think it better to mention a particular mortal sin—or class of sins.

“(3) Penitents sometimes specify venial sins of their past life that are small, and probably much smaller than other sins, venial or mortal, that they have committed (of course they *must be* much smaller than mortal sins, if such have been committed). Now, I fear in such cases the want of sorrow, and that, in fact, the mention of these specific sins is rather a formality.

“(4) It is important to impress on penitents, and on pious penitents, the necessity of having the proper sorrow for some at least of the sins they tell, whether of their present life, or, at any rate, of the past. They ought, of course, to try to be sorry for the faults committed in the interval between the two confessions; but if there be reason to doubt of the sufficiency of the sorrow for them, as there often is, care should be taken to have genuine sorrow for past sins.

“Believe me, very sincerely yours,

“EDMUND J. O'REILLY, S.J.”

“[When a particular sin of the past life is mentioned at the end of confession, it is not necessary there should have been a special Act of Contrition, or Attrition, for *that sin*, provided it was sufficiently comprised in a class for which there was proper sorrow. This is more easily verified in mortal sins. A person may be sorry for all of them, and each of them, by one common act, and whatever one is told falls within this sorrow.—E. J. O'R.]”

¹ The penitent might, if he liked, accuse himself of all his sins, especially his mortal sins.

DOCUMENTS.

PRIVILEGE GRANTED, *AD QUINQUENNium*, TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND TO EXERCISE IN FAVOUR OF STUDENTS RESIDENT IN MAYNOOTH COLLEGE, AND IN THE IRISH COLLEGE, PARIS, THE DISPENSING POWER CONTAINED IN THE FORMULA VI. RESPECTING INTERSTICES AND THE AGE FOR ORDINATION.

SUPPLICATIO.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Michael Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanus, totius Hiberniae Primas, ad Pedes B.V. provolutus nomine Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum Hiberniae humillime petit, ut ipsis sit liberum facultatibus dispensandi super interstitiis et defectu aetatis unius anni in Formula VI. nn. 26 et 27 concessis, eatenus uti extra fines suorum dioecesium, ut cum suis subditis in Collegio Maynutiano et Collegio S. Patricii apud Lutetiam Parisiorum ad ordines sacros promovendis dispensare valeant. Omnes enim Episcopi Hiberniae Collegiis praedictis tamquam seminariis communibus utuntur et subditi eorum ad ordines in iis promoveri solent, quod expedit quidem, tum quia ita melius pro debito ordinandorum examine providetur, et Rectores Collegiorum volunt neo-sacerdotibus in prima Missa celebranda strictius invigilare. Quare et. . .

RESPENSIO.

Ex Audientia SSmi. habita die 5^o Augusti 1888.

SSmus. Dominus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII. referente me infrascripto Archiepiscopo Tyren. S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, porrectis precibus benigne adnuere dignatus est pro gratia prorogationis ad aliud quinquennium.

Datum Romae ex aedibus dictae S. Congnis die et anno ut supra
Pro Secretario,

ZEPHYRINUS ZITELLI, Of.

RENEWAL, *AD QUINQUENNium*, OF THE LENTEN INDULGENCE GRANTED TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND.

SUPPLICATIO.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Archiepiscopus Armacanus ad pedes sanctitatis vestrae provolutus nomine etiam omnium Episcoporum Hiberniae petit

prorogationem facultatis sibi concessae sub die 28 Novembris an. 1883 a suprema Congregatione Sancti Officii ad quinquennium dispensandi Christifideles super esu carniū et lacticiniorum tempore quadragesimae.

Et Deus

RESPONSIO.

Fr. iv. 22 Aug. 1888.

SSmus. D. N. D. Leo div. prov. Pp. XIII. in audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. Off. impertita, benigne annuit pro gratia ad quinquennium, ita tamen ut Dnus Ordinarius dispensationem non concedat unica vice ad totum quinquennium, sed singulis vicibus ad annum, facta quolibet anno expressa mentione facultatis obtentae a S. Sede Apostolica, et hortetur Xti. fideles ut hanc Apostolicam indulgentiam compensare studeant aliis piis operibus et elemosynis pro facultate cuiusque pauperibus elargiendis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Pro D. I. MANCINI S. R. et U. I. Notario.

R. De SANLANZO, Sub^{us}.

RENEWAL, *AD QUINQUENNium*, OF THE PRIVILEGE OF USING IN IRELAND FROM DATE OF RESCRIPT THE SHORT OR INFANT FORM OF BAPTISM IN THE BAPTISM OF ADULTS.

SUPPLICATIO.

BME. PATER,

Michael Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanus, totius Hiberniae Primas ad pedes B.V. provolutus humillime petit prorogationem ad quinquennium facultatis utendi in adultorum baptismo ea breviori formula quae in Rituali Romano pro infantium baptismo praescripto est.

RESPONSIO.

Ex Audientia SSmi. habita die 5^o Augusti 1888.

SSmus. Dominus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII., referente me infrascripto S. Congnis. de Propaganda Fide Secretario, benigne adnuere dignatus est pro gratia prorogationis Indulti de quo in precibus ad aliud quinquennium in forma et terminis praecedentis concessionis.

Datum Romae ex aed. dictae S. Congnis. die et anno ut supra.

Pro Secretario,

ZEPHYRINUS ZITELLI, *Off.*

RENEWAL, *AD DECENNIVM*, FROM DATE OF RESCRIPT OF THE PRIVILEGE GRANTED TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND OF HOLDING PROVINCIAL AND DIOCESAN SYNODS WITHOUT HAVING TO OBSERVE ALL THE CEREMONIES PRESCRIBED FOR SUCH IN THE PONTIFICALE AND THE CEREMONIALE EPISCOPORUM.

SUPPLICATIO.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Michael Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanus, totius Hiberniae Primas, ad pedes B.V. provolutus humillime petit prorogationem ad aliud decennium facultatis concessae die 1° Septembris an. 1876 celebrandi scilicet Synodos provinciales et dioeccanas, omissis nonnullis ex debitis solemnitatibus.

RESPONSIO.

Ex Audientia SSmi. habita die 5° Augusti 1888.

SSmus. Dominus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII, referente me infrascripto S. Congnis. de Propaganda Fide Secretario, petitam facultatem benigne prorogare dignatus est ad aliud decennium ita tamen ut Pontificalis Romani ac Coeremonialis Episcoporum praescriptiones saltem in substantialibus serventur.

Contrariis quibuscumque minime obstantibus.

Dat. Romae ex aed. dictae S. Congnis. die et anno ut supra.

Pro Secretario,

ZEPHYRINUS ZITELLI, *Of.*

SPECIAL INDULGENCES GRANTED BY THE HOLY FATHER TO THE PICTURES OF OUR LADY OF GOOD COUNSEL IN THE DOMINICAN CONVENT, CABRA.

BMO. PADRE,

La Priora delle Dominicane a Cabra in Irlanda, prostrata ai piedi di Vostra Santità umilmente espone che nel suo Convento vi è il Santuario della Madonna detta del Buon Consiglio che la Comunità visita spesse volte al giorno. Inoltre nelle due Camere di Scuola ove sono ammaestrate ottanta della gioventù Cattolica Irlandese vi sono due immagini della medesima. La sudetta Priora pertanto implora la grazia di sessanta giorni d'indulgenza da lucrarsi da coloro che visitano questi immagini.

Ex audientia S. Smi habita die quinta Augusti, 1888. S. Smus Dominus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII., referente me infrascripto Archiepiscopo Tyren. S. Congnis. de Propaganda Fide

Secretario, indulgentiam sexaginta dierum benigne concessit lucranda a recitantibus ter "Ave Maria" ante imagines de quibus in precibus.

Datum Romae ex aed. dictae S Congregationis die et anno ut supra.

Pro Secretario,

ZEPHYRINUS ZITELLI, *Officialis*.

GENERAL DECREE OF THE CONGREGATION OF RITES REGARDING
THE OCTOBER ROSARY DEVOTIONS, AND ORDERING A PROPER
OFFICE AND MASS FOR THE FEAST OF THE HOLY ROSARY.

SUMMARY.

The Rosary Devotions for the month of October same as in former years—The Proper Office and Mass for the Feast of the Holy Rosary obligatory on Secular and Regular Clergy.

EX S. CONGREGATIONE RITUUM.

I.

DECRETUM URBIS ET ORBIS.

Diuturnis Ecclesiae acerbitatibus, ac temporum quotidie invalescente difficultate commotus, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. cunctos a sui Pontificatus exordiis ubique Christianos excitare non destitit ad Deiparem Virginem Mariam sacri Rosarii ritu colendam atque implorandam. Inter cetera, quae praeclare edocuit in sua prima de Rosario Encyclica (1 Septembr. 1883), ait : *Divini necessitas auxilii haud sane est hodie minor, quam cum magnus Dominicus, ad publica sananda vulnera, Marialis Rosarii usum invenit. Ille vero coelesti pervidit lumine, aetatis suae malis remedium nullum praesentius futurum, quam si homines ad Christum, qui via, veritas et vita est, salutis per Eum nobis partae crebra commentatione rediissent ; et Virginem illam, cui datum est cunctas haereses interimere, deprecatricem apud Deum adhibuissent. Idcirco sacri Rosarii formulam ita composuit, ut et salutis nostrae mysteria ordine recolerentur, et huic meditandi officio mysticum innecteretur sertum ex angelica salutatione contextum, interjecta oratione ad Deum et Patrem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi. Nos igitur non absimili malo idem quaerentes remedium, non dubitamus quin eadem haec a beatissimo viro, tanto cum orbis catholici emolumento, inducta precatio, momenti plurimum habitura sit ad levandas nostrorum quoque temporum calamitates. Pontificiae voluntati*

permagna animorum alacritate et concordia ubique locorum obtemperatum est, *ut luculenter apparuerit quantus religionis et pietatis ardor extet in populo christiano, et quantam in coelesti Mariae Virginis patrocinio spes universi reponant* (Encyclicae 30 Augusti 1884). Hujusmodi porro spei veluti praeclarus fructus, jure nunc accenseri debet memorabile factum quod hoc anno, sacerdotii ejusdem Sanctissimi Domini Nostri quinquagesimo, Deus ostendit: mirandum profecto publicae religionis et fidei exemplum, pulcherrimum honestissimumque pietatis certamen in toto Christiano orbe inter omnigenas laetitiae significationes exhibitum. Omnes hominum ordines, vel ex dissitis terrarum partibus, gestierunt prosequi Pontificem Summum, beati Petri successorem, omni genere officii: legationibus, litteris, peregrinationibus etiam longinquis ultro susceptis, oblatisque ingenti numero et effusa magnificentia muneribus, de quibus verissime dictum est, materiam, et opus propensione superari voluntatis. *Qua scilicet in re admirabiliter fulget Dei benignitas et virtus, qui in magni Ecclesiae laboribus vires ejus confirmat ac fulcit: qui pro nomine suo certantibus solatia tribuit: qui providentiae suae consilio ex malis ipsis uberem bonorum messem educit; fulget item Ecclesiae gloria, quae originis vitaeque suae vim divinam ostendit, ac divinum, quo regitur vivitque, spiritum: quo fit, ut fidelium mentes et voluntates uno eodemque vinculo invicem, itemque cum supremo Ecclesiae Pastore jungantur* (Allocut. Consistor. 25 Novembr. 1887).

Jamvero id perpendentes Catholicorum gentes, dum inferorum portae quotidie audaciores fiunt in bello adversus Ecclesiam urgendo, probe sentiunt quantopere oporteat in potentissimam Dei Matrem augere fervorem, augere fiduciam, ut per Rosarii preces exorata, nomini Christiano et Apostolicae Cathedrae propitia succurrat: memores velle Deum donorum suorum continuationem atque implementum *non solum bonitatis suae, sed etiam perseverentiae nostrae esse fructum.* (Breve Apost. 24 Decemb. 1883).

Quapropter ad gratias agendas pro acceptis beneficiis, et pro concedendis enixius deprecandum, Beatissimus Pater quae superioribus annis per Suas Encyclicas, et per Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Decreta (20 Augusti 1886—26 Augusti 1886—11 Septembris 1887) de salutaris sacri Rosarii ritu, praesertim toto Mense Octobri celebrando, statuit et hortatus est; eadem omnia hoc vertente anno fieri mandat ac vehementer hortatur. Et quoniam plura de ampliori cultu liturgico magnae Virgini sub titulo Rosarii exhibendo jam decrevit: novum addere adhuc volens incrementum, sacrum festum ejusdem Rosarii solemnitatis, Dominicae primae Octobris adsignatum, OFFICIO

PROPRIO CUM MISSA decoravit, illudque ab utroque Clero in posterum recitari praecepit, juxta superius schema quod, a Se recognitum et probatum, per eandem Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem hac ipsa die edi mandavit.

Nonis Augusti, in festo Beatae Mariae Virginis ad Nives anno 1888.

A. CARD. BIANCHI, *S.R.C. Praefectus.*

LAURENTIUS SALVATI, *S.R.C. Secretarius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

ESSAYS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. By His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. With a Biographical Introduction by the Rev. Jeremiah Murphy, Queenstown. London: Thomas Baker, 1 Soho-square.

It is with a peculiar satisfaction that we have read over these beautiful essays of Cardinal Wiseman, and we have no doubt that all who appreciate a clear dignified and captivating style of exposition and controversy in religious matters, will feel deeply indebted to the publisher and to Fr. Murphy for this splendid edition of the *Essays*.

Although written now more than thirty years ago, they lose nothing of their freshness and beauty for modern readers. They go over a wide field of subjects—biblical, theological, historical and artistic; and in every department we are bound to recognize the same great mind, the scholar and the churchman, whose learning is only equalled by his simplicity and his deep reverence for the sacred subjects which he treats.

But before we reach the *Essays* themselves, we spend a delightful hour with Fr. Murphy as he passes in review, in his "Biographical Introduction," the events of the great Cardinal's life. When we get to the end of this most interesting sketch, we can only regret that it is necessarily so curtailed; for, indeed, there are few periods more interesting in the modern history of the Church in these countries than that which witnessed the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in England, the Tractarian movement in Oxford, the Gorham judgment, the conversions of Dr. Newman and Archdeacon Manning and of the host of scholars and men of the world that followed in

their train; the Synod of Oscott, the spasmodic outbreaks of bigotry, the clamour of Lord John Russell, the "Ecclesiastical Titles' Bill," and the presiding genius of the great Cardinal ever watching, helping, enlightening and praying; breaking down, step by step, the barriers of ignorance and prejudice, until he had made for the church a status which she had not known for centuries in England.

There are also many episodes of his literary career—his intercourse with M. De Sacy, Rémusat and Ozanam, with Schlegel and Görres, with Mai and Mezzofanti, with Dr. Newman and our own Dr. Russell—on which Fr. Murphy can naturally only touch; but we get the greatest possible information in almost the shortest possible space, and, we may add, in Fr. Murphy's usual rich and happy style.

From the very beginning we are reminded that, though the Cardinal was born at Seville in Spain, both his parents were Irish, and that two years of his earliest school-days were spent in his father's native City of Waterford. Great controversies have, as we know, been carried on regarding the origin, Irish or otherwise, of some of the greatest English churchmen of the Middle Ages. Our neighbours are particularly angry with us for presuming to lay any claim to St. Boniface or St. Cuthbert. We are too near the times of Cardinal Wiseman to run any risk of losing our title to him. Indeed, in the face of so many striking facts and salient events of his life, there would seem to be little danger that even the most monopolizing English historian could ever attempt to appropriate this illustrious countryman of ours.

But to come to the subject of the *Essays*, we consider it a very great advantage for all classes of readers, but particularly for ecclesiastical students, to have them thus collected and published. The first essay, on "Catholic Versions of the Scripture," is, of itself, a most important one, and brings home to the mind, better than anything we can imagine, the necessity of an intimate knowledge of the Greek and ancient Oriental languages, if we are to understand, to define and to defend the Scriptural text. We shall give but one example taken from the Cardinal's essay, and that, not because it is the most striking or the most illustrative of those quoted, but because it is the shortest and most suitable for our limited space:—

"Psalm lxvii. 12, presents an instance in which an ambiguity of phrase compels us to recur, not only to the Greek, but also to the original Hebrew. The Latin text runs thus:—'*Dominus dabit verbum evangelizantibus, virtute multa,*' and is thus translated in the Douay version: 'The Lord shall give the word to them that preach good tidings in great power.' The word '*virtus*' is manifestly ambiguous, as it often signifies

a host or multitude. Hence the common phrase, 'Dominus virtutum,' is always rendered 'the Lord of Hosts,' and 'virtutes coelorum' the 'hosts of heaven.' It became, therefore, the translator's duty to recur to the Greek, where he would find the words *δύναμις πολλή*. But here the same ambiguity exists; for the word '*δύναμις*' often indeed corresponds to terms significative in Hebrew of strength, as *אֵין, כְּבוֹדָה, בְּחָוָה*, and the derivations of *אֵין*; but it almost as frequently corresponds to words of multitude, as *עַם*, a people; *חֲמִין*, a multitude; *מַחֲנֶה*, a camp; *דָּל*, an army; and, above all, to *עָבָד*, the most usual word for a collection of men or a host. As the equivalent of this word '*δύναμις*' occurs some hundreds of times in the Bible, and one of the occasions is the very passage under discussion, for the Hebrew text reads *עָבָד רַב*. Thus no doubt remains that the ambiguous Greek word '*δύναμις*' here stands for multitude or crowd, and this again determines the signification of the no less ambiguous Latin term '*virtus*.'

It is in this essay also that the Cardinal examines that much-canvassed text, "Quid mihi et tibi, mulier," and has no fault to find with the rendering of our Bible, "What have I to do with thee?" For he shows, from similar phrases in Latin, Greek and other languages, how Our Lord may have spoken these words in the most respectful and affectionate manner to His Blessed Mother and that they were neither intended nor felt to be harsh, or in any way derogatory to the power and influence of the Blessed Virgin.

The second, third and fourth essays treat respectively of the parables, the miracles and the actions of the New Testament. For richness and beauty of style they could hardly be surpassed; for, while the Cardinal imparts his overflowing knowledge he manages to carry us along, as if spellbound, by the charm of his language. In the first of these, several of the parables are taken up with reverential hands, and drawn out to their full development, while it is, at the same time, made plain that they never were, nor could be verified outside the Catholic Church. In like manner, the miracles performed to convince the unbelieving multitude have their full explanation in the Catholic system, and are conceivable in no other; whilst the ordinary domestic actions of Christ, performed amongst His friends and followers, set forth in relief two things beyond all others, viz., the prerogatives of our Blessed Lady and the Primacy of St. Peter.

Students of dogmatic theology will find the famous text, "*Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo*," examined in a subsequent article, and a refutation of the "High Church Theory of Dogmatic Authority" in another.

In the year 1847, Lord Lindsay published his work on the *History of Christian Art*, and it is to this work that we are indebted

for the Cardinal's beautiful essay on the same subject. In words of becoming gravity and force he rebukes Lord Lindsay, who presumed to place on the same level the inspiration which produced the Madonnas and religious pictures of our great masters with that which immortalised the Diana, the Astarte, and the Isis of the Pagans.

"If the enthusiastic admirer of early Christian art can thus think of all that inspired it, and looks upon it with irreverent eyes, and speaks of it with the flippant tongue wherewith he might approach the abominations of the ancients, what hope can there be that the religion (*sic cerbo venia*) which can generate such feelings will ever give birth to any noble or tender inspiration of that very art?"

This true religious inspiration cannot be found in Protestant or heathen countries. You may have a great school of painters who, like Hogarth and Sir Joshua Reynolds, portray the natural characteristics of their countrymen, or who "riot in masses of gross flesh and unsaintly countenances," like Rubens; or excel in historical representations and reproductions of the human figure like Rembrandt and Van Dyck; but if you wish to reach a higher ideal, to be carried away for a moment from the contemplation of the earthly side of human things, not to speak of reaching to an insight of the heavenly, then you must turn to Raphael and Francia and Tintoretto and Perugino, to Fra Angelico and Paolo Veronese, to Salvator Rosa and to Murillo, to Philippe de Champagne and Poussin, and Lesueur and Flandrin and Overbeck, and all that host of Christian painters who were able to lend to the canvas those characteristics of holiness, of purity, of chastity, of ethereal religious realisation, which no Protestant can ever attain, or even attempt, for his whole system of beliefs, of thoughts, of training and surroundings is opposed to its very conception.

The last essay to which in this brief notice we can devote our attention is that on Pope Boniface VIII. Sismondi's *History of the Italian Republics* had been translated into English, and published in London, several years after its original appearance in France and Italy. The author, a bitter Geneva Calvinist, whose ancestors had fled from Southern France after the "Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," revives in this work a series of the basest calumnies against the Catholic Church and its rulers. Chief among these are his accusations against Boniface VIII. in his relations to his predecessor, Celestine V., and to the noble family of the Colonnas of Palestrina. Boniface was preceded in the chair of Peter by a pious

and saintly hermit, who was called forth by the College of Cardinals from his retreat in the wilds of the Abruzzi to preside over the Universal Church. He was of so humble and retiring a disposition that he could never be reconciled to the overwhelming dignity of the Papacy. No sooner was he satisfied that he could be freed from the great office than he resigned the tiara, and betook himself once more to his favourite exercises of prayer and penance. This action of the saintly Pontiff has often been misunderstood even by Catholic writers, and there can be no doubt but that it is to him that Dante alludes in the well-known lines of the *Inferno* :—

“ Poscia ch' io vi' ebbi alcun riconosciuto
Guardai e vidi l'ombra di colui
Che fece, per viltà, il gran rifiuto.”

But while Dante and his imitators reproach Celestine with want of courage and magnanimity, the more vicious class of writers, like Sismondi, reserve their chief accusations for Cardinal Benedict Cajetan, afterwards Boniface VIII., who is represented as having had recourse to the most unworthy stratagems in order to persuade Celestine to resign and to secure the tiara for himself. The truth on this whole subject, and a refutation of this ignoble fiction, will be found in Cardinal Wiseman's essay.

Not less crushing and satisfactory is his reply to Sismondi's fabric of the Pope's dispute with the Colonnese. We can only refer those who take an interest in the subject to the essay itself, which is a model of clear and unanswerable historical criticism.

J. F. H.

OUR THIRST FOR DRINK: ITS CAUSE AND CURE. A Poem.
Second Edition. By Rev. J. Casey, P.P. Dublin:
James Duffy and Sons. 1888.

WE are glad that Fr. Casey has been able to meet the demands of the public by giving them a second edition of his admirable didactic poem, *Our Thirst for Drink: Its Cause and Cure*. The rapidity with which the first edition was exhausted is a sufficient proof of the appreciative spirit with which the book on its first appearance was received; and we feel confident that the second edition will meet with as speedy a success. Of the merits of this poem we need say little, as most of our readers must be already

acquainted with its contents. By years of patient and unremitting labour, Fr. Casey has made himself familiar with every phase of this great social and moral question, and the garnered fruits of his industry are found carefully and systematically arranged in this excellent little book. He has availed himself of the rich stores of information embodied in such works as *The History of Drink*, *The Temperance Cyclopædia*, *The Disciple of Drink*, *Potter's Antiquities of Greece*, and the most approved writings on moral and ascetic theology, and the choicest portions of these vast treasures of knowledge may be found without a moment's delay by referring to the exhaustive "argument" prefixed to each of the three books of which the poem is composed. At a time when preachers, lecturers, essayists, and philanthropists of every kind are endeavouring to grapple with the demon of intemperance, and stay him in his onward progress, a book of this kind, furnishing, as it does, the most forcible argument in the clearest and most concise language, meets a want which has long been felt. The author, it will be observed, plumes himself on possessing a literary taste quite different from those

"Who for language all their cares express,
And value books, as women men, for dress."

Whoever, therefore, expects to find in this poem an exuberance of picturesque diction, or what the author is pleased to designate "a pyrotechnic display of wild imagination" shall be somewhat disappointed. And, indeed, it may be granted that in a purely didactic poem, written chiefly for the purpose of enforcing, under an agreeable form, grave principles of morality, these qualities may be well dispensed with: just as windows, intended primarily for admitting light, had better be made of transparent than of thick stained glass. We wish our esteemed author every success in his new venture, and hope that he may long continue the Laureate of a great movement for the moral, social, and political regeneration of our people.

J. J. C.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

NOVEMBER, 1888.

RELIQUIAE DOMINICAE.

I.—THE TRUE CROSS.

HOWEVER attractive or otherwise it may be to people generally, as a mere historical study, to trace back the history of a saint's relic in order to test its authenticity and make sure that it is real, it certainly cannot be without interest to a Catholic, in whose heart faith as well as nature awakens a religious veneration for those sacred mementoes of the elect. It cannot be a matter of indifference to us whether the objects which we covet and treasure with reverence, as memorials of those who have lived for Christ and reign with Him, be real or spurious. Of course, we need not, as a matter of fact, take the trouble of wading through moth-eaten folios, old missals, and martyrologies to dig up evidence for our assurance that every relic we possess is genuine. The "authentic," which is always received with them from the proper authorities, is a better security for us than any amount of personal research could be. Nevertheless there is a natural curiosity to try and verify for ourselves; and if our discoveries will not make us more sure, our religious curiosity will be more satisfied. This it is, besides the purpose of making good at the first opportunity a promise made in the beginning of the year, that has suggested the present essay. Then the relic of a saint has for us an interest less deep, and an attraction less sacred, than the instrument of that unspeakable mystery without

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which there could be no saint, because there would be no spring of sanctification. We owe the True Cross a special *cultus*. The relics of the saints, when compared with it, are but the memorials of a shadow; the Cross is a memorial of the substance. It is the altar of that great sacrifice which communicates virtue and merit to every other, and to which we owe the daily sanctifying influence that is working within us and whatever spiritual life we have. Hence this wonderful change. From a "scandal" and a "stumbling block" the "accursed tree" of the Jews came to mean the "power and the wisdom of God;" it became the most hallowed emblem the world possesses:—

“ inter
Omnes arbor una nobilis.”

Since the True Cross was discovered (A.D. 326) the fact remained in the undisputed tradition of Christendom for thirteen centuries. The Centuriators of Magdeburg were, it appears, the first to call it in question; and they were followed by Basnage, Rivet, Oudin, and Calvinists without number. They, being the first to break the chain of a long and unbroken tradition, had necessarily to offer some reasons for disputing it, and they gave them. What they are worth, however, we shall see later on. But their example was prolific in disciples. They have had them by the score even down to the present day, and they include all manner of persons—*ciceroni*, compilers of guide-books, tourists who have left sketches of their travels, especially in Italy; and these are legion—lawyers, parsons, Evangelical military men, elderly ladies, &c. But, if we are curious enough to know why these deny it, we shall find that they either retail the arguments of Basnage and the Centuriators, or give something new but more silly, or, as generally happens, they give none at all. They fancy it cannot be, or something seems to tell them that it would not be the proper thing to admit it. At any rate, they make up their minds not to believe it; that is reason enough for themselves, and why should it not be reason enough for everyone else?

Now, if it were some pagan antique or other profane

object of curiosity, identified by mere speculation or vague conjecture, such persons would find little difficulty in accepting the accuracy of all they hear or read about its origin. Many of them, perhaps, have borne away in triumph some remembrancer from the so-called tomb of Virgil, without ever asking themselves if the poet was really buried there. A *cicerone* identifies houses and streets for them in Pompeii and Paestum with as much self-confidence and unconcern as if he were showing them through the Chiaia in Naples, and they are satisfied that it is all right. So credulous are this class that some of them would be almost capable of swallowing without misgiving Mark Twain's profane joke that he discovered Adam's grave in Palestine, and shed tears over the ashes of his "dead relative." But when it is a question of some religious object they at once become hypercritical and incredulous, and often in spite of irrefragable evidence, if they would only not ignore it. If they see what is announced to be a part of the True Cross exhibited to the people in the Church of Santa Croce, or see it venerated in St. Peter's on Good Friday, their historical conscience is shocked, and they are filled with the thought of what a medley of pious dupes and crafty knaves these Catholics must be. It seems to be their vocation to detect the brand of incredibility or deceit in all relics. It is strange; we are reproached with venerating them, and we are accused of not possessing them.

For the authenticity of the True Cross, two things are necessary, namely, that it was really discovered, and that it was afterwards and is still preserved somewhere; for instance, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, or in the Basilica of Sante Croce or St. Peter's at Rome. The former is not enough without the latter. But it will be useful, if not necessary, to see first of all what can be known about it from the time of the Crucifixion until it was found by St. Helena. It will serve to throw light on a difficulty that will occur later on. It is well known that crucifixion was the most degrading form of capital punishment both amongst the Jews and the Romans. According to the Mosaic Law "accursed is he that hangeth

on the tree,"¹ and in the Roman Law death by the cross was the punishment reserved for seditious slaves;² *servile supplicium*, Tacitus calls it. Although it was for high treason our Divine Lord was sentenced, the Jews had accused Him of blasphemy also; and they thought that Barabbas was more worthy to live than He. That Joseph of Arimathea got His Body was not owing to the Jews; it was consigned to him by order of Pilate. Respect for the dead was jealously guarded by the Roman Law, and made sacred by Roman tradition. Even amidst the fury of persecution, the early Christians were rarely refused the body of a martyr. The only exception the law made was in the case of crimes such as that for which our Divine Lord was condemned; but then, although Pilate sentenced Him, he believed Him innocent. It should not be wondered at, then, if the Jews did away with the Cross, so that His disciples would have nothing to remind them of Him, and that not even the memory of Him would remain. Doubtless it would be their wish to forestall every consolation of His disciples who had gained over so many from them, and who shared with their Lord His sentiments towards His persecutors. But, as in every other circumstance of their guilt, their own acts recoiled upon themselves, so one of their own laws defeated them in this. We know from St. John that the grave where His Body was laid was quite close to the place of His crucifixion: "Now there was in the place where He was crucified a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre where no man hath yet been laid. There, therefore, because of the *parasceve* of the Jews, they laid Jesus, because the sepulchre was nigh at hand."³ Baronius⁴ quotes the *Talmud* to show that the body of an executed criminal should not be buried with others, and

¹ *Deut.* xxi. 22, 23. ² *Digest. Leg.* 38, sec. 2, *De Poenis*. ³ *John* xix, 41.

⁴ *An.* 34, No. 130: In the same place he says, "*Crucem vero quam locus sepulturae non caperet in propinquiori aliquo specu esse reconditam.*" A drawing and description of our Lord's Tomb can be seen in Calmet in his dissertation on chap. 27 of St. Matthew; from it we may suppose that the Cross was in a part of the tomb. This will come useful further on. See also Ackerman, *Archaeologia Biblica*, Part ii., chap. iii., Ubaldi, *Introductio in S. Scripturam—Adumbratio de Archaeologia Biblica*, sect. iv. cap. ix. Menochius, *De Republica Hebraeorum* lib. viii., cap. 2.

that the instruments of his execution should also be buried with him; and Calmet concludes, on the authority of Jewish Rabbins, whom he quotes, "Solemne fuisse patibulum una cum corpore defuncti sepulturae tradere."

All this sufficiently marks the spot where the Body of our Lord was laid, and where the Cross was buried. The tomb was just by the place of crucifixion, and the Cross, as we have seen, was placed in the tomb itself, or very close to it. Our Divine Lord had already many followers, and their number daily increased. On the day of Pentecost the mission of the Church began, and it at once proved its Divine commission by its miraculous fruits. Its members were knit together by the Spirit of God into the supernatural unity of faith and love. What we know of the reverence of the first converts of Rome for those of their brethren who had died for Christ—how they used to assemble at the cemeteries to pray before their graves, or offer the Holy Sacrifice there on their *natalitia*—should make us believe, if there was nothing else to tell us, that the Christians of Jerusalem visited and guarded the grave of their Saviour, and the Cross on which He suffered. But we know otherwise that, up to the time of the Emperor Adrian, it was continually visited by the faithful in Jerusalem, and by pilgrims from afar. It was only in Trajan's time that the common people of Rome came to distinguish clearly between Christians and Jews, and the Roman laws dealt with them then for the first time as distinct religious bodies. Edicts of persecution were no longer issued against them as magicians and atheists, or conspirators against the emperor, but as Christians; their persecution had no longer a political character, but a religious one—they were known to adore Christ as God. Adrian, Trajan's immediate successor, wishing to desecrate the holy places and dishonour the Christian name, had a temple of Venus placed there, so that the Christians would appear to adore the impure goddess. This act of Adrian clearly shows that in his time the holy places were much frequented by Christians. Besides, Socrates¹ says: "Those who followed the faith of

Christ venerated in a special way this monument [*i.e.*, the tomb] after His death.” Rufinus,¹ Bishop of Aquileia, says: “Formerly a *simulacrum* of Venus was erected there, in order that if any Christian should go there to adore Christ, he would appear to adore Venus.” It was the purpose of Adrian to profane the sanctity of the places where the Christians worshipped; and since he erected objects of pagan worship where the Cross was, as well as where the sepulchre was—if, indeed, the Cross was not in the sepulchre—it is clear that the Cross was preserved and venerated by the faithful of his time. The following words of St. Jerome² are clear, and they show not only that the Cross was hidden, but that it remained so until the time of Constantine:

“From the time of Adrian to the government of Constantine, for about 180 years, the pagans worshipped a *simulacrum* of Jupiter over the place of the Resurrection, and a marble statue of Venus over the place of the Cross (*in rupe Crucis*), thinking that they could rob us of the faith of the Resurrection and of the Cross by polluting the holy places with their idols.”

Thenceforth, both because Christian assemblies became more difficult and dangerous, and to avoid the suspicion of recognising the pagan idols, Rufinus³ tells us that the holy place was little frequented and almost forgotten. But it was not so forgotten that all memory of it had been lost in Constantine's time. The tradition of it should have remained; and the idols erected there, which remained until demolished by Constantine, would help to keep it alive. Besides, although it ceased to be frequented publicly by the faithful since Adrian's time, it is nevertheless very likely that individuals visited it privately for personal devotion. It was as, for instance, with the Roman catacombs. From the invasion of the Lombards, to the excavations of Bosio, although most of them were buried and forgotten, a few remained open all the while, and were visited for different purposes by different classes of persons—by pious pilgrims from every part of Europe, and by Pomponeo Leto and the Academicians. When persecutions ceased, and Constantine had honoured

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* lib. ix. ² *Epist.* 49. *Ad Paulinum De Institutione Monachi.*

³ *Loc. cit.*: “Et ab hoc infrequens et pene oblivioni datus fuerat locus.”

the Cross by abolishing crucifixion, if the pilgrimage of St. Helena to the holy places be true, there was there before her, amongst the Jews, and pagans, and Christians, a living tradition of the place where the Cross was hidden. There was a pagan idol over it to mark the spot.

We have now to show that St. Helena did visit the holy places, and did discover the Cross. But before doing so it may be well to notice an objection that has been made by Basnage and by many since—namely, that the wood of the Cross could not have remained sound under the earth for such a long space of time. To begin with, there is no reason why it would not; the soil on the top of a hill in Asia Minor does not retain much moisture. But it is waste of time to inquire into whys or hows. The Cross was known to have been buried in a certain part of Mount Calvary; Adrian was known to have erected a pagan idol over it. If therefore St. Helena had the immediate area dug up, and found a cross there together with a title bearing these words, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews," there is an end of conjectures like those. The question then is entirely outside the reach of speculation. Like every question of fact it has to be decided by witnesses, and the force of their evidence must be the measure of our certainty.

What historical evidence, then, is there to show that the Cross was found? We shall first give the testimony of those who lived at the time the discovery is alleged to have been made, and in the succeeding generation. Without going into chronological intricacies we will adopt the year 326 A.D. as the date of the discovery, during the Pontificate of St. Sylvester, and whilst Macarius was Bishop of Jerusalem. It is the date fixed by contemporary writers, for instance by Rufinus, Sozomen, &c., and is the one generally received. It certainly took place after the Council of Nice.

The first authority we shall quote is St. Cyril, of Jerusalem. He was ordained priest in A.D. 347, succeeded Maximus the successor of Macarius as Bishop of Jerusalem in 351, and died in 386 or a little later. He not only lived at the time of the discovery, then, but might easily have been present at it.

When a priest he was public catechist,¹ in the very church built over the holy places; the instructions he gave have come down to us, and are known as the *Catechisms of St. Cyril*. In one of them, in which he proves the Divinity of Christ, he says:—"It [*i.e.* the Divinity of Christ] is attested by the holy wood of the Cross which down to this day is to be seen in our midst, and which, through those who, impelled by faith, have taken away chips of it, is already distributed over the whole earth."² Immediately after he became Bishop of Jerusalem, he wrote a letter to the Emperor Constantius in which he says:—"And in the time of Constantine, your father, of happy memory, and most dear to God, the saving wood of the Cross was found in Jerusalem."³ No comment could make those words clearer. They speak for themselves, and they attest a fact of which St. Cyril could not have been ignorant. It was necessary for those who denied the finding of the Cross to meet in some way evidence so clear; and as they could not dispute their meaning, they undertook to prove that St. Cyril never wrote them. But the reasons given are so conjectural and vague, that, used by an adversary, they contain a strong presumptive argument, if any such were necessary, of the genuineness of what they are intended to disprove. Let us take a specimen in reference to the extract from the *Catechisms*. It has been said that these must have been written long after the time of St. Cyril; for he could not have used that expression "seen in our midst *down to the present day*," which would imply a long space of time. And so it may imply a long space of time, for St. Cyril seems to have alluded to the preservation of the Cross from the time of the Crucifixion and not from the time

¹ His catechetical instructions consisted in discourses on the Christian doctrine. Something similar is done in Rome on Sundays in the afternoon.

² *Catech.* x., No. 19.—"Τό ξύλον τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ σαυροῦ μαρτυροῦ μέχρι σήμερον παρ' ἡμῖν φαινόμενον, καὶ διὰ τῶν κατὰ πίσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λαμβανόντων ἐιτάθεν τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἤδη πληρῶσαν.

³ Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου καὶ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ σου πατρός τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ σαυροῦ ξύλου ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰρήται.

of its discovery.¹ Moreover these *Catechisms* contain internal evidence that they were written in Jerusalem, and precisely about the time that St. Cyril held the office of catechist. The writer of them says in the 13th *Catechism* :—" If I would deny it [i.e. the Passion of Christ] this very Golgotha in which we now stand would convict me, the wood of the Cross which has already been distributed in particles all over the whole world would convict me;" in the 13th and 17th he speaks of " this city of Jerusalem;" in the 3rd and 12th he addresses his audience as " people of Jerusalem." Again, in the 6th *Catechism*, he says that seventy years had elapsed from the heresy of Manes to the time he was writing, and that men were living who had seen Manes. Now, the heresy of Manes began in the year 277 or 279, and seventy years from that would fix the date when the *Catechisms* were written at the year 347 or 349. Admitting then for a moment that St. Cyril is not the author, somebody else is. Surely they were written by someone; and whoever he be, he wrote them in Jerusalem, and about the year 347. Thus they are the testimony of a coeval witness all the same.

The words of St. Cyril in his letter to Constantius are, if possible, clearer than those in the *Catechisms*. Oudin, Rivet, and Basnage try to neutralise their force much in the same fashion as in the case of the *Catechisms*; and if we deal with this more at length, it is not because the difficulties in the present case are worth more than those in the other, but because they are so unreasonable, vague, and even contradictory, that the slightest analysis makes them reveal the evident insincerity of those who first attempted to discredit the authenticity of the True Cross. Oudin denies that the letter was written by St. Cyril because such orthodox expressions as " Consubstantial Trinity " occur in it, whereas, he says, St. Cyril was a semi-Arian. The only reason why St. Cyril was ever suspected of semi-Arianism is that he was consecrated bishop by Accacius, Bishop of Caesarea, who had

¹ Natalis Alexander observes that even though he alluded to the discovery of the Cross, the objection is worth nothing, and refers to *St. Matthew*, xxvii., 8, for a similar expression used to imply a very short time.

Maximus deposed for adhering to the Nicene Creed. It seems likely that Accacius expected to have an ally in St. Cyril; and, except those such as Maximus whose responsibility for the faith of their flocks as well as for their own obliged them to promulgate the Decrees of the Nicene Council, it was not yet well known of many whether they accepted the Decrees or not. But, whatever sympathy Accacius had expected from St. Cyril, it is certain that he mistook his man. So it appears from the solemn testimony to his orthodoxy given by the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople. So it appears also from the subsequent animosity of Accacius towards him when he found his hopes disappointed. Rivet says that the letter was not written by St. Cyril, because the writer of it praises the virtues of Constantius, who was an avowed Arian. But St. Athanasius, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Ambrose, St. Hilary, St. Epiphanius, &c., have words of praise for Constantius; and are we therefore cornered into the alternative, that, for example, St. Athanasius was an Arian, or that somebody else wrote the *Apologia* which every one acknowledges to be his? Besides, however favourable to Arianism Constantius might have been, it would be nothing strange to find even an orthodox bishop speaking of him in terms of praise. Conventional courtesy would demand respectful references in a letter to an emperor. Custom as well as common sense attributes on formal occasions to such persons the virtues that belong to their office, although the individual may have them not. Thus when a petition is addressed to a king his mercy is appealed to, because "it becomes a throned monarch better than his crown," although personally it may be more correct to call him tiger. In other words, the man is dubbed with the virtues of his office, however badly they may fit him. Again, this letter was written very soon after St. Cyril's elevation to the episcopate, and Constantius had not then betrayed any decided leaning to Arianism; and even if he were known to be wavering, charity and prudence would forbid St. Cyril to call him a heretic right off. Moreover, even though Constantius were then a pronounced Arian, we are not to suppose that every good quality fled

away with his faith, and that nothing remained in him that deserved praise. Rivet would not think it fair if, for instance, Natalis Alexander when refuting Oudin called him a thief because he happened to be an apostate. But, over and above the insufficiency of the reasons against it, there is both internal and external evidence for it. The letter itself bears marks that point to St. Cyril as its author.¹ Sozomen who was nearly his contemporary ascribes it to him; and in modern times quite a host of writers, Protestant and Catholic—the Bollandists, Natalis Alexander, Toutée, Cave, Mills, &c. In fact, St. Cyril's authorship of both the *Catechisms* and the letter to Constantius is so plain and the reasons against it are so trifling, that it seems as though they who deny it first took it into their heads to dispute it, and afterwards set about manufacturing their reasons. Basnage, however, does not deny that St. Cyril is the author of the letter to Constantius: but he does worse. He asks:—"Why may we not suppose that the finding of the Cross was invented by St. Cyril, partly to please Constantius who had a mania for relics, and partly to gain honour to the Church of Jerusalem?" Just so; we only want the will. Basnage happened to have it, and he made his supposition accordingly. According to him St. Cyril might have two motives for inventing the story; one, to bring honour to the Church of Jerusalem, the other to flatter the weakness the Emperor had for relics. Now it is strange that it should enter into his thoughts that the possession of relics, which he loathed with Calvinistic coldness, would bring honour to any church. But if he was only expressing what St. Cyril and the Christians of his time would feel, it follows that relics were venerated by the early Christians, whose Christianity he would pretend to follow. Besides, even though St. Cyril were wicked enough to forge such a story there were many in Jerusalem who could have exposed the imposture, and who, no doubt, would be willing to do it. Even though St. Cyril had the heart of an impostor, it is hardly possible

¹ Ant. Auguste Touttée—(Benedictine edition of St. Cyril's Works, Paris, 1720)—points out several of these internal proofs.

to suppose him so incautious as to run such a risk as that. But if anything could help us to imagine it possible, it would be the incautious zeal of Basnage himself in the arguments we are dealing with. But he says that if Juvenal, one of St. Cyril's successors, was dishonest—and Basnage says he was—why may we not suppose St. Cyril to be so too? When a writer, undertaking to refute Baronius, could treat history in that style, Zaccaria could not have saluted him in more fitting words than these—"Eat Basnagius et nugas hasce ejus Batavis vendat." Basnage then admitted that St. Cyril wrote the letter, but that he palmed a story on the emperor. Rivet and Oudin held that he did not write it, the former because St. Cyril was too semi-Arian, the latter because he was too orthodox. That these objections made by writers of a past century, have been dealt with at such length is not owing to the importance they can have now, but in order to set forth more fully what frivolous reasons they were able to offer who first set about discrediting the finding of the True Cross.

We shall now give the testimonies of some quasi-coeval writers. It will be seen that they did more than merely attest the fact; they also give the details of the discovery—St. Helen's journey to Jerusalem, how she found the Cross, how she identified it, &c. It would be interesting to give full extracts from them; but as they would occupy too much space we shall limit ourselves to what is barely necessary in order to understand their force. St. Ambrose,¹ who died about A.D. 395, in his funeral oration on Theodosius, which must have been delivered not more than fifty-seven years after the Cross is said to have been found, says:—

"Helena therefore came. . . . She ascended Golgotha. . . . had the earth removed. . . . She finds three crosses promiscuously thrown together. She is doubtful . . . but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost she remembers that two thieves were crucified with the Saviour. She therefore looks for the middle wood. But they may have been thrown there in disorder. She reads the

¹ *Oratio de obitu Theodosii*. It was the intention of the writer to give the original Latin as footnotes; but the extracts are so many and so long that it would occupy too much space.

Gospel, and finds that to the middle cross was attached the title, 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews.' . . . Thus the Cross of the Saviour was known."

St. John Chrysostom¹ (died A.D. 407), having described how the Cross was hidden, and observed the importance of the title in identifying it, says:—

"As three crosses were found, the Saviour's Cross appears to have been known by the title, for the crosses of the thieves had not a title."

Paulinus,² Bishop of Nola (died about A.D. 410), writing to Sulpicius Severus, says:—

"But when three crosses were found joy gave place to anxiety lest one may be mistaken for another. God regarded their pious desires. . . . The body of a dead man is brought, and is touched by one, then by another; but death defies the wood of the thieves. Finally the revival of the dead man reveals the Lord's Cross."

Sulpicius Severus³ (died A.D. 420) says:—

"Three crosses are found. But the difficulty of knowing on which the Saviour hung perplexed all, lest the cross of one of the thieves be mistaken for the Lord's Cross. They then took counsel, and touched the body of the dead man with each. It was touched in vain by the first two. It was touched by the third, and at once came to life in the presence of the spectators."

Socrates,⁴ who lived during the reign of Theodosius the Younger, after describing the erection of the *simulacrum* of Venus over where the Cross was, says:—

"The *simulacrum* being removed . . . she [*i.e.* St. Helena] finds the crosses in the monument. With them was found the title in which Pilate had styled Christ crucified King of the Jews. Being doubtful which was the cross she sought for, the Empress was troubled; but Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, found a solution of the difficulty."

He then describes the application of the crosses to a sick woman; how she was ineffectually touched by two, and cured by the application of the third.

¹ *Homil.* 85 in cap. xix. *Joan.*

² *Epist.* 31, ad Sulpicium Severum.

³ *Hist. Sacra.*, lib. ii., cap. 34.

⁴ *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i., cap. 17.

Theodoret¹ (died about A.D. 460), after describing the journey of St. Helena in her old age to Jerusalem, says:—

“Where the sepulchre was discovered, three crosses were also found about the Lord’s monument: and all believed that one was Christ’s, the other two those on which the thieves were crucified, but which was the Saviour’s they did not know.”

He then relates the miraculous cure of a sick woman effected by being touched with one.

Rufinus,² Bishop of Aquilea (died A.D. 400) also describes St. Helena’s pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the circumstances connected with the finding of the Cross:—

“She finds three crosses lying together promiscuously; she was troubled at seeing no means of distinguishing the Saviour’s Cross. There was the title, but that was not a sufficiently sure indication. Hence human uncertainty calls for a divine testimony.”

Then follows a description of the healing of a sick woman. The Roman Breviary³ substantially follows the testimony of Rufinus.

Here, then, is the testimony of the Breviary and of writers, all, it may be said, of the fourth century. It will be noticed that their narratives differ in part and agree in part. They all agree in this, that the three crosses were found by St. Helena in the same place, together with the title, which they all admit to be that affixed to the Saviour’s Cross by Pilate. They all recognise the presence of the title as a certain sign that one of the three crosses should be that of Our Divine Lord; but they differ in their accounts of how it was distinguished from the other two. St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom say that it was known by the title, and make no reference to a miracle. The others say that, although the title was enough to indicate that it was one of the three, it had to be distinguished from these by a miracle. The miracle mentioned by Paulinus and Sulpicius Severus is the miraculous cure of a sick woman by its touch. Socrates, Theodoret, and Rufinus, whose account the Breviary follows, say that it was distinguished by the miraculous revival of a dead man. Now, from the

¹ *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i., cap. 18.

² *Lib. i. Addit. ad His. Eusebii*, cap. 7.

³ Second Nocturn, Feast of Invention of Holy Cross.

narratives of these writers, three considerations are at once suggested, which will be more than enough to dispel any misgiving about the force of their evidence as to the subject of our inquiry :—1st. They all testify that three crosses were found, and that the presence of the title was a certain sign that amongst them was the Saviour's Cross. They all testify that the Saviour's Cross was distinguished from the other two. Outside that substantial agreement their narrative is, in strictness, irrelevant to our purpose. We do not ask to be told by them *how* the True Cross was found, but whether it *was* found ; and they all say that it was. The discrepancy in their narratives is, in other words, a merely accidental thing, and it cannot, therefore, weaken the force of their substantial agreement. Are we to reject the Septuagint because biblical scholars dispute about many things connected with its origin ? 2nd. This circumstantial discrepancy in their narratives not only does not lessen their value as applicable to the main fact they attest, but rather raises it. It indicates that they received their information from different sources ; and thus, instead of a diminution of the evidence, we have a virtual multiplication of independent witnesses, who might be brought up in evidence if we knew them. Nor must it be thought that even circumstantial harmony should be expected in the narrative of so important an event. To expect the contrary would be just as reasonable, and especially in the case of a discovery which, no doubt, excited much religious interest in an imaginative people. 3rd. There is nothing in these narratives to justify our supposing for certain that there is any discrepancy. If we examine carefully the words themselves, and consider them with the context in each case, the different accounts may in the most easy and natural manner be accepted as true in every particular. And so thought Sozomen and Nicephorus of the two miracles, for they mention both. When St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom said that the Cross was discovered by the title, they may be understood to mean that by the title the Saviour's Cross was known to be one of the three discovered—*i.e.*, in an indeterminate way, whilst not excluding the necessity of some other means of distinguishing it from the other two ; or, if our

Lord's Cross was even identified by the title, it is not too much to suppose that two miracles were wrought on such an occasion, assurance thereby becoming doubly sure.

If further evidence were needed, we have it in the Basilica of Santa Croce in Rome, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and later on, for instance, in the Abbey of Holy Cross, besides many sacred edifices throughout Europe, the original purpose of whose erection implies the finding of the Cross. We have it again more universal and solemn in the institution of a special feast¹ in honour of the discovery. The Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross may be traced back to the close of the fifth century. It is mentioned in very old martyrologies; for instance, in that of the Venerable Bede. The Mass of the feast occurs in the *Sacramentary* of Pope Gelasius, who died in 496, which is to be found amongst those edited by Cardinal Thomassius in 1680; also in the *Sacramentary* of Gregory the Great, edited by Menard in 1640; and in the *Gothic Missal*. What is all this but a distinct and living recognition of the fact? What is it but the Church's solemnly acknowledging the trustworthiness of the evidence already set forth to establish it? And shall evidence so ancient and still living, the testimony of one writer who might have been an eye-witness, and of several who might have heard it from those who were, the testimony of Christendom, as set forth in the Church's liturgy and commemorated in its martyrologies, of everyone down to the Centuriators—shall evidence such as that not leave conviction with us in spite of an attempt made a few centuries ago to discredit it, and by writers whose motives are fairly betrayed by the circumstances of their time, and whose arguments, taking them for what they are worth, are, as we have seen, worth little? Whatever is to be thought of the religious and social condition of those who lived in the ages of faith, when this relic is said to have been imposed on their credulity as something real—however benighted their condition was—it is not going too far to say that it was mid-day itself beside

¹ The Feast of the Invention of the Cross is also registered in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

the credulity of those whom a few vague conjectures can persuade into discrediting the distinct conviction of fifteen centuries. It is not enlightened criticism that could beget such unreasoning scepticism as that; unless it be enlightenment to be always denying and doubting, and never learning, never knowing.

This part of the question cannot well be dismissed without dealing with a difficulty made out of the silence of the Father of Ecclesiastical History in reference to the finding of the Cross. Eusebius was Bishop of Cæsarea; he was born in A.D. 269, and died in A.D. 339, so that he could not have been ignorant of it. Constantine's mother found the Cross, and Constantine is closely connected with the finding of it; and it is very significant that Eusebius, in his *Life of Constantine*, has not a word about it. That is the pith of the difficulty as brought up by the Centuriators of Magdeburg. Now, to begin with, we shall see that it is questionable whether Eusebius is silent about it. But let us take the supposition most favourable to those who make the objection, namely, that Eusebius is silent, and what does it come to? The mere silence of one historian about a certain fact cannot outweigh the positive and distinct testimony of contemporary witnesses quite as reliable as he. It is a mere negative thing; if it had force there is hardly an historical fact that could be placed beyond question. Although there is not quite a parallel, the principle is the same as that law of evidence invoked by the thief in the story who, when asked what defence he had to make against a charge of theft sworn to against him, said that against one witness who saw him steal, he could produce ten who could swear they didn't see him. If it could be shown that Eusebius ought to have referred to it, his silence would certainly have some weight; it would be virtually a positive testimony against it. But, even so, although it may shake the credibility of a fact accepted on the authority of writers of a considerable time later, who begin a chain of evidence by breaking for the first time a long interval of silence, it could not shake, much less destroy, the clear evidence of coeval or quasi-coeval witnesses. But then it must be shown that Eusebius *ought to have mentioned*

it; and that cannot be done, although it would help them little though it could. Owing to the nature of the case, it can rarely be shown that a historian would certainly have spoken had he believed in what he abstains from attesting; in other words, that his silence is a clear proof of his incredulity about a fact, or of his ignorance of it. That is so especially in the case of writers between whom and us centuries have passed, and into the history of whose time we cannot penetrate with the insight which we have of times near our own. Then, again, reasons more or less strong, conjectures more or less plausible, can almost always be given for a writer's silence. To come to our present case, the reason why, according to the Centuriators, Eusebius should not have remained silent is, that in a biography of Constantine one would expect a fact which would shed so much glory on the emperor. Many Catholic writers, and amongst them Baronius, express surprise at the silence of Eusebius, especially in connection with St. Helena who discovered the Cross, and of whom he says a good deal. But all that only shows really and strictly that the *Life of Constantine* would be a convenient occasion to mention a fact so closely connected with the emperor's mother, but not that it would be a reason why it should be mentioned. If Eusebius were writing a life of St. Helena it would be another thing. St. Helena found the Cross. Constantine had a church built over the place where the Body of our Lord was laid, and where the Cross was buried. Eusebius speaks of the church, and, in a general way, of the holy places over which it was to be raised; and by doing that, he did all that a biography of Constantine required. That Baronius and others express their surprise at the silence of Eusebius rather weakens the case of the Centuriators, although it would seem at first sight to strengthen it. Their belief in the finding of the Cross was not shaken by his silence; although surprised that he did not mention it, they believed it nevertheless. The silence of Eusebius evidently did not tell so much on Baronius as it did on the Centuriators. The correct thing to say about it would seem to be this—that one should not be surprised if Eusebius mentioned it, rather than that one

should be surprised that he did not, which is quite another thing.

Hitherto the historical value of the silence of Eusebius has been considered. But what if it cannot be shown for certain that he was silent? What if there be reasons, on the contrary, to show that he attested it? And that is really the question. The position of the Centuriators was a false one when they took for granted the silence of Eusebius. The most they could claim, as we shall see, is that it cannot be shown for certain that he referred to it. Let us see then the grounds on which Eusebius is claimed as a witness to the fact. 1°. He says (in *Chronicon*, A.D. 325):—

“Helena, inspired by heavenly visions, sought in Jerusalem for the most holy sign of the Cross (*beatissimum Crucis signum*) on which the Saviour of the world hung.”

2°. In the *Life of Constantine* he quotes a letter written by the emperor to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, in which the following words occur:—

“So great is the goodness of our Saviour that no eloquence suffices for a narration of the present miracle; for it is really more than wonderful that the monument of the Most Sacred Passion buried long ago under the earth remained hidden for the space of so many years until, the common enemy of all being subdued [*i.e.* Licinus], it became visible to his servants set free. . . . I would wish to let you know first of all that nothing has been longer in my mind than to adorn by the beauty of buildings that sacred place which by the command of God I have relieved of the superstructure of an abominable *simulacrum* as of some heavy weight, and which from the beginning indeed has been holy in the sight of God, but afterwards became much more holy by being a witness to the Passion of Our Lord.”

Constantine speaks here of a “present miracle,” which many take to mean the curing of the sick woman or the revival of the dead man by which the Cross is said to have been identified, as no other miracle is recorded in connection with the discovery of the holy places. Moreover he speaks of the “monument of the Most Sacred Passion,” which was unearthed after having been buried for years; and these words seem to refer to the True Cross, which is eminently the monument of the Sacred Passion. Besides, he speaks of building a church over that “sacred place” where an

"abominable *simulacrum*" had been erected. Now a *simulacrum* of Venus was erected by the Emperor Adrian over the spot where the Cross was buried, and as Constantine speaks of building a church where the *simulacrum* was, he must have had the True Cross in view in building a church over the spot where it was buried. If these reasons were as sound as they appear to be, Eusebius unquestionably testified to the finding of the Cross. But it is better that we would see their weak as well as their strong side. The object of historical criticism is not to make things prove what we would wish, but to find out and know truly what they do prove. Now, the words quoted from the *Chronicon* of Eusebius would of course settle the question if they were certainly his; but it is not at all certain that they are. Scaliger, who although not a Catholic, was certainly an authority, and Papebroch, the Bollandist, and others say that they are an interpolation. However clear then the words be, since it cannot be shown for certain that Eusebius wrote them he cannot be claimed, as far as they go, as a certain witness to the fact they attest. We have no right to quote these words of the *Chronicon* unless we can prove that they are genuine; and that we cannot do with certainty whilst authors of great name are compelled by strong reasons to hold that they are not. Neither is it clear that "present miracle" refers to the miraculous circumstances connected with the finding of the Cross. The curing of the sick woman and the revival of the dead man are the only miracles recorded in connection with it, and it is not certain that the Cross was identified by miraculous means. The plain meaning of the words of St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom, already quoted, is that the Cross was identified by the title, and if by the title exclusively, surely not by a miracle. Zaccaria says that the "monument of the Sacred Passion" may be understood of the Sepulchre as well as of the Cross; and it is clear from Constantine's letter that the "monument of the Most Sacred Passion" and the "sacred place which became a witness of the Lord's Passion," are one and the same. But if the "monument of the Sacred Passion" referred to the Cross and not to the Sepulchre, Constantine did not allude at all to

the sepulchre in his letter, although he gives minute details in it of a church to be built over both. For a similar reason the "monument of the Most Sacred Passion" cannot be understood of the sepulchre, without in some way including the Cross. Neither does the allusion to the site of the "abominable *simulacrum*" throw any light on the difficulty. We cannot determine from the letter itself what *simulacrum* is meant, and there were two about the place—one of Venus, the other of Jupiter. More than that the accounts that early writers give of their respective sites are so much at variance that it is by mere topographical hair-splitting, if the expression be intelligible, that they can be at all reconciled.

Now, it seems that the whole thing would be much simplified, and all these difficulties removed, if we suppose that by "present miracle" Constantine referred to the wonderful escape of the "monument of the Most Sacred Passion" from the persistent hatred of those whose one great purpose during the ages of persecution was to wipe out every trace and token of the Christian religion, and that by the "monument of the Sacred Passion" he meant both the Cross on which Our Saviour suffered and the tomb where His body was laid. This meaning, as attached to the "present miracle," is quite as natural as any other; and the preservation of the "monument of the Sacred Passion" until the Christians were provisionally free to venerate it again as they used to do before Adrian hid it under objects of pagan worship, may truly be called miraculous. It seems equally reasonable to suppose that by the "monument of the Sacred Passion" Constantine meant both the Sepulchre and the Cross. The scope of his letter shows it, for it is chiefly taken up with minute details of the church he was about to build; and we know that the church covered over the site both of the Sepulchre and the Cross. In fact, the "monument of the Sacred Passion" seems to have been used in Constantine's letter as a general term for the scene of Our Lord's death and burial, and for the memorials that remained of both; for all these he desired to honour by the church he was about to build. Besides, without this assumption we can hardly reconcile St. Paulinus who says that Adrian built a *simulacrum* of Jupiter *in loco*

Passionis with St. Jerome, who says that the *simulacrum* of Jupiter was *in loco Resurrectionis*. We may even go farther and suppose that the Cross was hidden at the Sepulchre, or that it was in the Sepulchre itself; and it is not at all unlikely that it was so. Cardinal Wiseman, in one of his *Lectures on the Ceremonies of Holy Week*, speaks of St. Helena as "finding the Cross in the tomb;" and, moreover, it was a sacred custom, if not a positive law, amongst the Jews to bury with the body of the condemned person the instruments by which he suffered death.

What follows from all this? Bearing in mind the unbroken series of witnesses, from Eusebius to the present, whilst even he may not unreasonably be understood to have referred to it, and looking at the vagueness of the latter in the light of the definite testimony of the former, the silence of Eusebius about the finding of the Cross cannot be with certainty proved. That, to say the least of it; more may be claimed. The sum of all we have been saying about Eusebius is this:--1st. Even though it could be shown for certain that Eusebius did not refer to the finding of the Cross, his silence would make no matter: he can well be done without. 2nd. We have seen that it cannot for certain be shown that he did not refer to it; and to have done so much is enough, and more than enough, without trying, what seems to be in vain, to claim him as an unquestionable witness, when his evidence is not necessary, and his silence can do no harm.

But to have shown that the Cross was found is not enough; it could have been found and lost afterwards. So many changes have taken place since then, all along from Jerusalem to Rome, by barbarian and Moslem conquests, that the Cross may have somehow disappeared amidst the confusion that those conquests caused, and the destruction or plunder of things most sacred that is mixed up with the history of those times. Was the True Cross, then, preserved after it was found? Was its identity secured through all that long, fierce, and intricate struggle for religion, against Persian and Turk, and Goth and Vandal? Can we be sure that it is preserved anywhere to-day? Well, all that can be shown. And, although we must not be expected, of

course, to verify it in the pectoral cross of every bishop and in the reliquaries of those who have the good fortune to possess it, there is a better guarantee to offer in these cases than any critical inquiry of ours could lead to. When the authorities recognised by the church for that purpose give away a relic they always give with it an "authentic" as a token that it is genuine. The seal on that "authentic" means two things:—that the relic given has been taken from one the Church possesses, and that this itself is real. In that way we may consider that we have the pledge of the Church that the True Cross was preserved after it was found, and has been in the custody of the Church ever since. And that is what we should expect, even had we no positive evidence of it. It is in no way surprising that it has not been lost sight of, and that it has escaped even the sacrilegious pillage of irreligious conquerors during these past fifteen centuries. It would rather be surprising if it were otherwise.

It is but a mere natural sympathy that makes us feel our separation from those to whom we are attached, and when separation becomes inevitable, sorrow shows how violent it has been; and mementoes help us to maintain the union, as if in shadow, when the reality is gone. That feeling is not of our choice. It is spontaneous; and it would remain in spite of us should we try to shake it off. So strong is the natural tie that binds us; and what shall we say when religion has supernaturalized it? Religion, it is true, may not make it more sensible, but it will make it more enduring. Then, there are special reasons why the Saints should live in our memories. We admire in their lives a reflex of our Divine Lord; they are the models through which we learn to become like to, and to reach, Him; and they are the intercessors whose prayers obtain us the light to lead us on. These are the reasons of the desire we have to possess a relic of some favourite saint, although we may not always reflect to account for it, and many may not be able though they tried. And we covet much more a relic of the True Cross; for although our faith may not be over strong, and our practice of it may be indifferent, we feel after all that it is the altar on which Christ died; and it carries us back to the Divine

Victim Himself, whose awful and winning form even in the crucifix of the missionary has often drawn the heart and will of the heathen, almost before he knew what it represented. When there is that desire in our cold hearts and in our unbelieving age, it would be surprising if it were not a great deal more in those times when faith was deeper and charity more warm. And so it was. Cardinal Wiseman was only representing what used to really happen when he describes in *Fabiola* a number of Christian maidens holding their handkerchiefs at the martyrdom of the youthful Agnes. We know that the early Christians, by permission of the Prefect, or in default thereof by bribing the guards, used to take away the bodies of the martyrs to the cemeteries, and often pay large sums of money for the instruments of their martyrdom. They used also to dip their handkerchiefs in the martyr's blood, or soak it up with sponges at the risk of detection, which meant martyrdom for themselves, and have it afterwards collected into small glass or earthen vases which they buried with the body.¹ At Monza there is still preserved a papyrus list of relics which Queen Theodolinda had sent her from Rome by permission of the Pope; and these relics were nothing more than some of the oil that burned before the graves of the martyrs. So great was the devotion of the faithful to Sacred Relics in those days. Bearing in mind that this attachment to Sacred Relics has pervaded the feelings of the faithful from the beginning, and knowing, as a matter of fact, that before the Cross and Tomb were covered over by Adrian and pagan objects set over them,

¹ St. Prudentius refers to that pious custom in the following lines written on the martyrdom of St. Hippolytus:—

“ Palliolis etiam bibulae siccantur arenae,
Nequis in infecto pulvere nos maneat ;
Si quis et in sudibus recalenti aspergine sanguis
Insidet, hunc omnem spongia pressa rapit.”

The following translation is taken from Dr. Rock's *Hierurgia* :—

“ Those crimson dew's from martyr's heart that ran,
Are rescued from th' unhallow'd tread of man
By pious brethren, who with linen band
Wipe up the gore that stains the thirsty strand.
What blood that, reeking, on the club may stay,
A sponge impressed will gently sip away.

the faithful used to gather in crowds to venerate these Relics of their Saviour, common sense forbids us to think that they were less venerated or less carefully guarded after their discovery. In fact, once the discovery of the True Cross has been established, it is our duty, considering the extraordinary veneration of the faithful for it, to suppose that it has been preserved ever since unless there be unquestionable evidence that it has been lost.

M. RIORDAN.

(To be continued).

THE PULPIT AND THE AGE. THE PRINCIPLES, PRACTICE, AND CONNECTIONS OF MODERN PREACHING. A CRITICAL STUDY.

"There is no sign that the modern world any more than the earlier and ruder ages can dispense with the art of the preacher. Its virtue in the Christian ministry is alike of to-day, to-morrow, and for all time."

"To be a successful preacher is to be a master in a divine art."

AS will be readily seen, both from the above copious heading and the quotations following it, I am about to conduct my readers, particularly the tyro in the holy ministry, through a large field of research, discussion and pleading. This I propose to do in a few papers to which the present is little more than an introduction. The ultimate object is one of the highest importance to the religious teacher who in nothing essential should be behind the requirements of the time in which he lives and moves. At the outset I am bound to give a reason why I join company with the Earl of Carnarvon, and a Protestant bishop, in the commencement of this investigation relating to the systematic cultivation of sacred oratory. No doubt, outside the very wide platform of every day Christianity, as churchmen, there is very little sympathy between us in our respective religious views; an abyss divides us; but, as scholars and thinkers, who seem to have penetrated the aggressive spirit of irreligion and agnosticism of this expiring nineteenth

century, and who have so lately pleaded with signal eloquence for the supremacy of religious teaching as the only antidote for present and prospective evils, I regard their scholarly and sympathetic industry as significant and entitling them to honourable recognition among distinguished Catholic men possessed of a spirit of breadth and toleration. There is this other thought likewise present in my mind—a beautiful expression of Tertullian, “That when the greatest dangers threaten, every citizen should become a soldier.” I think Tertullian’s actual words are, “In reos majestatis, et publicos hostes omnis homo miles est.” But the words of M. Guizot are, if possible, of wider compass and greater cogency in the argument. In his recently published *Meditations on the Christian Religion*, he says:—

“It is in fact the whole Christian Church, and not this or that Christian Church in particular, which is at the present day the object of attack in its fundamental principles. When the supernatural, the inspiration of the sacred books, and the divinity of our Lord are denied, the blow falls upon all Christians, whether Catholics, Protestants, or Greeks.”

The selection of the matter to form the bone and sinew of my present humble endeavour has not been with me a question of fancy, taste, or condescension in any way. I looked out for the materials that seem most likely to fit in with the general order of my design. I have selected my authorities with the utmost latitude. I do not however intend to give an indiscriminate support or sanction to the views or opinions of any man, where this is not absolutely due from me either as a Catholic duty, or as a tribute to well-established genius or eminence in the highest walks of literature.

I have already spoken of the Protestant bishop, Dr. Baldwin, of Huron, and of the Earl of Carnarvon, as men who had acquired notoriety by their writings. The former contributed a very speculative but still interesting, paper on Preaching, styled *Nineteenth Century Preaching*, to a collection lately published. The essay will well repay a careful perusal. *The Art of Preaching* is the subject of Lord Carnarvon’s article published in the *National Review*, September, 1853.

It will be advantageous to my present purpose to quote a paragraph from his lordship's paper :—

“Ever since the foundation of the Christian Church preaching has been one of the principal agencies by which the truth of the Gospel has been spread ; but the interest in the art of preaching does not lie merely in its history. Its value in the Christian ministry is for all time and all races. Immeasurably however as is the value of preaching, in the mouth of a great preacher the efficacy of it necessarily diminishes to an almost vanishing point, when employed by those who have neither the natural nor acquired gifts for the exercise of it. And be it remembered that it needs more than average power, mental and literary, to kindle enthusiasm, or even to interest in a story which however marvellous in its purposes and details, is yet an old one in the ears of his hearers, and to create out of materials which by constant repetition almost seem exhausted, inducements powerful enough to alter or affect the moral course of a man's life.”

True, the subject of pulpit work and its rightful performance has of late assumed very deep and serious prominence. I need not go into the full proof of this. When we see so many men of letters, some of them unconnected with the Ministry, interesting themselves actively in such a question as that of popular preaching, we may fairly conclude that the pulpit is growing in importance and attractiveness, and in the second place, that the issues connected with it are issues of moment and gravity, issues affecting the stability of the State and the welfare of humanity widely regarded. There is another impression arising out of this unusual inclination of the cultured mind towards the pulpit at present. It is this, that improved methods are called for, both of training and exercise, that a higher standard, and consequently a higher level of average excellence is to be proposed to the young, in view of their future responsibility as popular preachers, and the work to be regularly accomplished in the pulpit when they ascend it—namely to educate the heart, the conscience, and the will of those committed to their charge. Is this impetus coming from the outside world uncalled for, or otherwise? I think it is a wholesome sign of the times, concurrently with all other recent movements in the new educational line.

I can readily conceive how enlarged demands have arisen

within some years past, that the Christian exponent of revealed truth should be trained and exercised after the best manner and according to the most thorough discipline. The popular feeling has grown out of a modern literary taste and out of the vicissitudes that have taken place in the relations of the various classes of society from the apex to the substratum, all bringing the pastoral office into a new, more solemn, and more complex attitude in respect of the world; and, of course, with new and ever enlarging responsibilities there comes the question of how to adapt the means to the end, in due proportion. And, furthermore, I maintain that what has been said and done by others does not relieve anyone from taking the part of a responsible critic, if he thinks that he can contribute towards promoting a more highly intelligent service among those who are called to minister in public to the enlightenment and spiritual necessities of others. All have a claim to be heard when all are concerned in the results. The energetic section of writers who are exercising their minds over this subject of modern preaching, its design, its present necessities, and its wide bearings, and who watch its effect on the general public are mostly persons outside the true Church. They are not confined to any one country or class; they are all deep thinkers and men of letters. Some are politicians, some are essayists, and some are political economists; in each one's case his ability is conspicuous for boldness and brilliancy. They cannot be regarded as neologists, for they concern themselves more about the forms of rhetoric than about doctrines. These movements, I repeat, are significant; they show in what direction sober public opinion on a question of paramount interest like popular Christian education is drifting. I think this point is deserving of more than a passing thought, for the deep consideration of it ought to emphasise the necessity for a favourable and satisfactory determination on all sides to arrive at some design comprehensive enough to meet all the exigencies and prejudices of the future.

Furthermore, it is a remarkable thing to see many distinguished Protestants turning away from that material progress, for the creation of which they were wont to bless

their religion as its fostering cause; and cry out for Christian intellectual and moral instruction as the one thing now necessary. A few years ago would anyone expect to find in a leading Society periodical an article on such a subject as "The Art of Preaching"! Is the world of error and of spurious creeds becoming alarmed at the sight of the putrid chaos growing up in her organization; or is she becoming penetrated imperceptibly by deeper views of the future life, of supernatural authority with a heavenly mission—the office of the Church which she so long persecuted, defamed and discredited, to supply? Disraeli said not long ago that the world was radically tainted with a dissoluteness of life and morals, seldom equalled in the worst history of man. But who is responsible for the shame and the reproach which there is no gainsaying? It does not enter into my deliberate purpose at present to answer.

Now, does this society so contaminated show signs that it has grown better as it has grown older? This is not clear from the records of the day. On the other hand its gross equilibrium seems to be in imminent peril acted upon by the downward drifting flood of scepticism, and combined systems of philosophy, questionings, and doubts of the day, besides the overstrained disclosures of geology, and physiology, she sees likewise a rapid intellectual revolution,¹ corrosive of all but natural religion, taking place in all departments, under which vicious tastes are being formed, ambitious and sensual interests are being nurtured and expanded, pure and young characters are being morbidly vitiated, and in fine, the whole social fabric is assuming a deformed and blackened character, making it not unlike the pagan society of earlier days, which St. Paul eloquently denounced. The following extract throws additional light on this point:—

"I say then, that if, as I believe, the world, which the Apostles speak of so severely as a False Prophet, is identical with what we call human society now, then there never was a time since Christianity was, when, together with the superabundant temporal advantages

¹ Cardinal Newman's *Apologia*.

which by it have come to us, it had the opportunity of being a worse enemy to religion and religious truth than it is likely to be in the years now opening upon us. I say so, because in its width and breadth it is so much better educated and informed than it ever was before, and, because of its extent, so multiform and almost ubiquitous. Its conquests in the field of physical science, and its intercommunion of place with place, are a source to it both of pride and of enthusiasm. It has triumphed over time and space; knowledge it has proved to be emphatically power; no problems of the universe—material, moral, or religious—are too great for its ambitious essay and its high will to master. There is one obstacle in its path: I mean the province of religion. But can religion hope to be successful? It is thought to be already giving way before the presence of what the world considers a new era in the history of man.”¹

All stricken and bewildered she looks in every direction for a hand—not a dead hand—to deliver her from her multitudinous foes, for some one who shall be able to say—“Thus far and no farther!” In her distraction it is not to our schools of science, of philosophy, dialectics or empirics, that she turns her eyes. No! she looks to the sacerdotal authority to put her house in order, as none other can, but unfortunately there are no very decided symptoms that the spiritual authority to which she recurs in her greatest danger, is the one universal and efficacious, namely, the spiritual authority of the Church illumined by the abiding presence of the Divine Comforter, and aided by His omnipotence.

As further evidence of the interest that is gathering around the modern pulpit, I will go to a country Catholic in name, in traditions, and in everything but present practice. It was in the early summer of last year that the famous Duomo of Florence presented a striking spectacle for a month. An audience of 7,000 people regularly attended the May course of thirty sermons, delivered by the Padre Agostino da Montefeltro. A modern Savonarola had appeared in the beautiful capital of Tuscany, to remind his fellowman that he was a creature made for the glory of God; that in this

¹ *University Sermons. Contrast between Faith and Science.*

consisted his true dignity and in this reflection centred his true consolation, that religion was his truest and surest friend, and the only solid basis of all genuine happiness. It was a remarkable phenomenon to take place in a city so famed for refined culture, for fashion, and frivolity, and prominent as a seat of arts and letters. In one of the public journals of the time, I read that from seven o'clock in the morning till eleven, men and women, of all grades, sat on chairs and the benches to keep a place! This is an instance, and it is not a solitary one, that the pulpit has not uniformly and universally deteriorated, as some allege, or that the constructive influence of the religious teacher has disappeared, or is now only efficacious among the poor to whom the Gospel was first preached.

The precise nature of these pages may be set down in a few words. In a general way, I do not aim at doing anything more than filling up the *lacunae*, to be found in most of those writers who have preceded me in this work. If I succeed in presenting a body of ready suggestions, to help the young and inexperienced Levite, and additional arguments, to serve as a stimulus to the apathetic, my work will be done.

Many persons will say that what I propose to myself is to a degree superfluous, that the task has been accomplished by various writers from time to time. Granted that several others, many of high station and in every way qualified by their genius and their learning,—bishops, founders of religious orders, and even popes—have composed treatises on sacred eloquence, but what advantage will the general body derive from the instructions contained in books hidden away in libraries, written in a tongue unknown or only partially understood, or accessible only to the few capable and learned, if the matter be not somehow brought directly under general notice.

From St. Augustine to St. Liguori many saints and doctors have written, in one form or other, instructions on preaching, says a modern reviewer. The principles expounded by St. Augustine at great length were promulgated by Gregory the Great, and *De Cura Pastoralis* was the

the manual of the clergy for many centuries. In the revival of the twelfth century, continues the same writer, the Dominicans and Franciscans received from their first Generals treatises or special counsels on the form which sermons should assume. In like manner when the rebellion of Luther and Calvin involved the Church in the greatest of her combats, and called for all the energy and lights of her pastors, there appeared St. Charles Borromeo, St. Francis Borgia, Francis of Sales, Louis of Grenada, and several others who reformed the pulpit, and ushered in that period when sacred eloquence rose to the very highest rank.¹ Among modern writers on Christian oratory, we have, in the French tongue, the exhaustive treatises of M. Hamon, and of Van Hemel.

The sources of information are assuredly vast enough and almost co-extensive with the subject itself; but what use is so much wealth if it be not turned to account and widely diffused, and even in this operation what divergence is possible, for in treating the same subject no two men ever take the same course?

There is a conviction present to many minds within the sanctuary and in the world—in secular life—amounting briefly to this, that the cultivation of sacred oratory, with its branches, letters, rhetoric, elocution, has not yet been assigned its rightful place in the educational curriculum generally adopted, that it has no recognised and uniform standard becoming an essential branch of education; and it is further said, and I myself incline to the opinion, that there is no plausible reason for leaving the matter, so important as it is from every point of view, in this abnormal position. I will ask the indifferent, and the let-very-well-alone, this question, and I put it before them at the risk of anticipating a portion of my particular argument. What depends on sacred oratory and its cultivation? Was it not the means which God himself used, and assigned to others called by Himself to accomplish the one great purpose of His mission in this world, the conversion of souls. It was essential that people should hear and know His doctrine before they could be brought to believe

¹ "Study of Eloquence in Seminaries," *Dublin Review*, 1855.

in Him, to abandon their idolatry and wickedness, and to adopt the service of the true God. Accordingly He personally taught and sent teachers into the world to perpetuate his work to the end.

Anyone proposing a higher standard of instruction and cultivation in this department of education does not necessarily mean what is either utopian or unattainable with such material—natural gifts so ready at hand everywhere. Average excellence and a uniform level will speedily come once people are led to cherish higher aims, and to take broader views of their responsibility throughout. It is to be feared that in this one detail of scholarship we have fallen much under the standard of our predecessors half a century ago; I am speaking now of the Irish Church. And this ought not to be for the battle to be fought and the enemy to be encountered is always the same, "*Pressuram habeatis*," as was predicted. "The Church," said Père Felix, "is incessantly being brought face to face with the powers of the world with which she has certain inevitable points of contact." And the world's agents, ever fruitful in astute designs, will be always at their work, to quote Gray's remark: "spinning their cobwebs, and catching some flies." Well-instructed people are better able to bear the strain, when the encounter comes, than those whose religious education has not been fitly and diligently, with discrimination and judgment, cultivated from early life. The carefully instructed Catholic, in spite of all obstacles, will not be easily led away into irreligion or ungodliness. In an eloquent summary on the clerical obligation, St. Bernard, impressed, no doubt, with the far-reaching importance of thorough religious instruction in first principles at all events, places the matter in the front, thus: "*Tria autem haec manent; verbum; exemplum et oratio.*" Following the investigation of the day, we are forced to admit that numbers of the Irish race in other lands, have fallen away while fighting out the problem of life. These losses are to a degree shocking. The disaster is one with which priests in England and elsewhere are too familiar. We would rather hide the scandal away in

oblivion for ever; but, as we cannot do this, we may ask ourselves: What would have been the Church's present progress but for these "losses," as it is expressed? There is an apprehension that, in many instances, Irish exiles have been allowed to face great dangers without being fully armed for prospective perils; and this is due, perhaps, to over calculation on the innate piety and natural intelligence of, in many respects, our highly gifted people, on the elasticity of their disposition, and their reverence for all things divine—a reverence pronounced to be immortal, but actually not so. It is evident there is no middle course.

The foregoing circumstances suggest serious reflections to the public instructor at home, as well as to the student of nature and of the world's capacity for evil.

We have now reached the point when, before going into practical details, there arises before the mind this primary question touching our scholastic system: Is not some improvement called for to fortify the missionary to do the work well, and to enable him to cope, in the best manner, with the perverseness, the activity, and the broad tactics of the opponent of God's holy word, and to be a guide, representing in himself the initiative, the watchfulness and progress, emphatically denoted in the divine commission: "Itē praedicate?"

G. J. GOWING, P.P.

THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

III.

THE OLD CHAPELS OF DUBLIN—(*continued*).

BY way of Supplement to my last Paper I think it well to give here the full text of the Earl of Cork's letter referred to in one of the foot-notes as having just appeared in the Twelfth Report published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. It fully bears out all the traditional

accounts of Bulkeley's invasion of the chapel in Cookstreet, and being an official communication is of historical importance.

"Dublin, January 9, 1629-30.—R. Boyle, Earl of Cork, to Viscount Dorchester, Principal Secretary to the King's Majesty at Court.

"At my being in England I took into observation the sense of the Parliament against the over bold liberty and presumption of the friars, jesuits, etc., in this city, not without tax to the Government for not restraining their unbridled liberty. I found by good intelligence that there were by Christmas ten houses of friars, nuns, jesuits, and priests of several orders, conventually gotten together in this city and suburbs, each house having a head or governor with mighty resorts unto them. And that in one of the houses erected by the Countess Dowager of Kildare, and by her richly adorned and furnished for the jesuits, there were many active spirits descended of good houses who held dangerous principles. And that in another of the nunneries there was a governor brought from Dunkirk with one nun, the daughter of the Earl of Westmeath, another of the Earl of Fingal, two of the Lord Viscount Gormanstown, two of the Lord Viscount Dillon, and divers young professed nuns being the daughters of divers prime gentlemen. On St. Stephen's Day we imparted our purpose to the Council, where it received general allowance, and before it could be noised we presently employed the Lord Archbishop, the Mayor, Recorder and Sheriffs of Dublin, who proceeded and were affronted as in our general letters to the Lords is declared. I that have lived here above forty years and not ignorant of the dispositions of this nation, who will show their teeth and speak high words to uphold their superstitions, was nothing appalled thereat, although my whole estate and fortunes depend upon the peace of this kingdom. I advised and prevailed to cause all the prime recusant aldermen, etc., to be called before the Council Table, and thereupon six of the prime papistical offending aldermen were committed, and some other offenders, who after some weeks restraint did by their petition for liberty protest much readiness in his Majesty's service. They were enlarged upon bonds of £1,000 [!!!] a piece, commanding that they should all in person attend the Mayor and Sheriffs first to the house of the friars, where the affront was offered to the Lord Archbishop and the Mayor, and to seize the same unto his Majesty's use, and this done to proceed to another, and so from one to one till they had cleared all those houses of jesuits, friars, nuns, etc., and seized all the houses (being ten in number) into his Majesty's hands, which, God be praised, is this day done, and the keys of them presented to us at the Table. I hope it will receive allowance in his Majesty's gracious approbation, which if we may be comforted withal it will encourage us with much confidence to proceed by degrees and to take the like temperate [?] courses of

reformation in all other cities and chief places of this kingdom infested as this is with like convents and the dregs of popish frenzy. If his Majesty command the demolishing of that house of friars in Cook-street where there were 22 resident in their habits, and in which the Lord Archbishop and Mayor were first affronted. I presume it would be done without noise ; and some other of their superstitious houses made houses of correction and places to set the idle poor people on work in which kind the city aboundeth."

In the year 1700 there were but *five* Catholic chapels in the city of Dublin, corresponding to the five Catholic parishes into which the city was then divided, for, such chapels as belonged to the religious communities in the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second had been closed up by the laws of William's Irish (?) Parliament, and the communities themselves dispersed, exiled, or imprisoned. There might have been a *sixth* chapel in Channel row (North Brunswick-street) as mention is made in the List of 1697 of a priest officiating there, but it could only have been a chapel of ease to St. Michan's to serve that new quarter of the city which was then growing up.

The first place amongst our five parish chapels must, I think, be accorded, as well for its antiquity as for its ecclesiastical rank, to that of St. Nicholas Without, Francis-street. It occupied the site of the old Franciscan Friary founded in the thirteenth century, and for nearly two centuries it served as a pro-cathedral to nine successive archbishops.

The origin of the Parish of St. Nicholas Without [the Walls of Dublin], as distinct from that of St. Nicholas Within, is involved in some obscurity. Certain it is that the Collegiate Church of St. Patrick erected and endowed by Archbishop Comyn in 1190, and situated outside the city walls, was preceded by a parish church dedicated to our National Apostle, and by some said to have been founded by St. Patrick himself in 448. In 1170 we meet with the name of Edan, priest of this church, as a subscribing witness to a deed executed by St. Laurence O'Toole in favour of the Church of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church). In the earlier years of St. Laurence's episcopacy this *Parish of St Patrick in insula*, as it was then styled, was reckoned as belonging to the Diocese of Glendalough, which, on the south side, came

right up to the walls of what up to that time had been regarded as the *Danish* city and diocese of Dublin.¹ But the gradual cessation of hostilities, commercial intercourse, and intermarriages had insensibly dimmed the separating lines of the two races, and about the middle of the twelfth century Dublin was peaceably incorporated in the National Church by the Pallium brought by Cardinal Paparo and the elevation of Gregory to be its first archbishop. This transformation was happily consummated in the selection of a prince of an Irish sept, Laurence O'Toole, as Gregory's immediate successor, who received episcopal consecration from the Coarb of Patrick.² It was then manifestly more convenient that people living so close to Dublin as the parishioners of St. Patrick's, should be under the jurisdiction of Dublin's bishops, and with the consent of Malchus, Bishop of Glendalough, St. Laurence in 1179 procured a Bull from Alexander III. granting to the See of Dublin an extension of territory as far south as Bray.

Archbishop John Comyn succeeded St. Laurence in the see, and this prelate, anxious to establish some kind of a *studium generale*, or university, for the promotion of learning amongst his clerics—" *Minus erudite simplicitati Gentis Hiberniae providere cupiens* "—as is recited in the Foundation Charter, changed this parish church into a collegiate church in the year 1190. He rebuilt it from the foundations and on a much larger scale, he endowed it with considerable territorial possessions and large ecclesiastical revenues, attached to it a college of thirteen prebendaries, men of "exemplary life and learning," and in 1191, accompanied by the Archbishop of Armagh and the Papal Legate, O'Heany, solemnly consecrated the new building to God, our Blessed Lady Mary, and St. Patrick.

¹ The learned Dr. Reeves, present Protestant Bishop of Down and Connor, best describes the relation of Dublin as a Danish see to the rest of the country by telling us in a small *brochure* on the Diocese of Glendalough, printed for private circulation, and with a copy of which he kindly favoured me, that it was regarded by the natives "as Gibraltar now is by the Spaniards, or Hong Kong by the subjects of the Celestial Empire."

² St. Laurence was consecrated by Gelasius, Archbishop of Armagh. His predecessors in the See of Dublin had been all consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The next archbishop, Henry de Loundres, finding several deficiencies in the plan of his predecessor, granted, in 1219, a new charter, whereby he instituted four dignitaries—namely, a dean, a precentor, a chancellor, and a treasurer—and converted the Collegiate Church of St. Patrick into a Cathedral. This new charter was confirmed by a Bull of Pope Honorius III. in 1221. These changes carried with them the bestowal of certain privileges, exemptions, and jurisdictions, to be enjoyed and exercised by the Dean and Chapter within the Dean's Liberty or Close—a limited and strictly defined area surrounding the cathedral. These privileges could not be enjoyed, nor the jurisdiction availed of, by those living outside this area, so that the condition of a large proportion of the former parishioners of St. Patrick's was materially altered; and the better to secure their parochial rights, and not be inferior to their neighbours, they either got themselves annexed to the Parish of St. Nicholas Within, or, what is still more probable, were constituted into a distinct benefice, with equal rights and under the same celestial patronage as the parishioners of St. Nicholas enjoyed. This seems all the more likely as from the beginning the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's were regarded as rectors both of St. Nicholas Within and St. Nicholas Without, which, together with St. Kevin's and St. Bride's,¹ were conveyed by the original charter to the Dean and Chapter to be appropriated to the Economy² Fund. By this conveyance the Dean and Chapter were constituted the rectors or *personae*, or, as we would more familiarly term them, *parish priests* of these several parishes and churches, and had the right, as well as the obligation, of nominating some fit and suitable person to serve the cure in each of these parishes, St. Kevin's alone excepted. The nomination to the Vicarage of St.

¹ Within the Parish of St. Bride was the old Church of St. Michael le Pole, which Archbishop Allen returned in his "*Repertorium viride*" as *parum valens*. Some traces of it still remain at the back of the houses in Great Ship-street.

² "Those possessions of the cathedral which are appropriated to the sustentation of its fabric and other expenses relative to the community at large, and are not applicable to the personal support of any dignitary or prebendary, are denominated the Economy possessions".—See Monk Mason's *History of the Cathedral*, chap. xi.

Kevin's was reserved to the archbishop by reason of his prebend of Cullen, which was within the Parish of St. Kevin (Cullenswood), and which was made an inseparable appendage to the See by Archbishop Henry, in order to secure to him and his successors the right to sit and vote in the chapter. The archbishop usually conferred this vicarage on the vicar-choral, that, as Prebendary of Cullen, he was bound to maintain in the cathedral, and this vicar-choral, being archbishop's vicar, was privileged to wear the *almisio* or hood, which was the distinctive dress of the minor canons.¹

The Dean and Chapter, as parish priests of St. Nicholas, did not see the necessity of providing a special parochial church, and felt that they discharged this obligation sufficiently by reserving a portion of the north transept of the cathedral and the aisle adjoining as a parish church for the parishioners of St. Nicholas. This arrangement continued down to the recent restoration of the cathedral under Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness,² when, in order to devote the entire

¹ In the *Repertorium Viride* of Archbishop Allen, 1532, he says of this Vicar, "*Sicut parvi Canonici in habitu incedit propter praeerogativam Prae'endae nostrae de Cullen quam vere possidemus tanquam Canonicus.*"

² Apropos of this Restoration, a fly-leaf was privately circulated at the time, signed "Wykeham," which as it expressed the views of a very considerable majority may be re-produced here.

ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.—A GENUINE "RESTORATION."

"Our eminent Fellow-citizen, BENJAMIN LEE GUINNESS, Esq., has undertaken to restore the Cathedral of Saint Patrick, built by Archbishop Comyn, in 1190, and to expend thereon the munificent sum of £200,000."—*Dublin Paper*, 1860.

"The success of the Reformation is marked by the ruins of the Churches."—*Dr. Johnson*.

"I blush for my Church and my Parishioners: it is in ruins and they will not repair it."

"Then, Sir, give it to the Papists—they will not fail to re-edify it—and then you can take it from them *as you did before.*"

Conversation between the Protestant Rector of Carlow and Dean Swift.

If—generous GUINNESS! you'd restore
Saint Patrick's to its state of yore,
Bid Pugin renovate in glory,
Nave, Cloisters, Choir, & Cleristery;
Exhaust the Sculptor's skill profes-
sional,
On Rood-screen, Altar, Cross,
Confessional;
Let Censers winnow blest perfume,
Bright Cressets gem the Chancel's
gloom,

And robes of Tyrian dye and gold,
High Priest and Acolytes enfold.
Then while the OLD FAITH's rites
arise,
In GOD accepted Sacrifice,
And grand *Te Deum* pealing praise,
Resound, as in its Founder's days,
RESTORE his Church—in no mood
sullen—
'To COMYN's heir ARCHBISHOP CULLEN,
Wykeham.

edifice to cathedral purposes and display its full extent and proportions, the transept and aisle ceased to be reserved as a parish church, and the (Protestant) parishioners of St. Nicholas Without were relegated to the Church of St. Luke, on the Coombe, where they rejoined old friends, as St. Luke's Parish was only formed in 1707, having been detached from that of St. Nicholas in that year; so that, apart from the cathedral, the parishioners of St. Nicholas, in pre-Reformation times, had no parish church, as apart from the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's they had no parish priest. But besides the north transept of the cathedral for discharging their parochial duties, they had the Church of the Franciscan Friary, in their central thoroughfare, St. Francis-street, to satisfy the exigencies of their devotion.

"In the year of our Lord, 1233;" writes Rev. C. P. Meehan in his valuable work on Franciscan Monasteries in Ireland;—"just seven years after the blessed founder's translation to Heaven, King Henry III. issued a writ to the Chamber of the Exchequer to pay out of the king's treasure to the custodian of the houses of the *Friars Minors* of Dublin 20 marks for repairs of their church and houses; and three years afterwards another writ to Maurice Fitzgerald, Justiciary of Ireland, empowered him to pay the Franciscans of Dublin 50 marks of the king's gift, in aid of the construction of buildings which they had commenced in the metropolis of Ireland. Ralph le Porter gave the Conventual Franciscans a plot of ground in the southern suburb of the city, whereon they erected a spacious church and dwelling-house." The principal street running through the "southern suburb," ran by this new church and friary and took from it its name "St. Francis-street," which it retains to the present day. This religious house and community sped on its holy work under the most favourable auspices and won and kept the good wishes of the citizens during its untroubled career of three centuries. But in 1534 the storm burst. The Franciscans in London had made themselves specially obnoxious to Henry VIII. Fathers Peto, Elston, and Blessed John Forrest, did not fear to upbraid the monarch with his unholy alliance with Anna Boleyn, and that to their very

faces. So that vengeance was swift and sweeping. Throughout England and throughout Ireland wherever his writ could run, the Franciscans got short shrift and no quarter. They were ruthlessly driven from their convent and church of St. Francis-street, and the site and buildings were sold to a certain Thomas Steevens at a rent of *two shillings per annum*. He unroofed and prostrated both friary and church, sold the beautiful corbels, exquisitely wrought mullions, and marble altars in England, and converted the grounds of the friary into a pleasure garden, a purpose which they served until about the middle of the following century. I need not follow out the subsequent history of the sixteenth century. I have already referred to the utterly disorganised state of the Church which must necessarily have ensued upon the cruel enactments of Elizabeth. Except in the country parts of the diocese, in Wicklow and parts of Kildare, where the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles pretty well kept their own¹ almost up to the accession of James I. (1603), in the city and surroundings, all parochial organisation must have practically been suspended, and whatever priests remained must have been content to serve the faithful as best they could, armed with extensive faculties, unbounded zeal, and unlimited confidence in the goodness and mercy of God. The appointment and arrival of Dr. Matthews, as Archbishop, opened up a new field of labour. All Church property, benefices, tithes, &c., and the Churches themselves were all gone. The ministrations and maintenance of religion should necessarily be inaugurated afresh, just as we now do in new missionary countries. 'The House of God should be re-edified and the confusion resulting from the prolonged and successful

¹ In an old Manuscript kept by some members of the O'Toole family, and with a transcript of which I was favoured by the Rev. P. L. O'Toole, O.C.C., we have an inventory of altar furniture drawn up by a Rev. Laurence O'Toole, dated 21st April 1598, "3 girdles, with knots, 1 silver chalice, 2 silver pixes, 1 altar stone, 2 altar towels, one bound with Flanders lace, corporals, 3 purificatories, 3 or 4 veils, 2 antependiums, one Spanish calico, the other silk, a Mass-book, an Alb, Amices 2, 1 paul, a bell, oil boxes, Christening books, 2 stoles, one white with red ribbon, the other black. I lent Father David Byrne 1 oil box, 1 small Crucifix of brass. All those I lent with my vestments. All my books I left at my brother's. Laurence O'Toole."

struggle for the Faith should be reduced to order. Hence, as we have seen in the preceding article, the Synod of Kilkenny ordered that to every parish a priest should be appointed, but as the labourers were necessarily few it adds the proviso—that if a sufficient number of clergy could not be procured each vacant district should be assigned to the care of the neighbouring parish priest, in other words, that many of the parishes should necessarily be grouped and form unions under the care of one pastor. In pursuance of this Statute, Dr. Matthews united the parishes of St. Nicholas Without, the Deanery of St. Patrick's, the parish of St. Bride, and that of St. Kevin, into one parish, which took as its principal patron St. Nicholas, and this union remained unbroken and undivided down to the year 1823.

The original parish of St. Nicholas extended from that of St. Catherine on the west, to the Deanery of St. Patrick's on the east. This latter was surrounded on the north and east by St. Bride's, whose eastern boundary in *olden* times was Great Ship-street. In a southerly direction the parish of St. Nicholas went out to Harold's-cross, having flanking it on the east side of New-street and on to the parish of Rathfarnham the extensive area of the parish of St. Kevin. In the Inquisition held at Dublin on the 25th of January, in the thirty-eighth year of Henry VIII., the tithes of St. Kevin's are said¹ "to issue from the townlands of Baggotrathe, Cullyn [Cullenswood], Menrathe [old name for Rathmines], Mylton [Milltown], Greneferme, Parkeferme, Stokenferme, Brodefelde, Mageneferme, Bremychames Land, Stoben-lands and the Rathelands [old name for the southern portion of the Liberty of Donore including the west side of Harold's-cross]."

These denominations of St. Kevin's, united with the parishes of St. Bride, St. Nicholas, and of the Deanery of St. Patrick's, will exactly measure out the boundaries of the Catholic parish of St. Nicholas, as given with great accuracy by the late venerated Father Henry Young in the only published number of his proposed *Catholic Directory* which appeared in 1821, when the parish was still undivided.

¹ See Monck Mason's *History of the Cathedral*, p. 80.

Here are Father Young's mearings of the parish of St. Nicholas:—

“It is bounded by the south side of Cutpurse-row to Lamb-alley included; takes in Blackhall-market except the entrance into it from Back-lane, the last house (No. 24) in Nicholas-street, Draper's-court, Bride's-alley, all Ross-lane and Bride-street, with a few houses on the south side of Derby-square; receives Little Ship-street, except the last house left next the Castle gate, the west of Great Ship street, of Whitefriars-street, of Peter's-row and of Redmond's-hill, the south of Cuffe-street and of Stephen's-green, the west of Leeson-street to the bridge; borders the right side of Donnybrook-road as far as the stream at this side of the Incurable Hospital; from thence going westward it comprehends Ranelagh, Mountpleasant, Sallymount, and Cullenswood; continues the west of the high road, and embraces Milltown-road and the village of this name to the river, which borders this extensive parish as far as Rathgar, including the village of Rathmines; returns to the right side of Rathgar-lane, till it opens on the road from Harold's-cross to Roundtown; goes up Kimmage-road to the Tongue of Dublin; takes in Harold's-cross, Parnell-place, Clanbrassil-street, New-street, Black Pitts, Mill-street, the east of Ardee street, the south of the Coombe, and also the opposite side from No. 41 inclusive to Francis-street; receives all Ash-street, a few houses in Crostick-alley, Swift's alley, and Francis-street, to No. 149, on the west side, where it terminates.”

It was an immense area, but until the present century thinly inhabited. Milltown and Harold's-cross were two outlying villages. Rathmines until the middle of the last century was not even a village. At the time of the battle of Rathmines, in 1649, what answered to the name was enclosed by a wall sixteen feet high, and contained ten acres of ground. Rathgar was an extensive grove, guarded on the edge by Rathgar Castle, belonging to the Catholic Cusack family, whose broad walls and pointed gables were still standing within the last seventy years; while Milltown Castle, another frontier watch-tower, was quietly appropriated by Archdeacon Bulkeley, brother of the Archbishop of Cook-street renown, who, counting on a prolonged peace after the successful stamping out of Popery, effected by his brother's *battue*, amused himself planting and embellishing its surroundings, until he was rudely disturbed in 1641 by some friends of the Confederation, who wanted it. Even up to the middle of the last century,

New-street was made up of a few detached villa residences, and, terrible to relate, between the mountains and Patrick-street there was but a solitary ale-house. The fact was, that the whole tract of land that made up St. Kevin's parish was a fine open for the almost endless battles and skirmishes forced on the citizens by the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, and not at all favourable for peaceful habitation and living, and even when these clans became disintegrated, their numerous descendants who swarmed beyond Bornabreena, in the valley of Glennasmoel, and thereabouts, kept up the tradition in a less formidable though not less troublesome fashion, and asked no better amusement than levying black mail on the thrifty burghers of New-street, occasionally introducing a spice of romance by abducting an heiress.

Such was the parish of St. Nicholas in the early part of the seventeenth century; but, where was the parish chapel? The first official reference to the parish of St. Nicholas that we meet is to be found in the report of Archbishop Bulkeley, given in the last number, but which we may here reproduce: "Most of the parishioners are recusants, and some of them repair to Patrick Brangan [P.P. St. Michael's], to hear mass, and others some to William Donagh, a mass priest [P.P. S.S. James' and Catherine's], who liveth in Thomas-street." In this report no mention is made of a chapel. Similarly in the return for St. Kevin's and St. Bride's no "mass house" is mentioned, but a priest, John Begg, is named, who it is there stated received "eight shillings per annum" from each of the fifty recusant householders residing in these parishes. Now, it is not likely that a parish priest thus generously maintained by his people, was without a determined place wherein to offer the Holy Sacrifice for them and to instruct them in their religion. All that we can infer, from the silence of the above quotation is, that Father John Begg, that first parish priest of St. Nicholas Without, as we assume him to have been, was cleverer than his neighbours, and successfully concealed from the searching eyes of Bulkeley and his detectives, the whereabouts of his parish chapel. It could not have been in Francis-street at that time, else there would have been no reason for their going

to St. Michael's on the one side, or to St. Catherines on the other. But that Father Begg had a chapel somewhere within that extensive circuit we have no doubt. From this date, 1630 to 1665, all is blank, and without *data* on which even to ground a conjecture. It is scarcely necessary to refer again to the Cromwellian period, except to venture a surmise that, in consequence of the almost absolute impossibility of a priest living in Dublin during the Protectorate, and the information we have of so few having been actually there, the organisation of the Church must have been to a great extent again suspended, the parochial arrangements and succession interrupted, and the few brave confessors that remained behind left to do whatever they could to bring spiritual aid to the remnant of Dublin's Catholic population. With the Restoration things were again restored, and it is to the opening years of the reign of Charles II. we trace the commencement of the parish chapel in Francis-street.

From the old *Catholic Penny Magazine* published in the year 1834, I take the following extract (p. 94):—

“This church [the present Church of St. Nicholas, Francis-street], is erected on the site of the old Franciscan friary, part of the walls of which formed the late parish chapel. When the present edifice was commenced, it was merely intended as an addition to the then existing building, but on the completion of the east or altar wall, and the north and south transepts, the Rev. M. Flanagan, P.P., was induced to prostrate the remainder of the old walls; and form a new pile altogether.”

We cannot but regret that this course was found necessary. It would have been so gratifying to feel that we still worshipped not only on the same ground but within the same walls that witnessed to the same faith and gave back consonant voices of praise to God six centuries ago.

From the return made by the several rectors, vicars, and churchwardens to the Irish House of Lords, 1731, I find that the old chapel must have been rebuilt or enlarged some time after the accession of George the First (1714), though tabu-

lated as built previous to that date. The minister's return is as follows:—

“ST. NICHOLAS WITHOUT.

“We the Curates, Assistants, and Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Nicholas Without the Walls of Dublin, have made the strictest inquiry we possibly could, throughout the said parish, and Do find, That there now is, and has been for many years a Mass House, commonly known by the name of St. Francis's Chapel [this must be a mistake, it was always St. Nicholas's] in St. Francis-street; in which there are eight Priests constantly officiating, and if we are rightly informed several more.”

Of course it was hidden away behind the street, and approached through a narrow archway as shown on Roque's map.¹ Those living who remember the chapel describe it as what we would now call a respectable country chapel, of T shape, sufficiently spacious, with low ceiling, no pretensions to architecture, and pebble-dashed externally. In 1833 it was replaced by the existing splendid parochial church.

So much for its antiquity, now for its ecclesiastical rank. It served for a century and a-half, down to 1797, as the pro-cathedral of the diocese. Although all the archbishops did not hold it *in commendam* or as a mensal parish, all from Dr. Peter Talbot (1669) down to Dr. Troy in 1797—with the exception of Dr. Linegar (1733-1757), who preferred to remain in his own Parish of St. Mary's—performed all their episcopal and cathedral functions in the old chapel of Francis-street. Amongst its church plate is still preserved a solid silver thurible and incense boat with the following inscription on each:—

“ORATE PRO PA. RUSSELL, ARCHIEPISCOPO DUB.,
HIBERNIAE PRIMATE, ET PRO FRATRE EJUS JA.
RUSSELL, DECANO DUBLIN, ET PROTONOTARIO
APOSTOLICO QUI ME FIERI FECIT.
1690.”

Unhappily the course of events did not permit the archbishop to make much use of this handsome gift from his

¹ *Chapel-alley*, Francis-street, is given in Whitelaw's list of streets in the beginning of the present century.

brother, for in the same year the disastrous Battle of the Boyne was fought, which eventually drove the archbishop into prison, where he expired on the 14th July, 1692. He was buried in the old churchyard of Lusk, and his coffin plate of copper dug up some years ago, was in the possession of Rev. A. Fagan, P.P., Rush, and subsequently in that of Cardinal Cullen, where visitors might have often seen it framed on the mantelpiece of the dining-room in 59 Eccles-street, but from which place it disappeared during the lying in state of the cardinal's remains, and has never been heard of since.¹

About the middle of the last century, judging from the Government return of 1766, a chapel of ease seems to have been established in a private house on Redmond's-hill probably for the convenience of that district of the parish, which was then being largely built upon, and which was so far removed from Francis-street. In 1798 a chapel of ease (St. Peter's) was established in Harold's-cross, on the site of the present Boys' National School, and about two years later in Milltown a stable was purchased and enlarged to serve as a chapel for that locality, which being almost rebuilt and decorated in 1851, was dedicated by Dr. Murray under the title of SS. Columbanus and Gall. A priest went out from Francis-street every Sunday and said his first Mass in Harold's-cross, and his second in Milltown.

This extensive parish, formed originally, from the union of four parishes, finds itself again divided into four. Towards the end of the last century the southern suburbs began to extend outwards from Aungier-street and New-street, and in the beginning of the present century the village of old (upper) Rathmines stretched its arms citywards to meet, as it were, and welcome the new arrivals. In 1815 a new road was opened from Rathmines-road on the right through the groves of Rathgar, connecting it with Terenure. Within our

¹ What a pity these old relics, such as the thurible above mentioned and many chalices, &c., more than two hundred years in service, are not collected into a diocesan museum, where they could be securely and usefully preserved. The Diocese of Ossory sets us a good example in this respect.

own recollection this previously uninhabited rural outlet has been growing and expanding in every conceivable direction, until now it is classed as a flourishing township with over 24,000 of a population. Hence to meet the requirements of this rapid development, the extensive Parish of St. Nicholas, on the death of Dr. Hamill in 1823, was divided into two parishes, the city portion retaining the title of St. Nicholas, was conferred on the Rev. Richard Kenrick, uncle to the present Archbishop of St. Louis, and the rural portion, under the title of SS. Mary and Peter, Rathmines, on the Rev. William Stafford. Both had been zealous curates of Dr. Hamill in Francis-street. Father Stafford had no chapel in the Rathmines portion of his parish and was forced for a while to accommodate the people of that district by giving them Mass in his own private apartments. But soon he was able to acquire a site from the Earl of Meath, and the first stone of Rathmines (old) Chapel was laid by the then Lord Brabazon. This chapel has since given place to the splendid new Church of Our Lady of Refuge, erected by the late venerated Dean Meagher.

In 1862, Canon M'Cabe, then P.P. of St. Nicholas, erected a temporary wooden chapel on a piece of waste ground at the top of Heytesbury-street to convenience the rapidly increasing population of that district, and on his being transferred to Kingstown in 1865, the Parish of St. Nicholas was again divided into St. Nicholas, Francis-street, conferred upon the Rev. M. Mullally, and St. Kevin's, Harrington-street, conferred on the Rev. Martin Barlow.¹ Finally, in January, 1882, after the death of the venerated Dean Meagher, which occurred in December 1881, Archbishop M'Cabe divided the Parish of Rathmines into two parishes, that of Rathmines conferred upon Rev. M. A. Fricker, Administrator of the Cathedral, and that of Rathgar, with its Church (built by Dr. Meagher as a Chapel of Ease to Rathmines, opened and dedicated to the Three Patrons of Ireland, Patrick, Bridget, and Columba, in May, 1862), conferred upon the Rev. N. Donnelly, then Administrator of St. Andrew's, Westland-row.

¹ Father Barlow replaced the wooden chapel with the existing beautiful Church of St. Kevin.

We think the present generation, at all events, have no reason to complain of the progress made in the development of church accommodation and religious ministrations within the lines of the parish now being treated of, contrasted with what was the condition of things even at the commencement of the present century. Besides the four splendid parish churches in Francis-street, Harrington-street, Rathmines and Rathgar, they can count two Chapels of Ease, (one the Catholic University Church of considerable pretensions, and owing its existence to the venerated Cardinal Newman of world-wide renown), the large and beautiful Church of the Passionist Fathers at Mount Argus, the Jesuits at Miltown Park, besides the eight convents of nuns, with their splendid schools and institutions, and two houses of Christian Brothers, all within an area which in 1700 had to be content with three or four priests and a ruinous stable which served as chapel and reached through an alley from Francis-street. I cannot better conclude this paper than by giving a list, as complete as can be made out, of the Pastors of St. Nicholas from its erection into a parish.

From 1219 to 1577, date of the death of Dr. Leverous, last Catholic Dean in possession.

THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL.

1615 to 163-. Rev. JOHN BEGG.

1647 to 1659. (Cromwellian occupation of Dublin).

166- Rev. PATRICK RUSSELL, V.G. to Archbishop PETER TALBOT, and at his death elected Vicar-Capitular, and finally Archbishop in 1683. Died July, 1692.

1683. Rev. Dr. MICHAEL MOORE, [?] V.G. to Archbishop RUSSELL.

'This is but a conjecture, hence I put a query after the name. The grounds for the conjecture are, that at this period and for long after, the Archbishops were not accustomed to retain any parish in *Commendam*, or as a mensal parish. Hence, Dr. Russell when appointed Archbishop must have resigned St. Nicholas, and it is not unnatural to suppose that he conferred the vacant benefice on Dr. Moore, whom he had just appointed V.G. This Dr. Moore was a very distinguished man. He was born in Bridge-street in 1640. In 1688 he was Chaplain and Confessor to the Duke of Tyrconnell

on whose recommendation James II. appointed him Provost of Trinity College, the library of which he preserved during the Williamite wars, after which he retired to Paris and was there "highly caressed on the score of his learning and integrity." During his Provostship he was invited to preach before King James in Christ Church Cathedral, which had just been restored to Catholic worship but gave great offence to the Court by his sermon. From Paris he went to Rome and was treated there with great distinction receiving several honourable appointments, and on his return to Paris after the death of James the Second, was twice appointed Rector of the University of Paris, Principal of the College of Navarre, Professor of Greek and Hebrew, and by him Louis the Fourteenth was directed in restoring and new modelling the University of Paris, and on his account principally the king founded the College of Cambrai, of which he made him rector. He died, aged 85, in his apartments of the College of Navarre, on the 22nd of August, 1726, and was buried in the vaults under the chapel of the Irish College, to which he bequeathed the remainder of his choice library and plate.

In Dr. Russell's List of the Chapter in 1688, he is entered as Prebendary of Timothau, and was succeeded in this Prebend, as appears from the Chapter Book, by Francis Archbold, P.P., Bootertown and Donnybrook.

1688. Rev. EDMUND BYRNE,

A native of Kildare Diocese, ordained at Seville in 1678. In the Chapter he was Prebendary of Dunlavin, and in 1707 was appointed archbishop.

1707. Rev. THOMAS AUSTIN.

Ordained in 1691 at Chambre, in Flanders. He was curate in St. Audeon's in 1704, and succeeded Archbishop Byrne as P.P. of St. Nicholas in 1707. In the Chapter List of 1729 he is returned as Archdeacon of Dublin. He died about 1738, and was buried in St. Kevin's churchyard. In the burial registry of St. Kevin's there is an entry at January, 1788, of the interment of a "Mr. Awston."

1738. Rev. RICHARD LINCOLN,

A native of the city, and student of Salamanca. In 1756 he was nominated coadjutor to Archbishop Linegar, *cum jure successionis*, under the title of Bishop of Arad, (*Aradensis in l'alestina*), and in 1757 succeeded to the see retaining the Parish of St. Nicholas as a mensal parish. He died in June, 1763, and was buried in St. James's churchyard, where the interment is registered as that of "Father Lincoln."

1763. Most Rev. Dr. FITZIMONS, Archbishop, died in 1769.

1769. Most Rev. Dr. CARPENTER, Archbishop, died in 1785.

William Fitzherbert, Prebendary of Rathmichael,
Administrator.

1786. Most Rev. Dr. TROY, Archbishop.

Rev. Dr. Hamill, Administrator.

1797. Dr. Troy resigned the parish, and had that of St. Mary's conferred on him and his successors as a mensal parish. He then appointed as P.P. of St. Nicholas

1797. Rev. Dr. MARTIN HUGH HAMILL, V.G.

He had been a distinguished Propaganda student. He returned from Rome in 1778, and was at once appointed one of his assistants in Francis-street by Dr. Carpenter. Under Dr. Troy he was administrator there, and finally P.P. On the death of Dean Sherlock, P.P., St. Catherine's in 1807 he became Dean of the Chapter. He died in 1823.

Parish divided.

(1) St. Nicholas, Francis-st.

(2) Rathmines.

1823. Rev. RICHARD KENRICK. Rev. WILLIAM STAFFORD

1827. Rev. MATTHEW FLANAGAN.

1848. Rev. WM. MEAGHER
(Dean).

1856. Rev. EDWARD McCABE
(Card. Archbishop).

(1) St. Nicholas' Parish divided.

St. Nicholas.

St. Kevin's.

1865. Rev. MICHL. MULLALLY. Rev. MARTIN BARLOW.
(Resigned 1880)

1870. Rev. THOMAS
McCORMACK.

1875. WALTER CANON

1880. Rev. JAMES DANIEL.

MURPHY.

1882. Rev. J. F. CONNOLLY

1888. V. Rev. Canon DANIEL. 1888 Rev. J. F. CONNOLLY.
(Prebendary of Tipperkevin, one portion).

(2) Rathmines Parish divided.

Rathmines.

Rathgar.

1882. Rev. M. A. FRICKER.

Rev. N. DONNELLY.

1888. V. Rev. Canon FRICKER.

M. R. Dr. DONNELLY.

(Prebendary of Dunlavin). (Precentor of St. Patrick's).

✠ N. DONNELLY.

LITURGICAL CHANT DURING THE APOSTOLIC AGES.

IT has been well expressed by Father Liberatore, S.J., that "the sense of hearing has more power to excite the feelings than all the other senses;" whilst M. Felix Clement observes that "music has an advantage over all the fine arts, which arises from its incapability to express anything but emotions." Music was originally the name applied to all the arts governed by the Muses, and Harmony meant a *sweet succession* of sounds, *i.e.*, what we now call melody. Any sounds not discordant were termed *melody*, which, according to Pliny, included "speech, music, and rhythm." Only a few fragments of Greek music have come down to our day, but these amply illustrate the beauty of those early chants and songs. Plutarch says that "among the primitive Greeks *theatrical* music was unknown, as musical science was consecrated to the worship of the gods;" and Cleanthus of Assus (*cir.* B.C. 250), who succeeded Zeno as Principal of the Stoics, composed a "Hymn to the Most High God," still extant.

Music was the handmaid of religion under the Old Law, and naturally it followed that it would be continued and perfected in the New Dispensation. We read in the *Book of Ecclesiasticus*:—"Let us praise men of renown such as by their skill sought out musical tunes, and published canticles of the Scriptures—men rich in virtue, studying beautifulness," who "set singers before the altar, and by their voices made sweet melody, and to the festivals added beauty and set in order the solemn times. . . . All these gained glory in their generations, and were praised in their day. . . . Their name liveth from generation unto generation." As sang Elizabeth when she addressed Mary as "blessed amongst women," and as Mary responded with that most charming of all canticles, *My soul doth magnify the Lord*, so also sang Zachary the well-known *Benedictus*. However, the earliest Christian song was the Divine Chant heard by the shepherds who tended their flocks—the exquisite *Gloria in excelsis Deo* of that first Christmas morning. We

also read how the holy old man Simeon sang the *Nunc Dimittis*, and how the Jews, with palm branches waving, sang out their *Hosannas*, on our Lord's triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

Jesus himself sang when in the wilderness "with the wild beasts," as we learn from representations on ancient monuments where He is pictured as Orpheus "charming the animals with his song." On the death of Jairus's daughter, our Lord found the house of mourning filled with flute players and singing women—"the minstrels and the multitude making a rout"—(*Matt.* ix., 23). The Rabbinical rule required that at least two flute players and one mourning woman should perform the dirge on those occasions, and it is to be noted that this custom of playing and singing at funeral gatherings also prevailed amongst the Romans, as we learn from Ovid—

"Cantabat fanis, cantabat tibia Iudis,
Cantabat moestis tibia funeribus."

We also read that during the Feast of Tabernacles the trumpets sounded twenty-one times daily, and on the seventh day the great *Hallel* was sung during the oblation. Archdeacon Farrar thus writes:—"When they came to the verse, 'O give thanks to the Lord, for He is good: for His mercy endureth for ever,' each of the gaily-clad worshippers, as he stood beside the altars, shook his *lulab* in triumph." Our Lord himself was present on the eighth day of this feast, in a court of the Temple, where two colossal lamps (fifty cubits high) were placed, "round which the people in their joyful enthusiasm, and even the stateliest Priests and Pharisees, joined in festal dances, while, to the sound of flutes and other music, the Levites, drawn up in array on the fifteen steps which led to the court,¹ chanted the beautiful psalm which early received the title of *Songs of Degrees*." Our clerical readers are familiar with those *Gradual Psalms*—viz., *Ps.* cix., cxxiii.

¹From the Court of the Priests there were *twelve* more steps which led to the final platform of the Holy of Holies.

It is not our intention to discuss the music and chant of the Temple, but we have it on the authority of the *Talmud* that the musical services of the second Temple fell far short of the first in point of efficiency and number of executants. The *pauses* of the Psalms were indicated by blasts of trumpets by priests at the right and left of the cymbalists. It is certain that a form of wind-organ called *Magrepha* was used in the second Temple, which was susceptible of one hundred sounds, produced from ten pipes, and had a *clavier* which was manipulated on by a performer, who was justly styled *pulsator organorum*.

At the institution of the Blessed Eucharist our Lord observed the Paschal regulations, which enjoined that after a second cup of wine was poured out, the first part of the *Hallel* should be sung. The blessing was then repeated, "a third cup of wine was drunk, grace was said, a fourth cup was poured out, the rest of the *Hallel* sung, and the ceremony ended by the blessing of the song." The ablest commentators agree that the "hymn" which was sung before the departure of Jesus and his little band for Gethsemane, was the second part of the *Hallel*, and we are expressly told by St. Matthew that the Redeemer with His Apostles sang a hymn before commencing the final act in the sublime drama of His Sacred Passion and Death: "*Et hymno dicto exierunt in montem Oliveti.*" Surely that hymn must have been sung as never it was before—the death song of the Creator of the Universe—as He and His disciples proceeded on their way to the Garden by the pale cold light of the moon, "in the silence of the Oriental night."

Thus was Liturgical Chant inaugurated, and it was with psalms and sacred songs that the first Christians armed themselves for the martyr's crown. The Psalms were sung to the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionic, and Æolian modes,¹ and, as St. Augustine says: "*Diversorum enim sonorum ratio nobilis moderatusque consensus concorde varietate compactam*

¹ The Greek chorus and orchestra performed in *unison*, as also did the Roman. Seneca (B.C. 3, A.D. 63) thus writes:—"Nonne vides quam multorum vocibus chorus constet? Unus tamen ex omnibus sonus redditur. . . . Accedunt viris foeminae, interponuntur tibiae." (*Ep.* 48).

bene ordinatae civitatis insinuat unitatem." According to St. Justin Martyr, "the Jews in their choral worship generally adopted the grave Doric chant, mainly composed of spondees, so eminently suitable for celebrating the majesty of the Lord, who wished to be served with fear and trembling: 'Servite Domino in timore, et exultate ei cum tremore.'" The Apostles adopted the psalm-tunes from the Temple of Jerusalem, and our present chants are substantially the same as those sung two thousand five hundred years ago. Josephus tells us that the magnificent choir and orchestra of the second Temple continued until the destruction of that colossal structure under Vespasian A.D. 70.

It is certain that *recitative* was the early form of chant, but as art developed, the cadences and modulations assumed the most elaborate forms, "rivalling the most ambitious modern *roulades*." Of course the great difficulty is to interpret the Hebrew and Greek musical accents,¹ and in many examples quoted by able writers, the translations of the same musical phrases are as divergent in character as can possibly be conceived. Even the *neumes*, which were the only forms of musical notation from the fifth to the tenth century, were liable to a diversity of translation, and it was only by the introduction of the *staff* or *stave* that the exact ascending and descending intervals could be determined. Sir John Stainer, Mus. Doc., ably remarks:—

"In all attempts to construct scales from traditional songs, the great difficulty which presents itself is to discover what was the key-note or starting point of the scale. If ancient melodies began or ended on the key-note or tonic, the knot could be at once unravelled; but this no one can venture to assume. The key-note of the Greeks was at first, unquestionably, in the middle of the scale. The reader must bear in mind that the question is not of *what sounds* any tune is made up, but in *what order* did these sounds occur. Engel has shown his appreciation of the difficulty when discussing the *penta-tonic* scale, to which he justly attributes great antiquity."

¹ The grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium is credited with the invention of rhythmic accents B.C. 265. Aristoxenus of Tarentum introduced the chromatic scale, and fixed the number of *modes* as 13—afterwards reduced to 12. The glory of Grecian music departed with the fall of Corinth B.C. 145.

In the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians (written about the year of our Lord, 57), we have a definite knowledge of the keeping of Sunday holy; of the assembling together of the faithful for congregational prayer, and *singing of psalms and hymns*;¹ of the *Amens* uttered by the faithful; of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and of Holy Communion; and directions that men should have their heads uncovered in the church, whilst women should wear veils, and moreover *keep silence*. This last prescription applied to the singing or preaching of females in churches, and although in many passages allusion is made to "singing women," yet they were never allowed to take part in the liturgical chant within the Temple. The only quasi-religious service in which females were employed was in the case of chanting elegies for the dead, or as mourners at funerals.

St. Paul again inculcates the singing of Psalms and Canticles to the Ephesians,² Colossians and Laodiceans.³ The Nocturns of the Divine Office carry us back to the period when about midnight, the fellow-prisoners of Paul and Silas at Philippi, "heard them praying and singing hymns unto God." Bishop Ellicot and Dr. Jessop regard the termination of the third chapter of the First Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, as a fragment of a Hymn on the Incarnation and Exaltation of Christ, and the arrangement of the words may have been somewhat like the following:—

" Which was manifested in the flesh,
Was justified in the spirit,
Appeared unto Angels,
Preached unto Gentiles,
Is believed in the world,
Is taken up into glory."

Again in the second Epistle to Timothy, we find traces of the rhythmical nature of the "faithful saying," which, even in

¹ Would that all lovers of psalmody might adopt as their motto: "I will sing with the spirit, I will sing also with the understanding!" (1 Cor. xiv., 15.)

² Eph. v. 18, 19, 20.

³ Coloss. iii., 16.

English, suggests an antiphonal character, or that it was intended to be sung by a double choir:—

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| “ For if we be dead with Him | We shall live also with Him. |
| If we suffer | We shall also reign with Him. |
| If we deny Him | He also will deny us. |
| If we believe not | He continueth faithful.” |

St. James in his Epistle also enjoins the practice of psalmody, whilst St. John, the beloved disciple, tells us of the twenty-four ancients who sang a new canticle to the Lamb Who was slain; and introduces the choir of one hundred and forty-four thousand virgins who chanted canticles of joy which none else could sing. St. John Damascene relates that at the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, “the psalmody of the hosts of Heaven was heard, and this chant of the Angels continued for three entire days.”

St. Mark is said to have founded a music school at Alexandria, A.D. 64, whilst St. Ignatius, Minutius Felix, Hierotheus, Nepos, &c., were also celebrated as musicians. Pliny (A.D. 109), mentioned the custom of congregational singing in the early Christian assemblies, and some authors assert that the “Hymn to Christ as God” mentioned by him, was the present *Te Deum*. However, be this as it may, certain it is that the glorious Hymn so generally attributed to the joint labours of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine was *not* the composition of these great saints.

St. Ignatius, the disciple of St. John, revived antiphonal singing at Antioch, in accordance with an admonition given him in a vision by a celestial choir. He addresses that Church “which presides in the place of the choir of the Romans,” *i.e.* the assembly of the Church for praise and psalmody, and salutes the *lectores* and *cantores*. Here it is as well to observe that the *cantorship* was not a distinct order, but was only a *consecrated office*; and celibacy was enjoined from Apostolic times on *all clerics except lectors and chanters*.

The Apostolical Constitutions prescribed: “Peractis per binos lectionibus, quidam alius Davidis hymnos psallat, et populus extrema versuum suscinat.” Also that “bishops ought command the faithful to assemble twice every day, morning and evening, in the Church . . . to sing psalms and

to pray in the temple of the Lord—in the morning the Psalm lxii. [*Deus, Deus meus ad Te luce rigilo*], in the evening the Psalm cxl. [*Domine clamavi*]: but more particularly still on Sundays . . . on which day, moreover, the Prophets are read, the Gospel is preached, the Sacrifice is offered, and the Sacred Food administered." A separate place for the choir was always arranged in the churches, and Eusebius tells us of the ceremonies attending the Dedication and Consecration of churches, with psalms and hymns, "but so perfectly did the voices accord together, that there ascended from them all but one hymn or tune of praise to God."

Although St. Justin Martyr (101-165) cannot be classed in the Apostolic age, yet inasmuch as he heard the traditions of those who lived and moved in the society of St. John, it is to the purpose to briefly give the liturgical order of the Eucharistic Sacrifice as he describes it:—

1. *Lectio*nes from the Bible, followed by a sermon.
2. Congregational prayer.
3. The kiss of peace.
4. The Oblation of the elements.
5. A long thanksgiving, in which the Passion was commemorated—and the words of Institution or Consecration were recited, after which
6. The Consecration.
7. Prayers, in particular, one for the enjoyment of eternal life, at the end which all the congregation answered "Amen."
8. The Communion.

This great saint told the Emperor Antoninus that the Christians offered Sacrifice to God, and "sang hymns to Him with grateful hearts," and that "the congregation shouted the responsive *Amen* to the prayers of the priest."

Liturgy, according to the Bible, meant "a religious office or service," and was understood by the Apostolic Fathers as Christian worship or *cultus*, but it subsequently signified "public worship," particularly the Holy Sacrifice, the administration of the Sacraments, and the Canonical Hours. In the very ancient Liturgy of St. James,¹ the following is the

¹ The Greek liturgy of St. James is still used by the schismatic Greeks at Jerusalem on the Feast of St. James, whilst the Syriac form is adopted by the Jacobites and Maronites.

Therubic Hymn: "Let all mortal flesh keep silence, and stand with fear and trembling, and ponder on nothing earthly; for the King of kings, and Lord of lords, Christ our God cometh forward to be sacrificed and to be given for food to the faithful."

It is clear from the writings of Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, &c., that instrumental music was extensively practised during the first two centuries. The *Hydraulicon*, or Water Organ, the idea of which was borrowed from Plato, was invented by Ctesibius of Alexandria (B.C. 235), to whom also is ascribed the perforated slide for supplying wind. Clement of Alexandria distinctly mentions the use of the organ, lyre, harp, psalter, and flute, but emphatically prohibits them in the assemblies of the faithful, adding:—"Man's tongue is the *psalter*, his mouth the *harp*, and his body the *organ* of the Lord. We no longer make use of the ancient psalter, or trumpet, or tympanum, or flute; for these inflame the passions and are of a warlike character: we use but one instrument in worshipping God—the peaceful voice alone."

We have thus seen that Liturgical chant, so well described by the learned Herder as "a labyrinth of the musical and poetic spirit," was inseparably connected with the history of the Church; was enjoined for public worship from the very beginning and sanctioned by the great Creator Himself; was in use in the eastern and western Churches; and was regarded as "the sword of the spirit," alluded to by St. Paul. In fine, as Cardinal Newman so beautifully expresses it: "Church Music is the expression of ideas greater and more profound than any in the visible world, ideas which centre in Him whom Catholicity manifests, Who is the seat of all beauty, order, and perfection whatever."

WILLIAM H. G. FLOOD.

“QUID MIHI ET TIBI EST, MULIER.”

THE following is the version I have given of the narrative in the second chapter of St. John, in which the words “What to me and to thee” occur:—

“There was a marriage feast in its third day in Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there, and Jesus also was invited and his disciples to the marriage: and the wine failing, the mother of Jesus said to Him, ‘They have not wine,’ and Jesus saith to her ‘That (the deficiency in the wine) is an unsuitable thing to me and to thee.’ ‘My hour (the hour I think seasonable for going away, has not yet come.’ Thereupon on receiving this answer the mother of Jesus saith to the waiters, ‘Whatsoever He shall say to you, do ye.’”

I think that version compares very favourably with the version which runs as follows:—

“The mother of Jesus saith to Him ‘They have not wine,’ and Jesus saith to her, ‘What harm have I done you (that you should ask me to work a miracle) my hour (for working miracles) has not yet come?’ His mother saith to the waiters, ‘Whatsoever he shall say to you, do ye.’”

In the version given by me, there is no intimation that the Blessed Virgin has said or done anything blameworthy. the only thing found fault with is the deficiency of the wine, and no one supposes that she was accountable for that.

In the second version there is an intimation that the Blessed Virgin has said, or asked, or done something blameworthy. Compare the following two forms of expression with each other: (1) “What is the reason you have addressed me so?” (2) “What complaint have you against me that you addressed me so?” The first expression does not indicate that there was anything hurtful to the speaker in the address. The second expression undoubtedly does. When I ask “What complaint have you against me that you address me so?” I imply that your style of address is a mode of taking satisfaction from me, punishing me for some harm that you think I have done you. The expression “What complaint have you against me—what harm have I done you that you ask me to work a miracle?” certainly means something

different from and something more than the question, "What reason have you for asking me to work a miracle?" That which it expresses in addition is, that her asking him to work a miracle has given him pain, or needless trouble, that it was doing something that a person does who had a complaint against him or who had been harmed by him.

Now, I think if an appeal is to be made to the sentiments of the faithful, though I cannot say whether "their ears would move" or not, I can say they would be shocked to hear that the Blessed Virgin did anything that gave pain to our Lord, that gave Him uncalled for trouble. They would be shocked to hear that she had any ground of complaint against Him, and they would be still more shocked to hear that without having any ground of complaint against Him, she had spoken to Him and behaved to Him as a person would do who had such complaint. I have no hesitation in saying that I am surprised at any Catholic having put forward such an interpretation. Catholics have made themselves responsible for interpretations of those words that are offensive to the Blessed Virgin, but that one "What harm have I done thee?" is the most offensive and un-Catholic of them all.

In the version that I have given I intimate that the mother of Jesus on hearing His reply understood that He was about to do something to remedy the deficiency of the wine, and on that account gave instructions to the servants to do as Jesus would command them. It is clear that she understood he was going to do something. I assert that the narrative implies she understood that from His reply to her. If it was not from His reply she understood it, the Gospel gives us no information whence she understood it. I think, too, that nearly all admit that it was from His reply she understood that something was to be done. Now if the reply was, what the second version makes it to be, that is to say "What harm have I done you that you should ask Me to work a miracle? My hour for working miracles has not come," she could not have understood from that reply that Jesus was going to do anything in the matter. There could not be a more absolute refusal than is contained in those words.

If on the other hand we take his reply to be what my version makes it, that is to say, "That deficiency of the wine is an unsuitable thing to me and to you since the hour I myself consider seasonable (for my departure) has not come," that answer clearly intimates that he is going to do something. It intimates that he is going to stay; now if He stays something must be done.

The second version interprets the word "hour" with the adjunct "my" to be His hour for working miracles or at least His hour for doing something very solemn. That is a meaning that is neither contained in the words nor sustained by Scripture usage. The meaning of the words in Scripture is simply this "The hour I myself consider seasonable." Thus, the Evangelist says, "No man laid hands on Him because the hour He himself considered seasonable had not come," (*John*, vii., 30), that is to say, it entirely depended on himself. The same expression is found in *John*, viii., 20: "Jesus was teaching in the treasury and no one laid hands on Him because the hour He considered seasonable had not come" (*John*, vii., 6): "The time I myself consider seasonable (for going up to the Feast) has not come. I go not up to this festival to-day because the time I myself consider seasonable is not fulfilled." As a matter of fact there was nothing particularly solemn about His going up to the feast; for he went up privately and not on the festival day but on one of the days towards the end of the feast. We have a similar expression in *Matt.* xxvi., 18, where our Lord sends a message to some householder in the city saying, "The time I consider seasonable for making the pasch is at hand. It is with you I will make the pasch." It is rather incredible that He sent, in such an unceremonious way, a message that His end was at hand, or that His end being at hand had any connection with His making the pasch as if He would not make the pasch unless His end was near. Another passage illustrating the meaning of the phrase is to be found in *Luke*, xxii., 53: "I was daily with you in the temple and you did not seize me; but this is the hour you consider seasonable (night suits deeds of darkness)."

The assumption, therefore, which the second version

makes, that the words "my hour" mean "my hour for making miracles" is arbitrary and unwarranted. It means here what it means elsewhere, the hour I myself consider seasonable, but the hour for what, whether as my version says the hour for leaving the feast, or as the second version says, the hour for working miracles, must be determined from other sources. If it is to be determined from the context then it cannot be the hour for working miracles. That hour has come for he does work a miracle.

To meet that argument, it is absolutely necessary for the second version to assume that our Lord anticipated the time He himself thought seasonable for working miracles. The necessity of making that arbitrary assumption shows what a rickety version, even at its best, that second version is. The version I have given stands by itself and walks by itself; the second version is a humpty-dumpty, which at every joint is falling asunder, and requires some one to rush in with arbitrary and astounding assumptions which have no foundation in the Gospel, and in some instances are contrary to the analogy of faith.

The assumption that the Blessed Virgin made a request has no foundation in the Gospel, and the assumption that she asked a miracle is contrary to the analogy of faith.

I do not assert that the Blessed Virgin made no request; I assert that there is nothing whatever in the *Scripture* to indicate that she did. If anyone has a private revelation on the subject I am prepared to give his revelation due consideration. The best way of showing that there is nothing in the Gospel to indicate that she made a request is to reproduce here the arguments adduced by one of the ablest supporters of the what-harm-have-I-done-you doctrine. They will be found in the October number of the RECORD. I will give his argument in my own words.

"That a request was made can be sustained by the authority of the schools; but it can be sustained far more forcibly from the manner in which the words were uttered by our Lord, and the manner in which they were understood by the Virgin. She who spoke the words . . . is my witness that a request was made."

"The context proves that the Blessed Virgin understood her request was granted." Observe he has not yet brought forward a single word to show that a request was made. "She must have known that it was no offence to ask God to come to the assistance of the distressed." I submit that though it is no offence to ask God to come to the assistance of the distressed, it may be an offence to ask Him to come to their assistance by miracle, where they can be assisted in other ways. I submit also that the fact of the Blessed Virgin knowing it was no offence to ask, hardly proves that in fact she did ask. "Her immediate direction to the waiters to prepare for the miracle clearly prove that she understood her request was granted." Observe again not a single word is quoted to show that a request was made. Observe also that it is a pure invention to say she directed the waiters to prepare for the miracle. She simply directed the waiters to do whatever Jesus told them to do. As far as the *Gospel* is concerned she may have had in her mind no miracle at all; but that the waiters were to go out to some of the neighbours and ask in His name for wine.

I see in that argument that it is assumed over and over again that the Blessed Virgin made a request; assumed without any proof whatever except it be a proof to assert, "the context proves it clearly," and then this assumption that she made a request is roundly quoted as a proof that she made a request.

I have no hesitation in admitting that the Blessed Virgin made a "suggestion," but I admit it only in the sense that every statement of the kind to a person who can do something is a suggestion. She did make the statement with the hope and expectation that something would be done, but that is all that is in the *Gospel*. I deny that such an expectation is a suggestion, for a suggestion means, to put before a person something definite. I deny that she put before our Lord any definite course, except, perhaps, to leave the banquet, and especially I deny that she suggested a miracle. I maintain that it is against the analogy of faith to say that she did. It is the whole and sole foundation of the anti-Catholic literature on the interpretation of the text.

When a man covered with leprosy asks a miracle to cure him, he asks what is right and proper to ask. The leprosy is a very serious misfortune, and it cannot be cured unless by a miracle; but if a person going into a party asked for a miracle to remove a large grease stain from his dress coat he asks what it is a gross insult to God to ask.

What was the object to be obtained by asking this miracle? To save the married couple from some confusion. "Had our Lord of Sweetness no compassion for the guests and the bridal party?" I suppose He had; but only to the extent that the case merited. If there had been no wine got, and the whole party had broken up, not one of them would have been a penny the worse that day month. The whole matter is about getting a supply of wine, a different thing from curing the leprosy. All that was needed was that some one would produce a shekel and send to some of the farmers about for wine. The country was full of wine. It is perfectly allowable to maintain that the Blessed Virgin would have, in the circumstances, committed a sin if she had asked for a miracle. Of course in reply to this will come the *dictum* "If it was wrong for the Blessed Virgin to ask a miracle in the circumstances, then it was wrong for our Lord to work a miracle in the circumstances." That *dictum* is brought forward by people who ought to know better. It comes to this, that it cannot be wrong to tempt God, for God has often delivered people who tempted him.

The *Gospel* says that this miracle was the first Christ Our Lord wrought. If that is true then it is highly improbable that the Blessed Virgin asked for a miracle. Everyone sees that, and accordingly the humpty-dumpty version must get another prop. The supposition must be made that our Lord, though He had wrought no public miracle before, had often wrought miracles to supply the wants of His household.

That supposition is not only arbitrary and unsupported by any text in Scripture, but is a misconception or something worse of the nature of the Incarnation. Our Lord became man, and took His place among men, to do and be done by just as men were. He came to rough it among men. He came as if a sovereign and generalissimo of his soldiers, should put off

his royal robes, put on the same coarse dress, eat the black bread, sleep on the tent floor, dig in the trenches, and fight in the rank and file as his soldiers did. Now if while the generalissimo was passing himself as going through the same life and labours as his soldiers, he, in the meantime, while the weather was particularly cold, got a warm doublet concealed under his armour, if when the bread was particularly bad he had some one to bring him privately choice munchets, if when the ground was wet there was a comfortable tiger-skin slipped into the tent, and put under him; in that case I should be inclined to say the whole proceedings of the generalissimo were a sham—at least that there was a vast deal of pretence in them. In a generalissimo I should not be surprised to find a good deal of make-believe. But I wonder much that any Catholic would attribute make-believe to the Eternal Truth, to Christ Our Lord. He passed Himself off as being on the same terms as the poor; therefore he did live on the same terms. If when hardships pressed on Him, He took means of relieving Himself and His mother which were not at the command of an ordinary man, he was only *passing off* as bearing the ills of poverty, for one of the greatest ills of poverty is the consciousness that there is no way out of the ruin that stares one in the face. A man cannot be said to endure the ills of poverty who knows that when all comes to all he has only to draw a cheque which will be paid on sight.

It would require very definite and clear proofs to make it credible that Our Lord ever wrought a miracle to supply the wants of the household. No such proofs are forthcoming; everything tends in the opposite direction. It is impossible to accept the statement that the Blessed Virgin ever saw Him work a miracle to supply the household; there is nothing whatever to impeach the Scripture statement that this was the first miracle He wrought, and therefore it is impossible to admit the assumption that the Blessed Virgin asked Him to perform a miracle on this occasion, or to accept that what-harm-have-I-done-you version, which necessarily requires that impossible assumption.

The version I have given asserts, and is altogether

founded on the assertion, that the correct meaning of the words, *τὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοι*, "What to Me and to thee," is, "An unsuitable thing to Me and to thee." It also asserts that "the thing which is unsuitable" is the deficiency of the wine. Now, those are two distinct assertions, and accordingly are to be considered and proved separately. For, as far as the interpretation of those words goes, the unsuitability might apply to something else. As far as *those words* go there is nothing to prevent me from interpreting the passage "An unsuitable thing to Me and to you (the working of a miracle). My hour has not yet come." We might even translate an "unsuitable thing to Me and to you" (that request of yours for a miracle). The words, "An unsuitable thing to Me and to you," imply a blame of something; but of themselves they do not imply what that is which is blamed. To find out that which is blamed by them we must look to the rest of the sentence. It may be something that the person to whom the words are addressed has said or done, and then they blame the person addressed. It may be something for which the person addressed is responsible, and then also they indirectly blame the person addressed, or it may be something that the person addressed has neither done nor is responsible for. Herein those words, "An unsuitable thing to Me and to you," differ most markedly from the words, "What harm have I done you?" Those latter words always lay blame on something said or done by the person addressed.

The proof that "an unsuitable thing to Me and to you" is the correct interpretation of the words, "What to Me and to thee," rests on several grounds—It is an interpretation that fits into and makes proper sense in *every* passage in which the phrase is found. It not only makes a sense, or a sort of a sense, but makes that sense which thoughtful men, using the sentences in which it occurs, would be expected to employ. To prove that assertion it is necessary to take up every passage of Scripture in which it occurs, and to point out that each and every one of those passages, when we translate the words in them, *τὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοι*, by "an unsuitable thing to me and to thee," has that just and proper sense

required. That I have done in a previous number of the RECORD. I have taken up every passage usually quoted. I need hardly tell your readers that no scholar would quote the passage in the third chapter of *Joel* as having any connection with these words. The Greek text in *Joel* is not τὶ ὑμῖν καὶ μοι, but τὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμοί; in Hebrew *Mah Atem li*, not *Mah l'ka v'li*; in English, not "What to me and to you," but "What you to me."

In showing that the meaning, "An unsuitable thing to Me and to you," is the proper meaning in the passage which contains Jephthe's message to the King of Ammon, I have stated that the invasion of the land of Israel was "an unsuitable thing for Jephthe." "An unsuitable thing for me and for thee that thou art come against me to waste my land." A writer in the RECORD denies that it was unsuitable to Jephthe. I might say that if it was not unsuitable to Jephthe, why did he complain of it? However, a more satisfactory course would be for me to admit that I could not prove that or anything else to persons who assert that it was not unsuitable to Jephthe that his land should be invaded.

In explaining the passage wherein it is related that Joram, an idolatrous king, consulted Eliseus, the prophet of God, I have stated that it was an unsuitable thing for Eliseus (I did not say a wrong thing for Eliseus) to receive a visit from him, and unsuitable for Joram to apply to Eliseus. I did not say unprofitable. It was profitable, but unbecoming. As an illustration I said it was unsuitable for a priest to read the prayers of the Church for a heretic remaining a heretic. I could not *prove* that it is unsuitable. If anyone asserts that it is a suitable thing for a priest to read the prayers of the Church for a heretic, I must leave the matter there, adding that I think he will get few persons of Catholic feeling to agree with him. If it was so "suitable an act," why does Eliseus declare he would not have done it except that he revered the face of Josaphat. "If I did not reverence the face of Josaphat, I would not have hearkened to or looked on thee."

In narrating the resistance that Josias made to Nechao's

passage through Judea, I said, incidentally, that it was (according to the Scripture) in opposition to the voice of religion. The actual words of the Scripture are, ii. *Paralip.* xxxv. 22: "Josias would not return, and hearkened not to the words of Nechao from the mouth of God."

I thought that justified me in saying that Josias acted against the voice of religion; but I could not defend that view against anyone who says those words are not in Scripture, or that if they are in Scripture, they are ironical. That is a reply I confess I am unable to meet, and I do not wish to.

In speaking of the words by which the Jews refused to accept the proffered aid of the Samaritans in building the temple, I mentioned that they might think it unsuitable to accept their aid, as it was proffered with a view to establish a future claim on the temple; as Catholics might think it unsuitable to accept the aid of heretics in building a Catholic church, if they feared it would give them a claim on it. I would not expect to satisfy any one who would hold that Catholics should not in those circumstances consider that help unsuitable, or would maintain that in fact it was suitable to accept it. I would not try to satisfy such a person on that point, or on any other point.

There are two texts bearing a resemblance in form to the phrase, "What to me and to thee," which I have not referred to before, because I wanted to save room, and because they are scarcely parallel. They occur in the ninth chapter of the *Fourth Book of Kings*. The army of Israel at Ramoth revolted, and made Jehu king. Joram and Ochosias were then in Jezrabel, and suspecting nothing of the revolt. It was of the utmost importance to Jehu to seize the person of Joram before he could suspect any danger. Jehu took strong precautions against any news being carried from the camp, and then drove off to the castle in his usual style. His coming having been descried in the distance, messengers were sent out to meet him and inquire was it a new assault of the Syrians, or was it the conclusion of peace brought Jehu from the camp. Of course it would ruin Jehu's plan if the messengers were permitted to return before him, or were per-

mitted to exhibit to the watchmen on the tower any signs of terror. Accordingly Jehu orders them to follow with his train. The order that he gave them was followed by prompt compliance. So it is clear it contained a very intelligible threat. The first messenger meeting Jehu said: "Whether peace?" "Num pax?" Jehu answers, "An unsuitable thing to you and peace. Turn and follow me." That is a very significant menace to the messenger if disobedient. We must choose between that meaning which makes sense, and the appropriate sense, or the other meanings: "What have you to do with peace," or "What harm have you done to peace," all of which are without sense or else nugatory.

It is thus by going through every passage in which the words "What to me and to thee" occur, and every passage resembling them, that I establish, first, that the meaning "An unsuitable thing to me and to you" is a correct, full, and satisfactory meaning; a meaning that gives to the passages full and satisfactory sense. I have not stated (it is not necessary for my argument to state) that it is the only interpretation that gives the passages a sense. Therefore, to confute that proposition of mine, it is not sufficient to show that another phrase may be discovered which also gives sense. It is necessary to show that in some of the passages the words: "An unsuitable thing to me and you" do not make sense. To show that in one passage only would be sufficient to confute my proposition, and that at least is required. Now, no one will ever show that even in one passage it does not make sense. No one has made the faintest attempt at showing it. And no other interpretation having being adduced which makes sense in *every* passage, I draw the further conclusion that the interpretation: "An unsuitable thing to me and to you" not only is *a* meaning of the phrase but is *the* meaning, and if it is *the* meaning of the phrase, then no other meaning whatever is the correct meaning.

The second grounds on which I establish that "An unsuitable thing to me and to thee" is *the* correct meaning of the phrase is this; out of all possible meanings (that is, out of all meanings which fit into and make sense in the various passages in

Scripture) it is the one, and the only one, which is the natural translation of the phrase. It accounts fully, readily, grammatically, and satisfactorily for every word in the phrase. I need not remark that it accounts sufficiently for the *μοι καί σοι*, the "to me and to thee." It also accounts for the "What." It is scarcely complimentary to the readers of the RECORD to be obliged to repeat the following schoolboy elements:—

(1) "What" being an interrogative word, the phrase is an interrogation. (2) It is a figurative interrogation, therefore some word or words must be supplied after, or substituted for it. Some persons supply "is there common;" other persons "(what) concern is it;" others perhaps "(what) harm is it." Whoever does not object to those words admits them to be a natural substitute for "what," and need not be listened to if he says "An unsuitable thing" is not quite as natural. We are all using the word "what" in the sense of "an unsuitable thing" often every day. Every exclamatory sentence is a figurative interrogation, and *vice versa*.

Observe next that every interpretation of the phrase, "What to me and to thee" undertakes, and must undertake to account grammatically for every word in the phrase. I wish, therefore, to learn how the interpretation "What harm have I done thee," explains the words and their grammatical construction.

I ask them to tell what word or words they insert after "what," or instead of "what;" and next, how they deduce the meaning "What harm have I done thee" from those words.

Thus, "What have I to do with thee" explains how it is drawn from the "What to me and to thee;" it is merely an equivalent of "What is there common to me and to you." Now, what are the words for which the expression "What harm have I done you," is a substitute, for which it is an equivalent. Let them tell us how they fill up the ellipsis after *τί* (what); and the various steps by which they draw from the phrase thus filled up, the expression "What harm have I done thee," "What complaint have you against me." When they try it they will see at once that the sense "What

complaint" is no translation of the word "What to me and to thee," but an utter perversion of them. The original expression consists of two clauses: (1) "What to me," (2) "and what to thee." Whatever meaning you give "what" in the first clause "to me," you must give the same meaning to it in the second clause "to thee." There can be no more difference in the meaning assigned to "what" in the two clauses than if it ran "What to us." Next, the words "to me" and "to thee" are on exactly the same footing; the prepositions in the Hebrew are the same, and so are the corresponding cases in the Greek.

The only way the advocates of the "what complaint" doctrine can fill up the ellipsis is as follows: "What complaint against me from thee?" or, "What harm from me to thee?" Now, that is not translating or interpreting the phrase—*that is in the Gospel*, but a phrase of their own invention, and one which is the very opposite of the one in the Gospel, resembling it in having in it a "what," and a "me and thee," but differing from it in every essential. The very essence of the one in the Gospel is that the two prepositions with their governed pronouns—the two prepositional cases are on exactly the same footing; the parallelism is essential. But observe that the "what harm" interpretation puts them on the most opposite footing. The text which they interpret is "What from me to thee," or, "What against me from thee." "From" and "to," "from" and "against," are in direct opposition. How can they be expressed by the same case in a parallel construction? If the phrase was *τὸ ἐμοὶ κατὰ σέ* or *τὸ ἐμοὶ πρὸς σέ*, their interpretation might be considered. It makes no matter, therefore, whether the interpretation, "What harm have I done thee," makes sense or not. It has nothing to do with the Gospel. They may be running a good race, but it is *extra riam*.

The problem and task is to explain the words, "What to me and to thee," and no other words; and I think no one should obtrude an interpretation on us until he first shows how it corresponds with the words, "What to me and to thee." The Protestant interpretation does that, and a Catholic interpretation, to withstand it, must do the same,

The problem and task is also to bring forward an explanation which will give a satisfactory interpretation to *every* passage in which the phrase, "What to me and to thee," occurs. Let everyone who attempts to interpret the text keep those two conditions before their mind, and we shall have fewer of interpretations so un-Catholic and unholy as the "what-harm-have-I-done-thee" interpretation, or so silly as that "Chaldaic" one which crops up every now and then, an interpretation not of the text "What to me and to thee," but of another phrase "What with me and with thee," and giving as the meaning "The same mind to you and to me," which makes absolute nonsense in every other passage.

E. O'BRIEN.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

RECONSECRATION OF A CHALICE.

"In reply to a question asked in the RECORD of March, 1888 you answer (page 258). 'It is now quite certain that a chalice which has been inaurated requires to be reconsecrated before it can be used in the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice.'

"Permit me to ask :—

"If a portion of the chalice—and this portion not the cup but the stem or the foot of the chalice—be unscrewed and regilded, does this necessitate the reconsecration of the chalice?"

"W. G. L."

The reconsecration of the chalice is not necessary in the case made by our correspondent. When the cup and stem of a chalice are united by a screw, the chalice does not lose its consecration if the cup is unscrewed. Neither does the regilding of the foot of such a chalice affect the consecration, since it is the cup alone that is consecrated.

II.

SHOULD THE LUNETTE BE KEPT IN A "CUSTODE?"

"In the article in the August number of the RECORD on 'Benediction of the most Holy Sacrament' is found the following direction

to the deacon:—"Having taken the lunette from the tabernacle he closes the door." You will oblige by stating in the next number of the RECORD whether I am correct in inferring from the above direction that it is not forbidden to keep the lunette holding the Blessed Sacrament in the tabernacle without a *custode*.

"P. P."

Our words do not warrant, we think, the inference made by our correspondent. For, whether the lunette is kept in a *custode*, or without a *custode*, the direction given is equally applicable; in both cases the lunette is to be taken from the tabernacle. Besides if our correspondent will kindly look into the June number of the RECORD, at page 542, he will find expressed, what we considered to be implied with sufficient clearness in the passage quoted from the August RECORD. In the place referred to the officiant is directed to take "from the tabernacle the pyxis or box containing the lunette."

III

THE PHRASE BENEDICTION "WITH" THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.

"A few readers of the I. E. RECORD would feel obliged if you would in the next number supplement your papers on Benediction by giving your views on the custom that exists in some parts of the country of using the phrases 'Benediction *with*, the Procession *with*, the Blessed Sacrament,' &c., in making announcements from the altar.

"SACERDOS."

The phrase "Benediction *with* the Blessed Sacrament" is the literal English rendering of the corresponding Latin and French, "*Benedictio cum SS. Sacramento*," "*Bénédiction avec le Très-Saint Sacrement*." In English, however, it is far more usual, and, we think, more correct to say "Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament." This form of expression we find used in the translation of Baldeschi, in the *Catholic Dictionary*, and by Father Faber. "The Gospels," says Father Faber (*The Blessed Sacrament*, Book, v., sect. 7), "mention three benedictions of our Lord, and to some one of these we may spiritually unite all the Benedictions of the Blessed Sacrament which we receive."

The expression "Benediction *with* the Blessed Sacrament"

would seem to refer merely to the sign of the Cross made with the Monstrance over the people, while if *of* is substituted for *with* the expression receives a truer and much deeper significance. For in this form it implies that He, who is hidden under the sacramental veils, Himself imparts the blessing or benediction.

The second phrase, "Procession *with* the Blessed Sacrament," we deem incorrect. Unlike the former this, we believe, has no support in liturgical Latin, wherein "Processio SS. Sacramenti" is the usual expression.

IV.

TWO DIFFICULTIES FROM THE "DIRECTORY."

"I venture to intrude upon your valuable leisure by asking your opinion on one or two liturgical difficulties that have occurred lately.

1. "At page 70 of the *Directory* we read—'Festum S. Stephani fit simplex.' How is it styled *simplex*, seeing that there is a commemoration of the saint at second vespers on Sunday, 2nd Sept., whereas in the Rubrics we are given to understand that a *simple* office has no second vespers?

2. "On 23rd Aug. was the Feast of St. Eugene (Ep. and C.) together with commemoration of Vigil of St. Bartholomew. The first collect for the feast was the same as that for the vigil (with exception of the name). To prevent the repetition should the prayer *r. gr.* Exaudi, quæsumus, &c., have been said for the saint, though according to the *Directory* all was to be 'de Communi.' If the prayer of the vigil should be changed, as occupying a place second to the feast, what prayer should be substituted?

"In the next issue of your esteemed periodical I shall reckon it a favour to have your solution of these two points, which have caused some embarrassment."

"P. I."

1. Our correspondent is quite correct in saying that a simple feast has no second vespers, and the *Directory* is correct in saying that a commemoration of St. Stephen is to be made at both first and second vespers of the Office of the Maternity of the Blessed Virgin, which is celebrated on the Sunday referred to. Why then does the *Directory* say "Festum S. Stephani fit simplex?" The answer is as fol-

lows :—When a feast of semi-double or double rite can neither be celebrated, owing to the occurrence of a feast of higher rite, nor transferred, it is commemorated in the office by which it is excluded, just as a simple feast is commemorated in an office of higher rite. But as semi-doubles and doubles have both first and second vespers, so must they have a commemoration at first and second vespers for the same reason that a simple, which has only first vespers, must have a commemoration at first vespers. Now, when it happens that a double or semi-double can neither be transferred nor celebrated, Rubricists are accustomed to say that they are to be reduced to the “simple rite,” and commemorated. Thus De Herdt, (Vol. ii., n. 282), speaking of offices, “pro quorum translatione desunt dies vacui usque ad finem anni,” says “ad annum sequentem non sunt transferenda, nec anticipanda, sed reducenda ad *ritum simplicem* et in propriis diebus considerata tanquam simplicia cum eorundem commemoratione in missa, utrisque vesperis et laudibus atque cum nona lectione historica ad matutinum.”

The Office of St. Stephen is of semi-double rite, and according to the new regulations introduced in 1882 semi-doubles and doubles minor (except the office of a doctor) can no longer be transferred. Hence they are to be commemorated as already pointed out, and the compiler of our *Directory*, adopting the language of Rubricists, reminds us, as he does here, that they are to be reduced to the simple rite, which, however, means nothing more than that, instead of being transferred, they are to be commemorated on the days on which they regularly fall.

2. It is quite true, as pointed out by our correspondent, that the prayer of St. Eugenius, and the prayer for the Vigil of St. Bartholomew, contain the same petition—*et devotionem nobis augeat et salutem*—expressed in the same words. Consequently, following the directions of the Rubrics (*Rubricae generales missalis*, Titulus vii., 8) one of the prayers must be changed. Moreover, Rubricists lay down the general rule that, not the first or principal prayer, but that which is said by way of commemoration is to be changed. According to this rule, the prayer for the Vigil of

St. Bartholomew should be changed in the case under consideration. But, our correspondent asks, "What prayer should be substituted?" There is no common prayer for the Vigils of the Apostles, and the prayer of the feast itself will not suit the vigil. Some Rubricists, and among them Gavantus, we believe, would say that for the Vigil of St. Bartholomew should be taken the prayer of the vigil of some other apostle, merely substituting the name of St. Bartholomew for that of the other apostle. Others, and their opinion we are inclined to adopt, would in this and similar cases change the first prayer for another from the common, and leave the second prayer as it is.

Thus Quarti (*Comment. in Rub. missalis*, Pars. I., Tit. vii., Dubium v.), after stating the opinion of Gavantus says, "Opposita tamen sententia est longe probabilior et magis conformis praxi Ecclesiarum; nempe faciendum esse commutationem cum alia de communi sive mutanda sit *prima* oratio sive *secunda*, semper ac potest recurri ad commune." Instead, therefore, of the prayer *Da quaesumus*, we would say in the circumstances the prayer *Exaudi* for St. Eugenius, and for the vigil, though coming second, its own proper prayer.

D. O'LOAN.

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE CEREMONIES OF ORDINATION.¹

SUMMARY.

Is the actual touching of the instruments used in the ceremony of ordination necessary for (a) the validity, (b) for the proper reception of each Order?

What if a Lector touch only one key?

What if a Sub-deacon forget to touch the cruets of wine and water and the finger-towel?

Is it necessary for the validity of the Priesthood that the Bishop should actually lay his hands on the head of the Ordinandus?

What if the Bishop holds his hands extended over the head of the Presbyter ordinandus, but does not lay them on his head?

¹ Taken from the *Quaestiones Academiae Liturgicae Romanae*, published in the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*.

What if the Bishop holds his hands joined while the clergy are imposing hands on the Ordinandus.

Should the form "*Corpus Domini, &c.*," be used when the Bishop communicates the Neo-presbyteri at the Mass of Ordination?

I.

DE QUIBUSDAM CAEREMONIIS IN SACRA ORDINATIONE.

Titius recens consecratus Episcopus prima vice Ordinationem peragit in sua Cathedrali Ecclesia. Accidit autem ut Ostiariis una tantum clavis tangenda tradita sit. Accepturi vero Ordinem Subdiaconatus calicem quidem cum patena, non autem aquae et vini urceolos, nec bacile cum manutergio ex oblivione tetigerunt. Insuper ipse Episcopus duobus Diaconibus Presbyteratum suscipientibus imposuit quidem manus super caput, quod tamen nequaquam tetigit. Quinimo impositas manus statim retraxit, et ante pectus plicatas retinuit, donec ab sua impositione cessarit Clerus. Tunc enim dextera iterum manu super Ordinandos extenta, incepit *Oremus*, etc. Denique in Communionis administratione Episcopus, ex consilio caeremoniarum magistri, communem Pontificalis formulam pro Sacerdotibus omisit, eosque nil dicens Christi corpore cibavit. Quae omnia, absoluta functione, recogitans caeremoniarum magister, secum quaerit:

1° *An physicus cuiusque materiae tactus in singulis Ordinibus, sicut et in impositione manuum super caput, omnino requiratur ad validitatem tam in Latina, quam in Graeca Ecclesia?*

2° *Quid de singulis iudicandum, ut fert casus?*

3° *Quid de Titii agendi ratione censendum?*

SOLUTIO.¹

1. Primum quaesitum petit, an singuli Ordines exigant, ad collationis validitatem, tactum physicum cuiusque respectivae materiae, etiam in manuum impositione super caput, iuxta seu Latinae seu Graecae Ecclesiae praxim.

¹ Ex dissertatione Rev. Dom. Caesaris Cerretti ex alumnis Pontificii Seminarii Piani, habita in Ecclesia Presbyterorum Missionis prope Curiam Innocentianam, die 17 Novembris anni 1886: acta epitome per R. m. Dom. Dom. Caesarem Togni S.R.C. Consult. et Apost. Caerem. Magistrum.

Distinguendum ante omnia iudicamus, perspicuitatis gratia, duas partes in quesito proposito, nempe: 1. An tactus physicus instrumentorum requiratur ad validitatem: 2. An requiratur etiam tactus physicus capitis, dum super illud imponuntur manus. Itaque circa primum animadvertimus, iam ex ipsa petitione supponi ad validitatem Ordinum, instrumentorum traditionem esse necessariam. Quod quidem amittitur in genere circa Ordines, in Latina Ecclesia, qui ad Hierarchiam non pertinent; controvertitur vero circa eos, qui Hierarchiam ecclesiasticam constituunt. Graeca nihilominus Ecclesia id non admittit, sive hierarchici sint Ordines sive non. De sentiendi modo Latinae Ecclesiae breviter infra dicemus, nunc generaliter animadvertimus, tactum physicum instrumentorum necessarium videri, quoties haec instrumenta materiam Ordinis constituunt. Quinimo, etsi possit controverti, an eiusmodi instrumenta constituent necne alicuius Ordinis materiam, nihilominus in praxi eorum tactus physicus semper requiritur, opinionis contrariae rationibus spretis. Etenim hoc certum et exploratum apud omnes est, quod circa materiam Sacramentorum tutior continuo pars sit eligenda, quod et validitatem Ordinis tangit.

Hinc licet humano modo loquendo, quoties instrumenta traduntur alicui, qui sensibili quodam signo ea se recipere significat, eo ipso illa acceptasse creditur etiam sine ullo tactu; nihilo tamen secius hoc sicuti et cetera argumenta curanda non sunt. Quia in casu unice consideranda est voluntas divini Institutoris, quandoque satis implicite, quandoque perspicue significata per accuratam assiduamque praxim Ecclesiae. Nunc autem indubium est, in omnibus Sacramentis, in quibus materia ex quodam physico obiecto constituitur, physicum quoque tactum ad collationis validitatem omnino requiri. Ita in Baptismate, in Confirmatione, in extrema Unctione et reliquis: ut proinde ratio nulla appareat, cur idem tactus physicus ab Ordine sacro excludendus sit.

Divus Thomas hanc veritatem inferre satagit ex verbis ipsis, quae Episcopus in instrumentis porrigendis pronuntiat. "Ipsa verba formae," ait S. Doctor, "videntur osten-

dere quod tactus materiae sit de essentia Sacramenti, quia dicitur: Accipe hoc vel illud etc. (*Suppl. ad 3 part, q. XXXIV, art 5 ad 3*). Hinc perdiligens et exquisita attentio, quam commendat et inculcat Pontificale Romanum, quae et semper in similibus rerum adiunctis adhibetur. Quod magis magisque positum principium roborat confirmatque, videlicet: etiam in Ordinatione, quoties materia in instrumentorum traditione consistit, toties horum contactum physicum requiri. Unde Pontificale Romanum in Ordinatione Subdiaconorum ait: "Pontifex... tradit omnibus calicem... cum patena... quem successive MANU DEXTERA SINGULI TANGUNT." Item in Ordinatione Diaconorum: "Pontifex... tradit omnibus librum Evangeliorum, quem MANU DEXTERA TANGUNT." Ita pariter in Ordine Presbyteratus: "Pontifex... tradit cuilibet successive calicem... et patenam... et ipsi... tangunt."

In huius tamen applicatione principii duplex exoritur difficultas; primo enim Ordines, qui non computantur inter Hierarchicos, Sacramenta non sunt, aut saltem eos esse Sacramenta certo non constat, ergo materia in ipsis locum non habet. Sed respondemus, hos Ordines non habere quidem in hypothesi materiam *proprie dictam*, qualis certo exigitur in Sacramentis, tamquam gratiae signum; habere eam nihilominus analogice, quatenus nempe partem efficiunt totius, quod Sacramentum est, ut proinde iis applicandum sit quod ad materiam pertinet, sicut Sacramento.

Secundo, in Ordinibus ipsis hierarchicis dubitari non potest, quin materia in manuum impositione consistat; quemnam ergo locum haberet materiae instrumentorum traditio?

Resp. Absolute loquendo sustineri non potest, manuum impositionem ita unice materiam Ordinis constituere, ut omnimode instrumentorum traditionem prorsus excludat, iuxta sententiam quae probabiliter tenet, hanc traditionem integram Ordinis materiam constituere.

Argumenta profecto validiora probant, solam manuum impositionem materiam efformare Ordinum. Nam usque ad decimum circiter saeculum, ut Morinus suadet, instrumentorum traditione haud usa fuit Ecclesia, saltem tamquam

materia, in Ordinibus hierarchicis. Insuper Concilium IV Carthaginense Subdiaconatum ab aliis Ordinibus distinguit ex hoc, quod ille per instrumentorum traditionem confertur, isti vero per manuum impositionem. Denique Ecclesia Graeca instrumentorum traditionem in conferendis Ordinibus non habet, sed solum impositionem manuum; et Pontificale Romanum Diaconos iam in Presbyteros ordinatos vocat ante instrumentorum traditionem.

His tamen haud obstantibus, omnibus mature perpensis, altera sententia in praxi tenenda est, quae censet, etiam instrumentorum traditionem materiam efformare Ordinum. Nam factum singulare Ecclesiae Latinae, quae a decimo circiter saeculo hanc instrumentorum traditionem adhibuit, et cura sollicita in eis tradendis, tantae sunt gravitatis momenta, ut sperni non possint.

Equidem Decretum quoddam contra hoc in medium adducitur S. C. R. (*in una Galliarum*, 3 Dec. 1661); quod tamen sine ullo partium studio perpensum, nihilo minus probat. En verba textualia huiusmodi Decreti: "Ad scrupulum Fratris Ephrem Chastcau, nempe se non tetigisse tactu physico calicem in sua Ordinatione ad Presbyteratum, S. Congr. respondit: Posse continuare celebrationem SS^{mi} Sacrificii absque ullo scrupulo ac tuta prorsus conscientia." Iam nunc prudentissima profecto ista est responsio, quin tamen contra praefatam sententiam faciat. Ut enim probe animadvertit cl. Granad (*n. 3, contr. 9*), "oportet distinguere timorem a vero dubio vel opinione. Non enim quia quis timet num ordinatus sit, aut praecise qui non recordatur tetigisse vasa sacra, aut non tetigisse imaginatur, illico ordo iterandus est." Itaque scrupuli hi sunt, quos tanquam irrationabiles esse iudicandos nemo non videt, attenta peculiari diligentia, quae hoc in casu adhiberi solet ab Ecclesia. Ad hos proinde praecavendos certo Decretum tendit S. C. R. non vero ad definiendum, solam impositionem manuum ad sacros Ordines suscipiendos in praxi sufficere, sine instrumentorum traditione.

Hinc propositio damnata ab Innocentio XI, "licitum esse, scilicet, in materia Sacramentorum sequi opinionem probabilem, tutiori relicta," necessitatem inducit, ut in praxi pro-

riteamur sententiam sustinentem, traditionem instrumentorum, physico tactu acceptam in collatione Ordinum, ad relativam eorundem materiam pertinere. Hinc etiam Benedictus (*Lib. VIII, cap. X, De Syn. dioec.*) refert, in casu omissae traditionis instrumentorum in Ordine Presbyteratus, Sacram R. Congr. respondisse: "ut etiam hujus opinionis (*tactus physici instrumentorum*) in re tanti momenti rationem haberet, et totam Ordinationem sub conditione iterandam prescripsit." Hinc pariter Sanctus Doctor Ligorius (*Homo Apost. Append. III, § 29*) docet: "Quia secunda sententia est etiam probabilis, nempe, duplicem esse materiam Ordinis, scilicet, impositionem manuum et traditionem instrumentorum, ipsa omnino in praxi sequenda est. Unde necessario requiritur in Ordinatione tactus instrumentorum, et tactus quidem physicus, cum probabile etiam sit, moralem non sufficere." Hinc demum Dom. Dom. D'Annibale, aetate nostra, consueta brevitate concludit: "Morini sententia videtur verior, Bellarmini tutior: haec sequenda" (*Summul. tit. III, 151*).

Ad capitis autem tactum physicum quod attinet in manum super illud impositione, idem censemus esse tenendum, eum nempe requiri ad validitatem Ordinationis. Etenim praeter argumenta pro physico instrumentorum tactu allegata, satis explicite id docemur a IV Concilio Carthaginensi, divi Augustini aetate celebratum, in quo dicitur de Diaconi Ordinatione: "Manum dexteram super caput eius imponat;" et clarius in Ordinatione Presbyteri: "Episcopus utraque manu caput eius tangat." Unde verba Pontificalis Romani, manuum impositionem in sacra Ordinatione respicientia, omnes communiter expositores de tactu physico interpretantur. Hinc Gardellini (*Decr. 4583 Resolut. dubior.*) ait: "Episcopus PHYSICE TANGAT capita Ordinandorum." De Herdt (*Prax. Pontif. Tom. III, 366*) "Episcopus utramque manum super caput cuiuslibet Ordinandi PHYSICE et successive imponat." Ita et ceteri. Denique certo evidenterque id constat ex iure (*Cap. Presbyt. De non iterand. sacr.*), in quo legitur, manuum impositionem esse TACTU CORPORALI peragendam.

Animadvertimus tamen, hunc tactum physicum intelligendum esse, ut communiter accipitur, nempe sive cum

manibus coopertis chyrothecis, quemadmodum mos est in Latina Ecclesia, vel pallio mediante, sicut in Graeca; talem enim tactum vere esse physicum nemo dubitat.

Ergo concludimus, tactum physicum cuiusque materiae Ordinis, sicut et capitis in manuum impositione, ad validitatem ordinis requiri in praxi in Latina Ecclesia, solius vero capitis in manuum impositione in Ecclesia Graeca.

2. Ex dictis facile arguitur quid de peculiaribus singulis casibus dicendum sit, ut alterum quaesitum exigit. Imprimis una tantum clavis tangenda traditur Ostiariis. Quae quidem sufficere videtur, ut comprobetur non defuisse in Ostiariatus collatione materiam. Nihilominus cum Pontificale, non in clave, sed in clavibus hanc materiam constituat duae tradendae certo sunt claves Ostiariis. Extat hac super re decretum, quod est in Compostellana (11 *Martii* 1820), in quo petitur: In Oratorio vel Ecclesia, quae una tantum habet clavem, est ne sufficiens pro materia remota Ostiariatus? Cui dubio S. R. C. respondet: "Quamvis una clavis esse possit materia sufficiens pro Ordinatione Ostiarii, servandam tamen esse Rubricam, quae praecipit claves esse tradendas."

Neosubdiaconis, deinde, nec urceoli nec bacile tangenda traduntur. Super quod animadvertendum, veram Ordinis Subdiaconatus materiam esse calicem cum patena, unde haec tantum dantur ipsis tangenda ab Episcopo. Urceolorum vero, bacilis ac manutergii traditio potius ad caeremoniam pertinet: quae proinde non ab Ordinante, sed ab alio traduntur Subdiaconis. Iam vero materiae traditio ab Episcopo tantum ordinante peragenda est: unde S. Alphonsus: "In Sacramento Ordinis materia omnino tradenda est ab ipso Ordinante, alias Sacramentum invalide ministratur" (*Homo Apost. Append. III, 3*). Ergo urceoli et bacile cum manutergio materiam Subdiaconatus Ordinis nequaquam certo constituunt. Sed ex hoc non sequitur, Titium bene, hanc caeremoniam negligentem, se gessisse, omnes, enim, prout lex praescribit, caeremoniae Ecclesiae peragendaes sunt.

Insuper impositio manuum super Diaconorum capita sine tactu physico acta est. Ex quo manifeste coniicitur Ordinationem esse iterandam, ex physici tactus defectu, cum graviter de illius validitate dubitari possit.

Quid autem indicandum de abruptione manuum impositionis ex parte Ordinantis, iuxta casum? Respondemus: 1. Haec abruptio iuxta quosdam nullimode videtur tangere validitatem Ordinationis; quia tunc temporis nulla habetur unio moralis inter impositionem manuum et verba, Episcopus enim ex Rubrica silet: *imponit...utramque manum...nihil dicens*. Nunc autem tunc confertur Ordo cum forma et materia ponuntur simul. 2. Ex Rubrica non satis constat, an Episcopus continuare illam manuum impositionem debeat, cum dicat: "Imponit simul utramque manum super caput cuiuslibet Ordinandi successive nihil dicens. Idemque faciunt post eum omnes Sacerdotes qui adsunt...Quo facto, tam Pontifex, quam Sacerdotes tenent manus dexterarum extensas super illos." Quae Rubricae verba ita intelligi possunt, ut Pontifex postquam successive super omnes Ordinandos imposuerit manus, ab impositione cesset; et postquam alii praesentes Sacerdotes idem fecerint, tunc iterum extendat super Ordinandos manus. 3. Moraliter dici potest et debet eam impositionem semper continuari per Presbyteros. 4. Certo nobis constat, plures et sapientes Episcopos morem habere illam impositionem manuum abrumpendi, sive quod non necessariam, sive quia eam non impositam a Rubrica iudicent.

At iuxta alios haec impositio potius ab Episcopo continuanda videtur; aiunt enim id certo Rubrica praecipi, quae dicit: "tam Pontifex quam Sacerdotes, **TENENT MANUS DEXTERAS EXTENSAS** super illos." Hoc est, post impositionem utriusque manus, dexteram tantum tenere perseverant super Ordinandos. Insuper impositio dexterarum, abrupta impositione utriusque manus, esset veluti altera actio ex parte Episcopi. Nec sustineri potest continuari primam per presbyteros, quia impositio Episcopi est sola essentialis, presbyterorum vero ad maiorem significationem. Denique plurimi est facienda praxis Archibasiliacae Lateranensis, in qua seu E. mus Urbis Vicarius, seu Vicesgerens, post utriusque manus impositionem continuat dexteram tenere super Ordinandos.

Denique dicendum quid remanet circa omissionem consuetae formulae in Presbyterorum communione. Itaque ob-

servamus primo, aliquid fortasse obscuritatis inveniri in Rubrica Pontificalis Romani, cum agit de communione omnium, qui ad Ordines fuerunt promoti. Quae tamen obscuritas, iuxta aliquos, evanescit, si consulatur Rubrica specialis in fine eiusdem Pontificalis, quae tractat de unius Presbyteri Ordinatione.

Quidquid sit, sequentia animadvertimus.

Iudicamus, revera Pontificale Romanum in Rubrica de Ordinatione generali non satis esse perspicuam, an formula scilicet pro ceterorum Ordinatorum communione, dicenda quoque sit in communione Presbyterorum. Namque, licet loquatur generice de Ordinatis, nihilominus ex iis quae praemittit, Presbyteros excipere videtur, ut pro his scilicet nulla adhibenda sit formula, et Episcopus eos communicare debeat nihil dicens. Ait enim superior Rubrica: "Presbyteri ante communionem non dicunt confessionem, nec datur eis absolutio, quia concelebrant Pontifici, etc." Postea prosequitur dicens: "Tum accedunt Ordinati, etc."

Nunc autem non videtur, pro istis Ordinatis intelligi posse etiam Presbyteros, ad formulam communionis quod attinet. Quia Rubrica iam eos exceperat superius a confessione dicenda et ab absolutione recipienda, eo quod ut concelebrantes eos consideravit. Atqui, sicuti pro concelebrantibus nec *Confiteor* nec *absolutio* dicenda est, quia iam haec includuntur in Missa; ita nec formula recitanda videtur, quam illi una cum Pontifice iam dixerunt. Quemadmodum consequenter Rubrica a *Confiteor* et *absolutione* eximit Neopresbyteros, ita eosdem a formula praefata super eos recitanda dispensare videtur; ubi enim eadem est ratio, eadem debet esse iuris dispositio.

Nec officit Rubrica specialis, quae invenitur in Appendice Pontificalis; haec namque non est lex, sed simplex norma directiva (fortassis errata), quando uvi tantum sacer Ordo confertur. Etenim partem haud efficit Pontificalis, quod cum officio psalmistatus terminat, post hoc enim legitur "Pontificalis Romani finis."

Obiici quidem potest Decretum in Briocensi (14 Mart. 1861), in quo expetita S. R. C. an ab Episcopo, antequam communionem conferat Presbyteris in Ordinum collatione dicenda

sint illa verba "Corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi custodiat te in vitam aeternam?" Respondit: "Servetur Rubrica Pontificalis Romani." Sed respondemus nihil ex hoc argui certo posse; observanda enim Rubrica est, quod et nos admittimus, sed non satis est certum, an Rubrica dicendam eam esse formulam pro Neopresbyteris vel reticendam praescribat.

Insuper aliud in medium afferimus Decretum, et quidem recentius (31 Aug. 1872) in Syrensi, in quo eodem sensu et clarius explicatur Rubrica Pontificalis Romani. Inquiritur enim in dubio II. "In praebenda Neopresbyteris communionem debet ne adhiberi formula *Corpus* etc. vel potius illa debet omitti? Sacra vero eadem Congregatio...rescribendum censuit: Ad II. Ut in antecedenti." Nunc autem in antecedenti responderat; "Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam." Quod idem est ac dicere: Formula *Corpus* etc. non debet in casu adhiberi, sed debet omitti. Ergo ita Pontificalis Romani Rubrica intelligenda est, Decreta enim contra Rubricas esse non possunt.

Accedit consuetudo Romanae Basilicae Lateranensis, in qua Pontifex communicat Neopresbyteros nullam proferens formulam.

3. Facile inde patet quid de Titii agendi ratione censendum sit. Nam iuxta exposita in superiori quaesito, licet una clavis sufficiat pro Ostiariatus collatione, laudandus non est Titius, qui duas non tradidit iuxta Rubricas. Neque item illius agendi modus probandus, cum urceolos ac bacile cum manutergio tradere omisit Subdiaconis, ut superius dictum est. Laude vero dignior nobis fuisset Titius, si statim post impositionem utriusque manus, dexteram tenuisset super Ordinandos. Circa formulam communionis super Neopresbyteros laudabiliter eum se habuisse credimus. Inexcusabilis autem citra dubium iudicandus in impositione manuum super caput Diaconorum sine tactu physico, cuius omissio validitatem afficit, iuxta communem sententiam, ipsius Ordinationis.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"QUID MIHI ET TIBI EST, MULIER?"

In my explanation of the words "Quid mihi et vobis filii Sarviæ" I quoted them from the *second* chapter, *Second Book of Kings*. The words are to be found in the *sixteenth* chapter, *Second Book of Kings*. They are repeated in the nineteenth chapter of the same book, verse 22. In the sixteenth chapter, David says to the sons of Sarvia, "Let him alone and let him curse, Behold my son (Absalom) who came forth from my bowels seeketh my life, How much more a son of Jemini," verses 10, 11. In this chapter the *a fortiori* argument is given. In the nineteenth chapter, verses 21, 22, we read that the son of Sarvia, notwithstanding Semei's appeal for pardon, says to David, "Shall Semei for those words not be put to death, *because he cursed the Lord's anointed?*" David replies, "Why are you a Satan this day to me? Shall there any man be killed this day in Israel?" When we take both those chapters in connection with the dying declaration of David with reference to Semei recorded in the *Third Book of Kings*, second chapter, we find a striking similarity between the words in the *Book of Kings* and in the *Second of John*. David on his dying bed says to Solomon, "Thou hast also with thee Semei who cursed me with a grievous curse, but because he came to meet me when I passed over the Jordan I swore by the Lord I will not kill thee by the sword." David gave Semei ample time to repent, he now leaves him in the hands of Solomon, and in v. 9 he says to Solomon "Do not thou hold him guiltless, but *thou art a wise man* and knowest what to do with him, thou shalt bring down his grey hairs with blood to hell." Solomon gives Semei another trial. He commands him to remain in Jerusalem, and not to leave it under penalty of death. Semei obeys for three years, and at the termination of that period, Semei leaves the city. Solomon cites him and sentences him to death for all his evil deeds to David, verses 33 to 46. The parallelism of the two texts is most perfect. David says to the sons of Sarvia, what is there between you and me that we should inflict death on Semei before the time. David's hour had not yet come because David prayed for his conversion and his son Solomon sought to protect him, and it was because Semei had persevered in his iniquitous course, that the *hour had come* when Solomon the Wise decreed his death for his evil deeds to David.

M. J. KENNY.

DOCUMENTS.

DELEGATION TO ENROL IN CONFRATERNITY OF MOUNT CARMEL
DECRETUM

DE EXTENSIONE DECLARATIONIS EDITAE SUB DIE 19 AUGUSTI 1747
PRO CONFRATERNITATE SS. ROSARII AD CONFRATERNITATES
SS. TRINITATIS B. M. V. DE MONTE CARMELO ET A SEPTEM
DOLORIBUS.

SUMMARY.

Power to enrol persons in the Sodalities of the Holy Trinity, Mount Carmel, and the Seven Dolours, must be had from the respective Orders to which these Sodalities are entrusted.

Piae quaedam Sodalitates, sicut a Regularibus Ordinibus suam repetunt existentiam, ita earundem erectio jure quodam proprio eisdem Ordinibus competit. Inter has sunt recensendae Sodalitates SS. Trinitatis, B. Mariae Virg. a Monte Carmelo nec non a Septem Doloribus, quae a respectivis Ordinibus Regularibus sunt institutae, ac proinde ab ipsis jure ordinario eriguntur. Verum experientia compertum est Sodalitates praedictas, insciis omnino supremis Moderatoribus eorumdem Ordinum, ad quos memoratae Sodalitates pertinent, auctoritate tantummodo Episcoporum saepe numero erectas reperiri, eo quod plerumque, cum illis vigore litterarum Apostolicarum facultas tribuatur erigendi in genere Sodalitatis cujusque tituli, et invocationis cum respectivis indulgentiis, praelaudatas quoque Sodalitates ipsi erigant sola vi generalis communicationis Indulgentiarum, quae sunt propriae Archisodalitatum in Urbe existentium, quin ulla fiat in Apostolicis litteris expressa derogatio privilegiorum praefatis Ordinibus quoad erectionem suarum Sodalitatum concessorum.

Quum vero Sacra Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita ad praepediendos abusos et confusiones removendas declarasset per Decretum, diei 19 Augusti 1747, approbatum et confirmatum sub die 26 ejusdem mensis a S. M. Benedicto XIV., Sodalitates a SS. Rosario erectas, inscio Magistro Generali Ordinis Predicatorum, haud subsistere, ideoque carere omnino Indulgentiis ejusdem Sodalitatis propriis, Priores Generales Ordinum SS. Trinitatis, Carmelitarum, et Servorum B. Virginis, quum animadverterint quod erectionem suarum Sodalitatum ex Aposto-

licae Sedis benignitate sibi commissarum eodem abusus similesque confusiones irrepsisse, quae locum jam habebant in erectionibus Sodalitiorum SS. Rosarii, humiles porrexerunt preces SSmo Dno Nostro, quatenus superius memoratam declarationem non semel editam pro Sodalitatibus SS. Rosarii benigne pariter extendere dignaretur ad Sodalitates SS. Trinitatis, B. Mariae Virginis a Monte Carmelo et a Septem Doloribus, ita nempe ut si contingat, non obtenta prius ab eorumdem Ordinum supremis Moderatoribus facultate, praedictas Sodalitates constitui, sub quovis praetextu cujuscumque facultatis specialis in qua nulla fiat expressa derogatio privilegii hac super re dictis Ordinibus concessi, Sodalitatum erectio nullius sit roboris, ideoque Indulgentiis minime perfruatur.

Quas preces SSmo Dno N. Leoni Papae XIII. ab infrascripto Secretario in audientia habita sub die 16 Julii hujus devolventis anni relatas, idem Sanctissimus peramanter excepit, ac praevia sanatione omnium supradictarum Sodalitatum, insciis Prioribus Generalibus memoratorum Ordinum huc usque erectarum, quas validas esse declaravit, in posterum voluit ac mandavit, ut ad omne dubium removendum nec non abusus praecavendos non aliter praedictae Confraternitates, seu Sodalitates erigantur nisi requisitis antea et obtentis a laudatorum Ordinum Superioribus pro tempore existentibus litteris facultativis pro earumdum erectione, ita tamen ut iidem Priores Generales pro hujusmodi Confraternitatum, seu Sodalitatum erectionibus consuetas litteras Sacerdotibus Suorum Ordinum, vel ubi eorum Conventus non existunt, aliis Ecclesiasticis viris sive Regularibus sive saecularibus etiam Episcopis benevisis expediant; ipsaeque litterae nonnisi de consensu ordinariorum, servatisque reliquis omnibus in hujusmodi erectionibus ex Apostolicis Constitutionibus servandis ac servari solitis, executioni mandentur. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Datum Romae ex Secretaria Sac. Congreg. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae sub die 16 Julii 1887.

F. THOMAS M. CARD. ZIGLIARA, *Praefectus*.

ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS OENSIS, *Secretarius*.

Ita reperitur in registis Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem etc. Ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis die 22 Septembris 1887.

ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS OENSIS

S. Congreg. II. et RR., *Secretarius*.

(LOCUS ✠ SIGILLI)

ENROLMENT NECESSARY FOR THE CONFRATERNITY OF MOUNT CARMEL.

DE INSCRIBENDIS NOMINIBUS EORUM QUI SACRUM SCAPULARE B.M.V. DE MONTE CARMELO RECIPIUNT, ET DE REVOCATIONE INDULTI GREGORIANI 30 APRIL, 1838.

SUMMARY.

It is necessary to inscribe on the Register of the Confraternity of Mount Carmel the names of Associates.

Dubium: Utrum Indultum a S. M. Gregorio Papa XVI. concessum die 30 Aprilis, 1838, Confraternitati B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo, quo Sacerdotes debita facultate praediti recipiendi Christifideles in praedictam Confraternitatem eximuntur ab onere inscribendi nomina fidelium in libro Confraternitatis, expediat extendere etiam ad alias Confraternitates, in quibus Christifideles scapularia recipiunt?

E.mi ac R.mi Patres responderunt in Generalibus Comitibus apud Vaticanum habitis die 26 Martii, 1887, *Negative*: imo supplicandum SSmo. pro revocatione Gregoriani Indulti concessi sub die 30 Aprilis, 1838, et ad mentem.

Die vero 27 Aprilis, 1887, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Secretario sententiam Patrum Cardinalium ratam habuit, et Gregorianum Indultum revocavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis die 27 Aprilis, 1887.

FR. THOMAS M. CARD. ZIGLIARA, *Praefectus*.

✠ ALEXANDER, Episcopus Oensis, *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

ST. AUGUSTINE, BISHOP AND DOCTOR: an Historical Study. By a Priest of the Congregation of the Mission. Second Edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1888.

It is with unfeigned pleasure we see a second edition of this fascinating work. The character of St. Augustine stands out so prominently among the saints of the Church, and affords such material for the study of the complex human mind, that it has

become the subject of thoughtful inquiry by many Protestant as well as Catholic writers.

Nowhere, however, have we met with such a careful and exhaustive analysis of the life and work of the great saint as in this interesting "historical study." The book has rapidly run through a first edition, and is considerably enlarged in its present form. Of necessity, a large portion of the additional matter is of a controversial nature, as the criticisms in the Protestant Reviews took issue with the author on some of the illustrations which he has given of St. Augustine's teachings and opinions. In this connection we may state that the book should be in the library of every priest. For, apart from the beautiful character of this glorious saint, shining out even when conquered by evil as when conquering it, softened and moulded under the benign influences of his mother, kind and compassionate to the lowly and distressed, tender to the sinner, and reverent to the good, there is brought before our minds the great intellectual power meeting all the errors and sophisms of the day and confuting them.

A large part of the history of our Church is comprised in the life of St. Augustine, and the author gives us a concise and graphic view of this history. We have lately been made aware that this book has created intense interest in America among others than our co-religionists, and amongst creeds whose veneration for the saint and his teachings almost equals our own.

A chapter on "St. Augustine and his adversaries" has been inserted in this edition owing to a hint from a friendly non-Catholic critic; and to show the favour with which the book has been received, we cannot do better than quote a Protestant writer in the *Church Quarterly Review*, for July of last year, who says:—"I do not know where I could point to a more interesting biography of the saint, or one which better describes his circumstances and surroundings." And as regards the state of civilization among the Africans at this period, their arts and sciences, and most interesting history before their final fall, all this is brought vividly before us in a series of perfect pictures.

The author promises a sequel to his work, and we only wish him the success which has so far attended the "Historical Study."

THE CHURCH AND THE AGE. By the Very Rev. I. T. Hecker.
New York: *Catholic World Office*.

THE twelve essays, here presented in book form, originally appeared in the *Catholic World*, and are designed to show the defects

and needs of the present age, viewed from the stand-point of religion. Though the work is largely controversial, it abandons altogether the old lines of religious polemics, its aim being to convince rather than to combat. There is no strictly logical connection between the different articles, so that they may be read in any order and without any reference to each other. They are written in that diffuse, newspaper style, which, combined with the lofty ideas and beautiful diction that profusely adorn the entire volume, cannot fail to fascinate the reader for a time. But just as the present order of the chapters might be, without interfering with continuity, changed into that of the pages in a Hebrew book, so, in my opinion, a good deal of the argumentation might be not unprofitably reversed, and the conclusion made to occupy the place of the first premise. The following quotation will illustrate my meaning :—

“ The renewal of the age depends on the renewal of religion. The renewal of religion depends upon a greater effusion of the creative and renewing power of the Holy Spirit. The greater effusion of the Holy Spirit depends on the giving of increased attention to His movements and inspirations of the soul. The radical and adequate remedy for all the evils of our age, and the source of all true progress consist in increased attention and fidelity to the action of the Holy Spirit in the soul. ‘Thou shalt send forth Thy Spirit and they shall be created; and I thou shalt renew the face of the earth.’ ”

To a writer of a less fervid imagination and of a more practical turn of thought, it might occur as a good preliminary arrangement to secure the presence of the Holy Spirit in the soul first of all, and then to give “increased attention and fidelity to His action.” Nor is the following an isolated case of a sentence conveying no definite or intelligible meaning to the average reader :—“The age is materialistic : it needs the gift of Intelligence, by the light of which the intellect penetrates into the essence of things.” Without wishing to set limits to the progress and capabilities of philosophy, I think it not improbable that the age will remain long unregenerated, if no reform can be produced until the intellects of men shall have acquired the luminous penetration, here contemplated, into the essence of things. The essences of many things we can know with clearness and certainty, but once we enter on the domain of faith, the intellect becomes conversant more about attributes, manifestations, and properties, than about the *essences* of things.

However, the author's aim is noble and praiseworthy, his style is eminently attractive, and his book may be read with pleasure and profit.

E. M.

THE DECREES OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. By Rev. J. Waterworth. London: Burns & Oates (Limited).

DURING the past forty years, since its first publication, Father Waterworth's book has been deservedly regarded by English-speaking people as the most reliable and the standard authority on the Council of Trent. The volume now presented to the public is simply a reprint without any alteration whatever, and is published in response to an urgent and widely expressed public demand. The work had become so rare, and was at the same time so keenly sought after, that its re-appearance, in its present bold type and handsome binding, is hailed with delight by all—and their ranks are steadily swelling—who honestly study, in the light of history, the claims of the Roman Church to be considered the one, true, Catholic, and Apostolic Christian fold whence heretics have, from time to time, strayed by devious and divergent paths. Numerous members of the Anglican denomination profess to believe rigidly and conscientiously in the doctrines defined by the early councils, but reject with vehement indignation the canons and decrees of Trent. Even these, however, will not deny that this last-named council stands out as a most prominent epoch in the history of the Christian religion; that it is the great landmark separating the period of Catholic unity throughout central and western Europe from that of religious disruption into countless ill-defined sects; and that a true account of the circumstances in which it was summoned, and of its doctrinal and disciplinary enactments, is a necessary element in the study of the rise and growth of the mis-named Reformation.

The decrees and canons are carefully and cleverly translated; a concise and most interesting history of the Council is prefixed; and, in a word, the book supplies every information an ordinary reader could desire regarding the origin and work of one of the most important of the Ecumenical Councils.

In a work dealing professedly and directly with matters of faith, one would naturally expect to find an episcopal *Imprimatur* in a prominent place. This is wanting; but the dedication of the book, by permission, to Cardinal Wiseman, who was, at the time of its first appearance, titular Bishop of Melipotamus, is, I presume, a sufficient authorization.

E. M.

JESU'S PSALTER. By the Rev. Samuel Heydon Sole, Priest of Chipping Norton. London: Burns & Oates, Limited.

In an interesting preface, the editor has undertaken to prove that the author of this spiritual classic is, Richard Whytford, a Brigittine

Monk, of Sion Monastery, Middlesex. There is just one consideration, however, which might be conceived to influence us to withhold assent from his conclusion. Whitford has written several well-known works, to all of which he affixes his name. Moreover, he complains that many anonymous and hence, "suspected books are in print like fatherless chylder." If then, he wrote *Jesu's Psalter*, how account for the omission of his name? Why leave it like a fatherless chyld? The difficulty has led some to think that the love of the *virens moriensque fefellit*, moved the author to die unknown to fame. Fr. Sole, however, relying on the traditional ascription of the authorship to Whytford, and on internal evidence, brings forward a reason ingeniously explanatory of the absence of name from the *extant versions* of the Psalter, in that a prayer for public recitation, as it soon became, "must rely for its authority on its adoption by the Church and has a disposition to become at once universal and impersonal."

The Psalter in structure is precisely similar to the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin. It consists of 150 petitions, divided into 15 decades, each petition of which calls upon the Sacred Name with triple invocation for some essential grace, as fear, love, light to know, and strength to fulfil God's holy will. There is a clearly marked portion for daily use, as each five series of decades has the "organic sufficiency" of each series of the mysteries of the Rosary.

The verse ending is very peculiar, consisting almost entirely of the assonance or rhyme of *me, of thee*, with once and again a variation of some such word as *vanity, pity, charity*. It might seem such a frequent recurrence would pall upon the senses, but it is so strikingly individualising, and there is such a varied accompanying charm of thought and simplicity of language that nothing is farther from inducing "tired eyelids upon tired eyes," nor does "the ear weary to hear."

The thanks of the English-speaking public are due to the Rev. Editor for this production of old time faith, which he has helped to rescue from arbitrary excisions and mutilations by the incorporation into one edition of three versions—two from copies of the years 1571 and 1583, and a modern one. The music for chanting is simple and in the Gregorian notation. There is besides an accompaniment for the organ in the modern style.

THE OLD HOUSE BY THE BOYNE. By Mrs. J. Sadlier.
Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

DROGHEDA, the "Rome of Ulster," with its interesting associations, has tempted Mrs. Sadlier to entwine around it the incidents

of a work of fiction, which, we venture to say will be largely read in this country. The plot in its general outline is not unfrequent among novelists. A hasty word, a wrong impression, and consequent anger led to a fatal separation of many years between Ralph Melville and Miss Ackland—the heroine of the story. In the portrayal of this character the author is at her best. The lines of a life in which generosity, charity, and deep faith are the prevailing colours, are depicted to us with a firm and sympathetic hand. For here there was no “sorrow’s crown of sorrow in remembering happier things,” when sorrows “came, not in single spies, but in battalions,” in the death of her father, and the loss of property. She lived contentedly and peacefully in poverty, as in comparative wealth. Her influence was felt by all around her, and most of all by the dwellers in the *Old House by the Boyne*. She was the joy and support of her aged father : the teacher of her niece, and formative power of her character. The little household was a circle of peace and contentment, and holy calm, wherein she was the centre. There are other characters also who will not easily be forgotten. We grow to learn and admire the truth and ingenuousness of Giacomo Malvili, and the humility and self-sacrificing spirit of the old Franciscan—Fr. O’Regan. The honest and devoted old servant, Nancy, has many antitypes in our Irish servants. Jemmy Nulty the Pilgrim is a companion-picture to James the Pilgrim in the *D’Altons of Crag*, by the late Dean O’Brien.

The style of the author is simple and natural, and the book abounds with beautifully descriptive touches of Irish scenery. The description of the old town is graphic and minute; the historical allusions vivacious and frequent. The authoress of the *Fate of Father Sheehy*, the martyred Tipperary priest, is already a household name in this country, and her fame will be deservedly raised higher by the present publication. It is brought out by Messrs. M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin, in a finished and attractive manner.

T. A. M.

AT THE GATES OF THE SANCTUARY; OR, THE POSTULANT AND THE NOVICE. Translated from the Latin works of Dom Rupert Presinger, O.S.B., by the Very Rev. Francis Cuthbert Doyle, O.S.B., Canon of Newport and Menevia. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son.

To the already long list of works which have for their object the guidance of souls in the spiritual life, Canon Doyle has placed another at the disposal of English readers. The book before us

which is a translation from the Latin of Fr. Presinger, unites under the above heading three distinct treatises, entitled *the Postulant, the Retreat*, and *the Novice*. The arrangement is admirably adapted to the end for which the work was intended, viz., to serve as a guide for those who feel themselves called by God to sanctify their souls in the religious state. In the first treatise is pointed out the course to be followed by the postulant. In it directions are given as to the mode of preparation he should adopt, the evils he should guard against, and the religious habits he should labour to acquire antecedent to his admission within the walls of the cloister. *The Retreat* comprises a number of meditations specially intended as an immediate preparation for the reception of the habit; while *the Novice* contains directions and counsels for those who have already reached the Novitiate.

Although primarily intended by the author for those who are anxious to advance to the perfection of the religious life, yet these treatises, especially the two first, contain a vast fund of spiritual instruction for every Christian who seriously aims at a high degree of sanctity. There is no one who may not use the book with profit immeasurable, whether he be layman, ecclesiastic or religious. Those above all who wish to enrol themselves among the disciples of St. Benedict have reason to rejoice that they have within their reach such excellent aids for their preparation as the learned translator of the present work has afforded them. Nor is it a slight recommendation to add that the language made use of throughout is both plain, simple, and forcible, while the style is entirely free from that stiffness which so frequently detracts from the merits which translations would otherwise possess.

SIX SERMONS ON DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS.

By the Rev Ewald Bierbaune, D.D. Translated from the German by Miss Ella M'Mahon. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

WE welcome the six sermons before us on Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus as a valuable accession to our religious literature. The treatment of the subject, the selection and arrangement of the matter, as well as the language instinct with feeling, are everywhere in keeping with such a beautiful devotion. We commend them to our clerical brethren, confident that they will be useful, not only as sources whence they may draw information on this all-important subject, but also that they will serve as models and guides in their own discourses on the same subject.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DECEMBER, 1888.

A SHORT SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.—I.¹

THE history of Dogmatic Theology may be divided into three principal epochs, which coincide with the great epochs of the history of the Church :

- A.—The Ancient or Patristic Epoch ;
- B.—The Mediæval or Scholastic Epoch ;
- C.—The Modern Epoch.

Each of these has as its centre one of the great Councils of the Church, Patristic Theology being grouped round the Council of Nicæa ; Mediæval Theology round the Fourth Lateran Council ; and Modern Theology round the Council of Trent. In each epoch also the growth of Theology has followed a similar course. A period of preparation has led up to the Council, which has been followed by a period of prosperity, and this in turn has given place to a period of decay. During the Patristic Epoch, Theology was engaged in studying Holy Scripture, in strengthening Tradition, and in defending the chief doctrines of Christianity against Paganism and heresy, and was cultivated principally by the official representative of Tradition, the bishops. The foundation having thus been securely laid, the work of the Mediæval theologians was to develop and systematize what had been transmitted to them ; and this work was carried on almost entirely in the cloisters and universities. Finally, Modern Theology has taken up the subjects of both of the foregoing

¹ This Paper is based on Scheeben's *Dogmatik*.

epochs by defending the fundamental dogmas of Religion against modern agnostics and heretics, and at the same time carefully attending to the development of doctrine within the Church.

A.—THE PATRISTIC EPOCH.

Theology was not treated by the Fathers as one organic whole. They took the Holy Scriptures as their text-book, and expounded the doctrines contained therein with the help of Tradition. In this way, particular dogmas were often explained and proved at considerable length. Some approach to systematic treatment may, indeed, be found in their catechetical works; but the greater part of the Patristic writings, besides the commentaries on Holy Scripture, consists of treatises written against the different heresies of the day, and thus, without directly constructing a system of dogmas, the Fathers provided ample materials in almost every department of theology. The struggle against Paganism and Manichæism gave rise to treatises on God, man, and creation. The doctrine of the Blessed Trinity was proved against the Arians and Macedonians; the Incarnation against the Nestorians and Eutychians; Grace and Sin were discussed with the Pelagians; the schism of the Donatists brought out the doctrine concerning the Constitution of the Church.

In the East the Fathers were occupied chiefly in discussing speculative questions, such as the Blessed Trinity and Incarnation, while the Western Church directed its attention more to the practical questions of Sin and Redemption, Grace and Free Will, and the Constitution of the Church. The Easterns, moreover, excelled both in exactness of method and sublimity of expression. This difference in method and choice of subjects was due chiefly to the fact that Theology was treated in the East by men trained in Greek metaphysics, whereas in the West it was treated by men trained in Roman Law. Greek metaphysics supplied ideas and expressions capable of conveying some notion of the Divine Substance, the Divine Persons, and the Divine Nature. On the other hand, the nature of Sin and its transmission by inheritance, the debt owed by man and satisfied by Jesus Christ, were worked out on the lines of the Roman theory of obliga-

tions arising out of Contract or Delict, the Roman view of Debts, and the modes of incurring, extinguishing, and transmitting them, and the Roman notion of the continuance of individual existence by universal succession.¹

The Greek Fathers most highly esteemed for their dogmatic writings are:—The chiefs of the Catechetical School at Alexandria, Clement, Origen, and Didymus, from whom the subsequent writers drew their inspiration; Athanasius, the three great Cappadocians, Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa; Cyril of Alexandria, Leontius of Byzantium, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and lastly, John Damascene. In the West may be mentioned Tertullian, Ambrose, Leo, Hilary of Poitiers, Fulgentius, and the great St. Augustine. The works of the last-named form a sort of encyclopædia of theological literature. The early Schoolmen, such as Hugh of St. Victor and Alexander of Hales, did little more than develop and systematize the material supplied by him. After a time the influence of the Greek Fathers began to be felt, especially in the doctrine of Grace, and hence, long afterwards, the Jansenists accused both the Schoolmen and the Greek Fathers of having fallen into Pelagianism.²

B.—THE MEDIEVAL OR SCHOLASTIC EPOCH.

During the so-called Dark Ages, Theology was cultivated chiefly in the cathedral and monastic schools. It was for the most part merely a reproduction of what had been handed down by the Fathers. The most valuable writings of these ages are: Venerable Bede's commentaries on Holy Scripture; Paschasius Radbert's treatises on the Holy Eucharist, and those directed against Berengarius by Lanfranc and Guitmundus. Scotus Erigena created a sort of theological system in his celebrated work *De Divisione Naturæ*, but he can in no way be looked upon as the Father of Scholasticism,

¹ Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 355.

² A complete account of the writings of the Fathers does not fall within our present scope. For further information see Alzog's *Patrology* (in German and French), Archbishop Vaughan's *Life of St. Thomas of Aquin*, and Cardinal Newman's *Church of the Fathers*, *Historical Sketches*, *St. Athanasius*, and *The Arians of the Fourth Century*.

as he is sometimes styled in modern times, especially as the Schoolmen ignore him.

I. *The Preparatory Period, 1080-1230.* The title of Father of Scholasticism rightly belongs to St. Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109). He did not indeed supply a complete treatment of theology, but he dealt with the most important and difficult dogmas in such a way that it became easy to reduce them to a system. "Faith seeking understanding" was his motto. It was his severe and strictly logical method which set the fashion to those who came after him. His *Monologium* treats of God as one in Nature, and three in Persons; the *Proslogium* further develops the treatment of the unity of God, while the treatise *De Processione Spiritus Sancti adversus Græcos* develops his teaching on the Trinity; *De Casu Diaboli* and *De Conceptu Virginali et Originali Peccato* deal with sin; *Cur Deus Homo* contains his celebrated theory of Redemption. He also wrote on Grace and Free Will: *De Libero Arbitrio* and *De Concordia Præscientiæ et Prædestinationis nec non Gratiæ Dei cum Libero Arbitrio*.

The rationalistic tendencies of Abelard were successfully combated by St. Bernard (1153), Hugh of St. Victor (*Summæ Sententiarum* and *De Sacramentis Fidei*) and Robert Pulleyn. Peter Lombard (Archbishop of Paris, 1104), was the author of the great mediæval text-book *Liber Sententiarum*, in which the materials supplied by the Fathers are worked up into a complete system of Theology. William of Auxerre (*Altissiodorensis*), Richard of St. Victor, Alanus of Lille, and William of Paris, form the transition from the preparatory period to the period of prosperity.

II. *The Flourishing Period, 1230-1308.* During the early years of the thirteenth century the foundation of the two great mendicant orders by St. Francis and St. Dominic, and the struggles with the arabico-aristotelian philosophy introduced into the west by the Spanish Moors, gave astonishing impetus to theological studies. Theology now embraced a larger field, and at the same time became more systematic. Greek philosophy drew attention to the Greek Fathers who now began to exercise greater influence. Aristotle's logic had already found its way into the schools; but now his

metaphysics, psychology, and ethics became the basis of Christian teaching. As might be expected from such studies, the great doctors of this period are characterised by their clear statement of the question at issue, their continual adoption of the syllogistic form of argumentation, their frequent and subtle use of distinctions, and their plain unvarnished style of language which is not, however, without a charm of its own. They sometimes treated of theology in their commentaries on Holy Scripture, but their usual textbook was the *Sentences* of the Lombard. They also wrote monographs on various questions, called *Quodlibeta* or *Quæstiones Disputatæ*. Some doctors composed original systematic works on the whole domain of theology, called *Summæ Theologicæ*, most of which, however, remained in a more or less unfinished state. These *Summæ* have often been compared with the great Gothic cathedrals of this same age, and the parallel is indeed most striking. The opening years of the thirteenth century mark the transition from the Roman (or, as we call it, Norman) style to the Gothic or pointed style, and also from the Patristic to the Scholastic method. The period of perfection in both Scholasticism and Gothic architecture also extends from 1230 to the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹ The *Summa* of St. Thomas was begun about the same time as the Cathedral of Cologne. Again, the mendicant orders were the chief promoters of both. The style of the Schoolmen is totally wanting in the brilliant eloquence so often found in the Fathers; they split up their subject into numberless questions and sub-divide these again, at the same time binding them all together to form one well-ordered whole, and directing them all to the final end of man. In like manner the mediæval architects, discarding the use of all gorgeous colouring, elaborate the bare stone into countless pinnacles and mullions and clusters, all of them composing together one great building, and all of them pointing to Heaven. And just as in after

¹ These dates apply to continental architecture; they are too early for England.

ages a Fénelon could call Gothic architecture a barbarous invention of the Arabs; so there have been learned men who have looked upon Scholasticism as subtle trifling. But it is noteworthy that in our own day Scholasticism and Gothic architecture have again come into honour. As the German poet Geibel says:—

“Great works they wrought, fair fanes they raised, wherein the
mighty sleep,
While we, a race of pigmies, about their gravestones creep.”

This flourishing period of Scholasticism opens with the great names of Alexander of Hales (*Doctor irrefragabilis*) and Blessed Albert the Great. The former was an Englishman, but taught theology in the University of Paris. He composed the first, and at the same time, the largest *Summa Theologica* partly drawn from his earlier commentary on the Lombard, from which also his disciples probably made additions to the *Summa* after his death. It is remarkable for extent of science, originality, depth, and sublimity. If it yields the palm to the *Summa* of St. Thomas, nevertheless, St. Thomas doubtless had it before him in composing his own work. But Alexander's chief influence was exercised on the Franciscan order which he joined in 1225. To this day he is the type of the genuine Franciscan school, for his disciple, St. Bonaventure, wrote no *Summa*, while the Scotist school was critical rather than constructive. His works deserve greater attention than they have received. He died about 1245. St. Bonaventure the “Seraphic” Doctor (1221-1274) did not indeed actually sit under Alexander, but is nevertheless his true heir and follower. His mystical spirit incapacitated him for subtle and painstaking analysis, but in originality and system he surpasses St. Thomas himself. He wrote only one great work, a Commentary on the *Sentences*, but his powers are seen at their best in his *Breviloquium Theologicæ Veritatis*, which is a condensed *Summa* containing the quintessence of the theology of his age. Whilst the *Breviloquium* derives all things from God, his *Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum* proceeds in the opposite direction, bringing all things back to their Supreme End. In another work, the

Centiloquium, he sketched out a new book of Sentences, containing a rich collection of passages from the Fathers, but in a strange though ingenious order.¹

The Dominican school was founded by Albert the Great (1193-1280). His chief glory is that he introduced the study of Aristotle into the Christian schools, and that he was the master of St. Thomas Aquinas. His numerous works fill twenty-one folio volumes (Lyons, 1651). They consist of commentaries on the Gospels and the Prophets, Homilies, ascetical writings, and commentaries on the Areopagite, on Aristotle, and on the *Sentences*. His *Summa Theologica*, of which the four intended parts were to correspond with the four books of the Lombard, was written in his advanced old age, after St. Thomas's *Summa*, and goes no further than the end of the second part. He also composed a so-called *Summa de Creaturis*, partly answering to the *Summa contra Gentiles* of St. Thomas, and like it, more philosophical than theological.²

St. Thomas Aquinas, the "Angelical Doctor" (1225-1274) towers over all the theologians of his own or of any other age. He is unsurpassed in knowledge of Holy Scripture, the Fathers and Aristotle, in the depth and clearness of his ideas, in perfection of method and expression, and in the variety and extent of his labours. He wrote on every subject treated by the schoolmen and in every form: on physics, ethics, metaphysics, psychology, apologetic, dogmatic, moral and ascetical theology, in commentaries on Holy Scripture, on Aristotle, on the Areopagite and the Lombard, in monographs, compendia, and in two *Summas*. His chief dogmatic writings are the following:

1. The *Commentary on the Sentences* written in his early years: many of the opinions herein expressed were rejected in the saint's later works.

2. The so-called *Questiones Disputatae*, a rich collection of monographs (63 questions divided into 400 articles), on the most important subjects of the whole province of theology,

¹ An excellent edition of his works is now being published at Quaracchi (ad Aquas Claras), three volumes of which have already been published.

² See Dr. Sighart's *Life of Albert the Great*, of which there is an English translation published by Washbourne.

which St. Thomas here treats of more fully than in his other writings. Written as occasion required, they have been unfortunately grouped in a somewhat confusing way under the titles *De Potentia*, *De Malo*, *De Spiritualibus Creaturis*, *De Virtutibus* and *De Veritate*. A better arrangement would be under the three headings: *De Ente et Potentia*, *De Veritate et Cognitione*, *De Bono et Appetitu Boni*. We should then possess a fairly complete system of theologico-philosophical Ontology, Psychology and Ethics.¹

3. The *Summa contra Gentiles* is for the most part philosophical but it contains only such philosophical subjects as bear on theology. It is divided into four books: the first two treat of the Essence and Nature of God and of creatures; the third treats of the movement of creatures to their end in God, viz. the most intimate union with Him in the contemplation of His Essence, and treats also of supernatural Providence; the fourth book deals with the various mysteries which bear on the union of creatures with God. The method of exposition is not dialectical but positive. An excellent commentary on this work appeared towards the end of the fifteenth century by Francis of Ferrara (*Ferrariensis*) and is usually printed with the large editions.

4. But the Saint's masterpiece is his *Summa Theologica* composed towards the end of his life and never completed. It contains his mature opinions on almost the entire province of theology. It is divided into three great parts, the second of which is sub-divided into two parts, termed respectively, *Prima Secundæ*, and *Secunda Secundæ*. Each part is divided into "questions" and these again into "articles." Part I. treats of God as He is in Himself and as the Principle of all things:

A. Of God Himself:

- (a) His Being (qq. 2-13);
- (b) His internal activity (14-26);
- (c) His internal fruitfulness in the Trinity (27-43).

¹ See Werner, *Thomas of Aquin*, i., pp. 360-386 (in German).

B. Of God as Cause of all things :

- (a) His causal relation to them generally (44-49) ;
- (b) Specially :
 - (a) Angels (50-64) ;
 - (β) The material world (65-74) ;
 - (γ) Man (75-102).
- (c) The government of creatures and their share in the course of the universe (103-119).

Part II. treats of the motion of rational creatures towards God :

A. Generally (*Prima Secundæ*) :

- (a) The end or object of their motion (qq. 1-6) ;
- (b) Human acts (7-48) ;
- (c) Habits, Virtue and Vice (49-89) ;
- (d) The influence of God on their motion by means of Law and Grace (90-114).

B. Specially (*Secunda Secundæ*) :

- (a) The Theological (1-47) and Moral Virtues (48-170) ;
- (b) Various classes of persons :
 - (a) Those gifted with extraordinary Graces (171-178) ;
 - (β) Those who have devoted themselves to the active or contemplative life (179-182) ;
 - (γ) Those found in different occupations (183-189).

Part III. treats of God's action in bringing man nigh unto Him :

A. Through Christ :

- (a) His Person (1-26) ;
- (b) His life and works (27-59).

B. By means of Christ's Sacraments (60-90).

The first regular commentary on the *Summa* was composed in the beginning of the sixteenth century by Cardinal Cajetan and is still printed in the large editions of the *Summa* ; but it was not until the end of the sixteenth century that the *Summa* displaced the *Sentences* as the text-book in theological schools. The editions are too numerous to

mention. Perhaps the most beautiful modern edition is that published by Facciadori (Verona) in quarto.

5. The *Compendium Theologiæ*, sometimes called *Opusculum ad Reginaldum*, treats of theology in its relation to the three theological virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, just like our English Catechism. Only the first part was completed, *De Fide Trinitatis Creatricis, et Christi Reparantis*; the second part, connected with the Our Father, goes down to the second petition. The treatment is not uniform: the work seems to grow in the Saint's hands, and consequently some matters are here better treated than in the larger works.¹

To this flourishing period belong the great apologetic works of the two Dominicans, Raymund Martini (died 1286), *Pugio Fidei*, and Moneta (d. about 1230), *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*; the *Summa* of Henry of Ghent, (d. 1293); the magnificent *Life of Jesus Christ*, by Ludolph of Saxony; the *Postilla* on Holy Scripture, by Nicholas of Lyra (Franciscan, d. 1340), which were corrected and completed by Paul of Burgos (d. 1433); the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, by William Durandus (d. 1296), surnamed *Speculator* on account of his *Speculum Juris*; the three great encyclopædic *Specula*, by Vincent of Beauvais; and the writings of the English Franciscan, Richard Middleton, who taught at Oxford (d. 1300), *Commentary on the Sentences* and various *Quodlibeta*.

John Duns Scotus (1266-1308), the "Subtle Doctor," was a disciple of William Ware (Varro) at Oxford, who was himself the successor of William de la Marre, the first opponent of St. Thomas.² His extraordinary acuteness of mind led

¹ There is an edition by Rutland (Paderborn, 1867). On the various editions of the entire works of St. Thomas, see Werner, l. 884. As we write (1888) four volumes of the edition published by order of his Holiness Leo XIII. have already appeared, containing commentaries on Aristotle and a portion of Part I. of the *Summa*. The great English work on the Angelic Doctor is Archbishop Vaughan's *Life and Labours of St Thomas of Aquin*, in two volumes (1871-1872).

² On Scotus see the excellent article by Döllinger in the *Freiburg Kirchen-Lexicon*; on Scotus's doctrine see Werner, *Thomas of Aquin*, III., p. 3 sqq.; also Stöckl, *History of Mediæval Philosophy* (in German), p. 783.

him rather to criticise than to develop the work of the thirteenth century. His positive erudition is comparatively poor. He composed no commentary on Holy Scripture, which to his predecessors was always the preparation and foundation of their speculative efforts, nor did he complete any systematic work. His subtlety, his desultory criticisms, and his abstruse style make him far more difficult reading than the earlier Schoolmen, and consequently he is seldom studied in the original text, even by many of his own school. His principal work is the great Oxford *Commentary on the Sentences*, *Opus Oxoniense*. Besides this, he wrote a later and much shorter commentary, *Reportata Parisiensia*, the *Questiones Quodlibetales*, corresponding with St. Thomas's *Questiones Disputatae*, and various smaller *opuscula* on metaphysics and the theory of knowledge. The handiest edition of the *Opus Oxoniense* is that of Hugh Cavellus, an Irish Franciscan in Louvain, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, who enriched the text with good explanatory scholia.

Scotus cannot be considered as the continuer of the old Franciscan school, but rather as the founder of a new school which rightly bears his name. His excessive realism has a tendency quite opposed to the Platonism of the early members of his order, and, indeed, agrees with Nominalism on many points. His stiff and dry style is very different from the ease and grace which charm us in St. Bonaventure. However, Scotus is the direct antagonist of St. Thomas, and it is in relation to him that the character of his mind stands out most clearly. St. Thomas is strictly organic. Scotus is less so. St. Thomas, with all his fineness of distinction, does not split asunder the different tissues, but leaves them in their natural, living connection. Scotus, on the other hand, by the dissecting process of his distinctions, loosens the organic connections of the tissues, without, however, destroying the bond of union, and thereby the life of the loosened parts, as the Nominalists did. In other words, to St. Thomas the universe is a perfect animal organism, wherein all the parts are held together in a most intimate union and relation by the soul; whereas to Scotus it is only

a vegetable organism, as he himself expresses it, whose different members spring from a common root, but branch out in different directions; to the Nominalist, however, it is merely a mass of atoms arbitrarily heaped together. These general differences of mode of conception manifest themselves in almost all the particular differences of doctrine.

III. *The Period of Decay.* About the beginning of the fourteenth century, the classical and creative period of mediæval scholasticism came to a close. In the two following centuries no real progress was made. The acquisitions gained in the period of Prosperity were reproduced and elaborated to meet the hypercritical and destructive attacks made at this time both on the teaching and the public action of the Church. A false mysticism became prevalent, and Nominalism springing from, or at least occasioned by, Scotism, partly as an exaggeration of its frigid critical tendencies, partly as a reaction against its realism, destroyed the organic character of the revealed doctrines and wasted its energies in hair-splitting subtlety. Pierre Aureole (*Aureolus*, a Frenchman, d. 1321) led the way and was followed by the rebellious William of Occam (d. 1347), who was educated at Oxford and at Paris. Both of these were disciples of Scotus. Oxford now almost disputed the pre-eminence with Paris. St. Edmund of Canterbury (d. 1242) had introduced there the study of Aristotle, and his most famous pupil was Roger Bacon, a Franciscan (d. 1292), the author of the *Opus Majus*, the true *Novum Organum* of science. The Oxford Friars, especially the Franciscans, attained a high reputation throughout Christendom. The university claimed as her children besides St. Edmund and Roger Bacon, Richard Middleton, William Ware, William de la Mare, Duns Scotus, Occam, Grosteste, Adam Marsh, Bungay, Burley, Archbishop Peckham, Bradwardine, Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, Thomas Netter (*Waldensis*) and the notorious Wyclif.

Many of the theologians present at the councils of Constance and Basle, notably Pierre d'Ailly (*Alliacensis*, d. 1425) belonged to the Nominalist school. The best representa-

ives of this tendency were Gregory of Rimini and Gabriel Biel. The Dominicans, with the exception of Durandus of S. Portiano (d. 1332), and Holkot (d. 1349), remained faithful to the Thomist traditions of the thirteenth century. Among their later writers may be mentioned St. Antoninus of Florence, John Capreolus, the powerful apologist of Thomism, *Clypeus Thomistarum*, Torquemada, Cardinal Cajetan, the first commentator on the *Summa*, and Francis of Ferrara, the commentator on the *Summa contra Gentes*. The Franciscans were split up into several schools, some adhering to Nominalism, others to Scotism. Lychetus, the renowned commentator on Scotus, belongs to this period. Next to St. Antoninus, Dionysius Ryckel, the Carthusian and Alphonsus Tostatus, Bishop of Avila, were the most comprehensive and positive theologians. Thomas Bradwardine, Archbishop of Canterbury (*Doctor Profundus* 1290-1349) was the most famous mathematician of his day. His principal work, *De Causa Dei contra Pelagianos*, arranged mathematically, shows signs of great skilfulness of form, great depth and erudition, but gives a painful impression by reason of its rigid doctrines. Some look upon him as one of the forerunners of Wyclif, an accusation which might with more justice be made against Fitzralph (d. 1360).¹

Thomas Netter (d. 1431) provincial of the Carmelites and secretary to Henry V., composed two works against Wyclif, *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ adversus Wicliffitas et Hussitas* and *Fasciculus Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico*. Nicholas Cusa surpasses even Bradwardine in the application of mathematics to theology.

During this period of Decay the ordinary treatment of theology consisted of commentaries on the *Sentences* and monographs on particular questions (*Quodlibeta*). The latter were, as a rule, controversial, treating the subjects from a Nominalist or Scotist point of view, while some few were valuable expositions and defences of the earlier

¹The orthodoxy of both is defended by Fr. Stevenson: *The Truth about John Wyclif*, p. 41, sqq.

teaching. The partial degeneracy of Scholasticism on the one hand, and of Mysticism on the other, led to a divorce between the two, so that mystical writers broke off from Scholasticism, to their gain, no doubt, as far as Scholasticism had degenerated, but to their loss so far as it had remained sound. As Nominalism by its superficiality and arbitrariness had stripped the doctrines of grace and morals of their inward and living character, and had made grace merely an external ornament of the soul: so did false mysticism by its sentimentality destroy the supernatural character of grace and the organic connexion and development of sound doctrine concerning morals; and as both Nominalism and pseudo-mysticism endangered the right notion of the constitution of the Church, they may with reason be looked upon as the forerunners of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. It does not fall within our province to speak of the anti-scholastic tendencies of the Renaissance which were found partly among the Platonists as opponents of Aristotle, and partly among the Humanists as opposed to what was considered "Scholastic barbarism." There was, as we have seen, some reason for a reaction against the degenerate philosophy and theology of the day. But instead of returning to the genuine teaching of the earlier period, the cultivators of the New Learning contented themselves with a vague Platonic mysticism or a sort of Nominalism disguised under a new and classical phraseology.

T. B. SCANNELL

THE PSALMODY OF THE CHORAL OFFICE.

III.

IN the September and October numbers of the RECORD¹ I explained Father Haberl's method of Psalmody in its application to the 8th, 5th, 2nd, and 4th Tones. It now remains to complete the treatment of the subject by explaining the application of this method to the 6th, 7th, 3rd, and 1st Tones, and to the "irregular" Tone, or *Tonus peregrinus*.

Before passing, however, from the 4th Tone I may add that it, like the 8th Tone,² has more than one form of the *Finalis* or closing inflection. The form already dealt with is known as the first:³ besides this, in the case of the 4th Tone, there are two others.

The second form of the *Finalis* of this Tone may be seen from the following :—



The place, then, of the 5th note in this inflection is occupied by a pair of combined notes, *sol*, *la*. As regards the distribution of the syllables, these notes, like the pair of combined notes occupying the second place in the *Initium* of this Tone,⁴ are to be treated practically as one note, that is to say, they are in all cases to be sung to one syllable.

Several similar cases will be met with in the inflections, both *Mediatio* and *Finalis*, of the Tones that remain to be dealt with. In all such cases, it will be found of advantage, in the consideration and application of the rules for the distribution of the syllables, to reckon each combined pair or group of notes simply as one note. This cannot lead to any confusion as, in reference to the distribution of syllables, each note is invariably dealt with as one, there being no case

¹ See the September number of the RECORD, pages 769-785; and the October number, pages 876-890.

² See the October number of the RECORD, pages 879, 880.

³ *Ibid.*, pages 885, and 888-890.

⁴ *Ibid.*, page 885.

in which the notes of such a pair or group are divided between different syllables. And, as will be seen, by considering the pair or group in each case as *holding the place of one note*, we shall be able without substantial modification to apply in the inflections in which they occur, the same principles which regulate the distribution of the syllables in the other cases already dealt with.

This may be illustrated in the case of the second form of the *Finalis* of the 4th Tone, as follows:—

Reckoning as one note the combined pair of notes (*sol, la*) which closes the inflection, we are to regard this, like the first Ending of the same Tone,¹ as consisting of five notes.

In the distribution of the syllables, then, the same general principles are to be applied, so that the Rule and the Exception will stand as follows:

RULE.—To the five notes of the *Finalis* (the combined pair being counted as the fifth note) are to be sung the five last syllables of the verse.

EXCEPTION.—When the last word of the verse is a word of three or more syllables, with the *last syllable but one* unaccented, the *last syllable but two* is to be sung to the *last note but one*, and the unaccented *last syllable but one*² is treated as a “secondary” syllable (and is consequently, in this case, to be sung to the same note as the preceding syllable).³

The exception does not apply in the case of Hebrew words such as *Melchisedech, Jerusalem, &c.*

¹ See the October number of the RECORD, page 888.

² It may be useful here to direct attention to a slight misprint on page 888 of the last number of the RECORD. In reference to the case here in question, the unaccented “last syllable but one,” after being correctly described in these terms, is spoken of almost immediately afterwards, as “the unaccented last syllable but two.”

³ Fr. Haberl’s rule for determining whether a “secondary” syllable is to be sung to the note of the preceding, or to that of the following syllable, may usefully be transcribed here:—

“When the interval separating the two notes is *not greater than a tone* the ‘secondary’ syllable is to be sung to the *first* of the two notes:

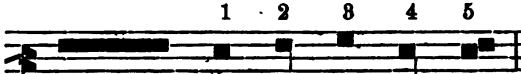
“When the interval separating the two notes is *greater than a tone* the ‘secondary’ syllable is to be sung to the *second* of the two.”

See the September number of the RECORD, page 777, and the October number, page 877.

In such cases, then, there are three syllables to be sung to the three last notes of the inflection. But, as has been explained, the three syllables are not to be divided over the three notes, a syllable for each note: the last syllable is to be sung with the combined pair of notes at the close, and the two preceding syllables—that is to say, the unaccented “secondary” syllable, and the accented syllable preceding it—are both to be sung to the note which precedes the combined pair.

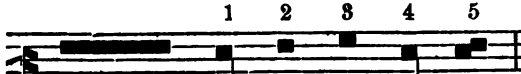
The following are illustrations of the various cases that may occur. The examples here given are the same as those employed in illustrating the distribution of the syllables in the first form of the *Finalis*.¹

I.
THE RULE
EXEMPLIFIED



Sede a dex - tria me - is.
propterea ex - al - ta - bit ea - put.
omnes vo - lun - ta - tes e - jus.

II.
THE RULE
FURTHER
EXEMPLIFIED



scabellum pe - dum tu - o - rum.
annuntiabit po - pu - lo su - o.
super coelos glo - ri - a e - jus.


And again,

I.
THE EXCEPTION
EXEMPLIFIED



pau - peres ejus sa - tu - ra - bo pa - ni - bus.
et vin - di - ctam pau - pe - rum.
et ex - al - ta - vit hu - mi - les.

II
THE EXCEPTION
FURTHER
EXEMPLIFIED



manet in sac - cu - lum sac - cu - li.
de stercore e - ri - gens pau - pe - rem.
opera ma - nu - um ho - mi - num.

It may be useful also to illustrate in detail the method of applying the syllables to the notes of this inflection in the

¹ See the October number of the *Record*, page 889.

two special classes of cases mentioned at the close of my last paper.¹

These are (I) the cases, whether (a) under the Rule or (b) under the Exception, in which the syllable to be sung to the first note of the inflection is an unaccented syllable of a word, the accented syllable of which is to be sung to the reciting note; and (II) the cases in which a verse ends in a monosyllable or in a Hebrew word, such as *Melchisedech*, &c.

They may be illustrated as follows:—

| | | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I. | | | | | |
| (A) | | | | | |
| | in mandatis e - jus vo - let ni - mis. sedes su - per do - mum Da - vid. quasi - vi bo - na ti - bi. | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I. | | | | | |
| (B) | | | | | |
| | laudabi - le no - men Do - mi - ni. colles sic - ut a - gni o - vi - um. ani - ma me - a Do - mi - num. | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| II. | | | | | |
| | ante lucife - rum ge - nu - i te. escam dedit ti - men - ti - bus se. et prote - ctor e - o - rum est. secundum ordi - nem Mel - chi - se - dech. in medio tu - i Je - ru - sa - lem. | | | | |

The third ending of the 4th Tone is characterised by extreme simplicity. It consists of one descending interval, the reciting note being *la* and the note *sol* being sung with the last syllable of the verse.

The following are examples:—

| | |
|--|-------|
| | |
| In mandatis ejus volet ni - | mis. |
| misericors et miserator et ju - | stus. |
| in aeternum non commovebi - | tur. |
| cornu ejus exaltabitur in glori - | a. |

¹ See the October number of the RECORD, pages 889, 890.

THE SIXTH TONE.

The inflections of the 6th Tone may be seen from the following:—

| <i>Initium.</i> | | <i>Mediatio.</i> | | | <i>Finalis.</i> | | | |
|--|---|------------------|---|---|-----------------|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Di - xit Dñs Dómi . no me - o : * Sede a dex - tris me - is. | | | | | | | | |

I. In the *Initium* of this Tone, as in that of the 4th, the place of the second note is occupied by a combined pair of notes. The observations made on this point in the case of the 4th Tone,¹ are in every respect applicable also here.

The following illustrations may be useful:—

| 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
|------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---|
| | | | |
| Di - xit | Dominus, &c. | Be - a - tus vir, &c. | |
| Coe - li | enarrant, &c. | Lau - da - te Dñm, &c. | |
| Cre - di - | di, propter quod, &c. | Lae - ta - tus sum, &c. | |

The modification of the *Initium* of this Tone in the usual exceptional case of the 1st Verse of the *Magnificat* is very peculiar. The 1st section of the Verse, combining the *Initium* and the *Mediatio*, is as follows:—

| | | | |
|----------------------|--|--|--|
| | | | |
| Ma - gni - fi - cat. | | | |

II. The *Mediatio*. In the 6th Tone, this inflection consists of three notes: *sol*, *la*, *fa*.

The special form of *Mediatio* known as the *intonatio in pausa correpta*, occurs only in the 2nd, 4th, 5th, and 8th Tones. It need not, therefore, be further referred to, here or in the Tones that yet remain to be dealt with.

In the distribution of the syllables, Fr. Haberl follows the same general principles here as in the Tones already explained. The Rule and the Exception, then, set forth in detail for the *Finalis* of the 2nd Tone²—an inflection consist-

¹ See the October number of the RECORD, pages 885, 886.

² *Ibid.*, pages 884, 885.

ing, as this does, of three syllables—are applicable also here.¹

They may be stated, then, as follows:—

RULE.—To the three notes of the *Mediatio* are to be sung the three last syllables of the first section of the verse.

EXCEPTION.—When the last word of the first section of the verse is a word of three or more syllables, with the *last syllable but one* unaccented, the *last syllable but two* is sung to the *last note but one* of the inflection, and the unaccented *last syllable but one* is treated as a “secondary” syllable (and is consequently, in this case, to be sung to the same note as the following syllable).²

The Exception does not apply in the case of Hebrew words such as *Melchisedech, Jerusalem, &c.*

**THE RULE
EXEMPLIFIED**

| | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|-------------------------|-----|-------|--------|
| Propter quod lo - | cu | - tus | sum. |
| quae ad pacem sunt Je - | ru | - sa | - lem. |
| donec ponam inimi - | cos | tu | - os. |
| coram omni popu - | lo | o | - jus. |

**THE EXCEPTION
EXEMPLIFIED**

| | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|-------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Suscitans a ter - | ra | in | - o - pem. |
| in saecu - | lum | sae | - cu - li. |
| magna Ope - | ra | Do | - mi - ni. |

III. The *Finalis*. Here, as in the 2nd Ending of the 4th Tone,³ a combined pair of notes occurs in the inflection. These combined notes being reckoned, in the sense already explained,⁴ as one, the inflection may be regarded as consisting of four notes.

The distribution of syllables is regulated by the following Rule and Exceptions:—

RULE.—To the four notes of the *Finalis* (the combined

¹ The only modification required being in reference to the “secondary” syllable, the note for which, in all cases, is determined in the manner already explained. See page 1072, footnote.

² See page 1072, footnote.

³ See page 1071.

⁴ See page 1072, footnote.

pair of notes which occupy the second place in the inflection being counted as one) are to be sung the four last syllables of the verse.

EXCEPTION I.—When the last word of the verse is a word of three or more syllables with the last syllable but one unaccented, the last syllable but two is sung to the last note but one of the inflection, and the unaccented last syllable but one is treated as a “secondary” syllable (to be sung, therefore, in this case, to the same note as the preceding syllable.)¹

The Exception does not apply in the case of Hebrew words such as *Melchisedech*, *Jerusalem*, &c.

In this inflection a further exception is to be made, in reference to the very rare instances in which a verse ends in a monosyllable preceded by a word of three or more syllables, the last syllable but one of which is unaccented.

Instances of such terminations are *sátiat te*, *génui te*, *timéntibus se*, *diligéntibus te*.

Under the operation of the Rule, the unaccented last syllable but one of the word preceding the monosyllable, being the last syllable but two of the verse, would be sung to the last note but two of the inflection. In other words it would be sung to the combined pair of notes. But the syllable in question is manifestly to be regarded as a “secondary” one, and therefore should not be placed in a position of special prominence. To avoid this inconvenience, then, the the case is to be dealt with as follows :—

EXCEPTION II.—In the case just described, the accented syllable of the word preceding the final monosyllable is to be sung to the combined pair of notes, the unaccented last syllable but one of the word being treated as a “secondary” syllable (to be sung, therefore, in this case, to the same note as the preceding syllable.)²

It is to be understood as an invariable rule that when a syllable followed by a “secondary” syllable is sung to a combined pair of notes, the “secondary” syllable, if, according to the Rule, it is to be sung to the same “note” as

¹ See page 1072, footnote.

² *Ibid.*

the syllable that precedes it, is to be sung to the *second* note of the pair.¹

**THE RULE
EXEMPLIFIED**

1 2 3 4

Sede a dex - tris me - is
in coelo et in ter - ra
loquébar pa - cem de te
ad Dóminum de - pre - ca - tus sum
secúndum órđinem Mel - chi - se - dech.

**EXCEPTION I.
EXEMPLIFIED**

1 2 3 4

laudáte no - men Do - mi - ni
et exal - ta - vit hu - mi - les.

**EXCEPTION II.
EXEMPLIFIED**

1 2 3 4

escam dedit ti - men - ti - bus se.
et abundántia di - li - gen - ti - bus te.

As in the other Tones, special attention should be given to cases (whether under the Rule or under either of the Exceptions) in which the syllable to be sung to the first note of the inflection is an unaccented syllable of a word, the accented syllable of which is to be sung to the reciting note.

Thus, for instance, we have, under the Rule:—

1 2 3 4

Scabéllum pe - dum tu - o - rum.
abundántia in tur - ri - bus tu - is.

and²

1 2 3 4

ne vi - de - at in fi - nem.
Dóminus fá - ce - re cum o - ia.

¹ This is illustrated in the words *timentibus* and *diligentibus* in the examples of the 2nd exception.

² In these and all similar cases the accented syllable is the last syllable to be sung to the reciting note: the unaccented "secondary" syllable which follows it is to be sung to the same note as the following syllable, that is to say, it is to be sung to the first note of the inflection. See page 1072, footnote.

Under the 1st Exception :—

1 2 3 4

Manet in **sae** - cu - lum **sae** - cu - li.
ad confitendum **no** - mi - ni **Do** - mi - ni,

and¹ 1 2 3 4

exalta - bi - tur in glo - ri - a.
Is - ra - el in **Do** - mi - no.

Finally, under the 2nd Exception :—

1 2 3 4

et adipe frumen - ti sa - ti - at te.
a viro ini - quo e - ri - pe me.

and² 1 2 3 4

ante luci - fe - rum ge - nu - i te.
quo - ni - am vo - lu - it me.

THE SEVENTH TONE.

The Inflections of this Tone may be seen from the following :—

Initium. 1 2 *Mediatio.* 1 2 3 4

Con - fi - tébor tibi, Dñe, in toto cor - de me - o :*

Finalis. 1 2 3 4

in consilio justorum et congre - ga - ti - ó - ne.

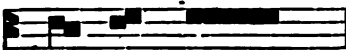
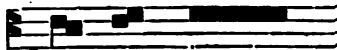
I. The *Initium*. The *Initium* of the 7th Tone consists of two pairs of combined notes, in reference to which it is

¹ See page 1078, footnote (2).

² See page 1078, footnote (3).

sufficient to observe that the explanation given in the case of the *Initium* of the 4th Tone¹ is applicable also here.

The following examples may be added by way of illustration:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 2 | 1 2 |
|  |  |
| Di - xit Dominus &c. | Be - a - tus vir &c. |
| Coe - li enarrant, &c. | Lau - da - te, pueri, &c. |
| Cre - di - di, propter quod &c. | Lae - ta - tus sum in his, &c. |

The *Initium* for the first verse of the *Magnificat* is, as usual, exceptional:—



Ma - gni - fi - cat. *

II. The *Mediatio*. This inflection also comprises two combined pairs of notes, occupying, respectively, the first and fourth places. In the sense, then, already explained,² it may conveniently be regarded as consisting of four “notes.”

The distribution of the syllables is regulated by the following Rule and Exceptions:—

RULE.—To the four notes of the *Mediatio* (each combined pair of notes being counted as one note) are to be sung the four last syllables of the first section of the verse.

EXCEPTION I.—When the last word of the first section of the verse is a word of three or more syllables, with the *last syllable but one* unaccented, the *last syllable but two* is sung to the *last note but one* of the inflection (that is to say, to the note standing in the third place), and the unaccented *last syllable but one* is treated as a “secondary” syllable (and is consequently, in this case, to be sung to the same note as the preceding syllable).⁴

As in the *Finalis* of the 5th Tone,⁵ there is here also a second Exception, the object of which is to remove

¹ See the October number of the RECORD, pages 885, 886.

² Special attention is directed to the remark made in the last number of the RECORD, page 886, in reference to the method in which a combined pair of notes is printed when the interval is a descending one.

³ See pages 1071, 1072.

⁴ See page 1072, footnote.

⁵ See the October number of the RECORD, pages 881, 882.

the necessity of singing the first note of the inflection (that is to say, the combined pair of notes with which the inflection begins) with the *unaccented last syllable but one* of a word.

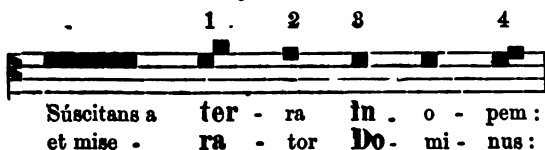
As in the case referred to, the 2nd Exception is simply an extension of the principle embodied in the 1st. It may be stated as follows:—

EXCEPTION II.—When the *second note* of this inflection (that is to say, the note following the combined pair of notes with which the inflection begins) is sung with the *last syllable* of a word of three or more syllables, having its *last syllable but one unaccented*, the preceding, or *last syllable but two*, is sung to the *first note* of the inflection (that is to say, to the combined pair of notes with which the inflection begins), and the *unaccented last syllable but one* of the word is treated as a “secondary” syllable (to be sung, therefore, in this case, to the same note as the preceding syllable.)¹

**THE RULE
EXEMPLIFIED**



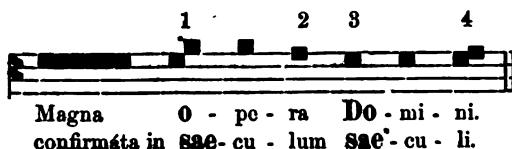
**EXCEPTION I.
EXEMPLIFIED**



**EXCEPTION II.
EXEMPLIFIED**



**BOTH EXCEPTIONS
EXEMPLIFIED**



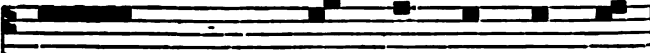
¹ See page 1072, footnote ; and page 1077.

In reference to several inflections of the Tones already dealt with, it has been observed that special attention should be given to those cases in which the syllable to be sung to the first note of the inflection is an unaccented syllable of a word, the accented syllable of which has been sung to the reciting note.¹ In the *Mediatio* of the 7th Tone this point requires very special attention, as not only does this inflection begin with an ascending interval, but it begins, not with a single note, but with a combined pair, so that there is on several grounds a natural tendency in singing to accent it.

Thus, for instance, we have the following occurring under the Rule :—

| | | | | |
|---|----------------|-----------|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|  | | | | |
| Qui habitare facit steri - lem | in | do - mo : | | |
| confortavit seras porta - rum | tu - a - rum : | | | |

And, under the Exception :—

| | | | | |
|---|----------------------|----------------|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|  | | | | |
| Dŏmus Israēl spera - vit | in | Do - mi - no : | | |
| sacerdōtes ejus induan - tur | ju - sti - ti - am : | | | |

Also, when the first note of the inflection is sung with an unaccented monsyllable, care should be taken to avoid placing an accent upon it.

The following are illustrations of this case :—

| | | | | |
|---|----|------------------|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|  | | | | |
| Dēntibus suis fremet | et | ta - be - scet : | | |
| quod fecisti | in | oc - cul - to : | | |

III. The *Finalis*. Of this inflection there are five forms. The five, however, being precisely identical in structure as regards the points on which the distribution of the

¹ See the October number of the RECORD, pages 879 ; 880 ; 882, 883 ; 885 ; 887, 888 ; 889, 890 ; and the present number, page 1074, and pages 1078, 1079.

syllables depends, it will be sufficient here to consider the first. The second, third, fourth, and fifth forms differ from the first only in their closing notes. In all cases but the fifth, the *Finalis* of this Tone ends with a combined pair of notes: these, in the first form of the *Finalis*, are, *si, do*; in the second, *do, re*; in the third, *si, la*; and in the fourth *re, do*. The fifth form of the *Finalis* ends with the single note *si*.

The distribution of the syllables in the *Finalis* of the 7th Tone is regulated by the same general principles as in the Tones already dealt with.

RULE.—To the four notes of the *Finalis* are to be sung the four last syllables of the verse.

EXCEPTION I.—Same as the 1st Exception for the *Mediatio* of this Tone.¹

EXCEPTION II.—Same as the 2nd Exception for the *Mediatio* of this Tone.²

The following examples illustrate the various cases comprised in the Rule and Exceptions:—

THE RULE
EXEMPLIFIED

Sede a **dex - tris me - is.**
propterea exal - **ta - bit ca - put.**

EXCEPTION I.
EXEMPLIFIED

Laudate **no - men Do - mi - ni.**
satu - **ra - bo pa - ni - bus.**

EXCEPTION II.
EXEMPLIFIED

Super coelos **glo - ri - a e - jus.**
cum principibus **po - pu - li su - i.**

BOTH EXCEPTIONS
EXEMPLIFIED

Manet in **sae - cu - lum sae - cu - li.**
de stercore **e - ri - gens pau - pe - rem.**

¹ See page 1080.

² See page 1080.

The cases in which, for various reasons, special care should be taken to guard against a misplacement of accents may be illustrated as follows:—

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|------------------|-------|-------|------|-------|
| Scabellum pe - | dum | tu . | o - | rum. |
| et non pōte - | ro | ad | ē - | am. |
| ante luciferum | ge - | nu - | i | te. |
| escam dedit ti - | men - | ti - | bus | se. |
| secūndum ordinem | Mel - | chi - | se - | dech. |
| et protector | e - | o - | rum | est. |

From the unexpected length to which the explanation of the Sixth and Seventh Tones has extended, I think it better to reserve for another number of the RECORD the explanation of the remaining Tones. These are the Third and First Tones, and the "irregular" Tone or *Tonus peregrinus*.

✠ W. J. W.

THE POETRY OF LORD BYRON.

A HUNDRED years have passed since the birth of this distinguished Englishman. The value of his work has been variously estimated. When his poetry first reached the hands of the public, it was devoured eagerly by all classes of society. A vogue sprang up about it, and the young poet became the idol of London society. For many years this remarkable success attended him, and long after his death readers found a charm in his writings. But the inevitable reaction set in, and many said that he had simply imposed on the public, and that his works were fit only for inexperienced youth. The result was that Byron fell out of popular favour. Since then he has had but a chequered reputation. The occasion of his centenary seems to be an appropriate time to examine how he stands at present.

Human fame has at all times been of an uncertain nature. Of this Lord Byron is a notable example. His poems were

the literary events of the time. They were in everybody's hands, and upon everybody's lips. Justly, then, perhaps, did he claim the title of "The Grand Napoleon of the realms of rhyme." But like his great military prototype, he suddenly collapsed. And great indeed was his fall. Heartless parasites, who had been the first to praise and worship him, were now the most eager to vituperate and censure. With how much truth and how much despair did he himself foresee this:—

"Childe Harold bask'd him in the noontide sun,
Disporting there like any other fly;
Nor deem'd before his little day was done
One blast might chill him into misery."

The blast came, and the chill of misery touched his soul. His enemies were unsparing. Every means to increase his misery was employed. The poet was much distressed by this. A man of mean spirit would, in such circumstances, have been disheartened and reduced to silence; but the high-minded poet was proof against it all, and his proud soul only kindled into fiercer anger the more his enemies attempted to heap reproach upon him.

In a beautiful passage, where he tells that a "far hour shall pile on human heads the mountain of his curse," which curse was "simple forgiveness for the wrongs that were done him," he foreshadows the change of feeling that would take place in his favour, and contemplates, with some degree of satisfaction, the remorse which would sting the hearts of his enemies:—

"Something unearthly which they deem not of,
Like the remember'd tone of a mute lyre,
Shall on their soften'd spirits sink, and move
In hearts all rocky now the late remorse of love."

This prophecy has been already verified. Society has at last settled down to some toleration of what it used to condemn and repudiate. Such has ever been the wayward conduct of the world. To-day the world admires and applauds, to-morrow it condemns and censures. We do not mean to exonerate Lord Byron from censure for his conduct. In a Christian country such conduct must ever be an anomaly and a disgrace. But in his times, and in our times, there were

then, and there are now, many men in high position equally bad, whose crimes have not become public. Byron, indeed, seems to be invested with a clothing of evil worse than that of others; still the apparent difference of guilt was, most of it, his own making. He foolishly took the world into his confidence, seeking it might have been for sympathy in his trials. But that sympathy was denied him. We believe that in this matter he has been unfairly treated. Everything about him was exaggerated. His guilt was magnified to a degree to which it never reached. When the world is thus arrayed against an individual, it is hard for the name and character of the individual to escape unscathed by the world's malice: and for one of Lord Byron's temperament it was especially hard. Men of this type will resent and resist. Of this contest, however, Lord Byron had much the worse. He met with indignities and insults, and was made to feel that he was an outcast of society. But signs are not wanting now, that some sympathy with him is springing up at last. People are beginning to see that his unsparing persecution was unfair, and that, bad as he was, there are worse to be found. The strong feeling of aversion is passing away; his works are once more in requisition; and that same beauty and strength, that same force and freshness, which delighted the cultured circles of his day, are felt to be an attraction still.

Byron's work was greatly influenced by the spirit of the age in which he lived. The year 1788, the date of his birth, witnessed the opening of a dreadful period of history. The spirit of rebellion was then strong in Europe, and was leading up to a revolt against the established systems and ruling ideas of society. It was clear that the world was about to undergo a great change. In his youth Lord Byron did not escape the contagion, and was just as fiery a soul as the warmest spirit of the revolution. The burning impression, which he then acquired continued with his growth, and to the end of his life he retained an ungovernable temper and a reckless mind. These feelings tinged his writings, and imparted to them such a character that he got the name of a revolutionary poet. He had no idea of adhering to the old

lines of established schools of poetry. He had much admiration for Pope, but Pope's style he would not adopt. He may have admired the old measures and the old manners, to which time and taste had given their sanction, but he quite discarded them in practice. Child of revolution, as he was, he revolted against existing forms, proposed to himself to revolutionise the systems which had been long established, and to put himself forward as the leader of a new school. And as the leader and master in a new school we must certainly regard him. His disciples, however, were wanting in vigour of thought and force of language: Then, again, they had not the art of importing personal feeling into their verse, an art which Lord Byron possessed in a high degree, and which had so much to do with the original character of his work, and with the unique excellence which it undoubtedly claimed. This vivid personality is one of his most striking features. It is curious to note how much of his thought and labour he devotes to his own self, and what pains he takes to weave into his verse the history of his life. *Childe Harold* is a record of his travels; *Cain* is an expression of his theological views upon original sin and final reprobation. All his heroes are perfect images of himself, and all their names are but various names for Byron. His mind is perfectly reflected on his page; his thoughts and passions and griefs and hatreds are there; whether it be *Manfred* or *Lara*, *The Corsair* or *The Giaour*, each is simply made to speak Byron's own sorrows or his joys. And hence the wonderful identity that exists between them all. They are all gifted with the same gifts, cursed by the same curses, full of the same pride, and passion, and scorn, carried away by the same impulse, urged by the same strong ambition, and exalted by the same high temperament as was Byron himself, their prototype and creator. What a contrast he presents in this respect to some other writers! Shakspeare, for instance, never intrudes himself among his *dramatis personae*. In all his dramas there cannot be discovered one personal feeling or one single trait of his character. Read these dramas through, and from first to last you cannot get one glimpse at his soul. With Byron the case was different. Read Byron through, and you have his soul, with all its virtues and all its faults.

Byron was one of those who would have no cant. He, for one, would not settle down into the groove in which he found the world of his day confined and enslaved. He was a man of great original power, of great leaning for what was new and striking, of mighty impulse in its execution, of mighty energy in his work when the spirit of the Muse was upon him, and of mighty impatience for anything that was not according to the fancy of his own mind and the model of his own hands. It is easy to conceive, then, how he could not conform to time-honoured usages, nor tread the beaten track which many illustrious men had trodden before him. He was a man of independent mind, and he thought and spoke like men of independent minds. His character, fickle and light, and wavering as it seemed to many, was, nevertheless, for the most part, marked by that great sincerity and great strength which are to be found only when one speaks what one truly feels. He would have nothing to do with hypocrites, or the ways of hypocrites. Honest truth was his aim.

From a man of such a character people might expect work of a very special kind; and work of a very special kind Lord Byron indeed produced. For a quarter of a century before the year of his birth poetry had gradually been sinking. It had lost the vigour and passion, the force, and energy, and fire, which had characterised the masterpieces of the old authors. With the exception of Gray, and Goldsmith, and Collins, and perhaps one or two others, there were in this period no writers of much importance. It was all verse-making and rhyme-making; no faculty divine; no fancy; no fire—quite a famine of thought and of genius. Men were growing tired of this “creamy smoothness.” It may have appeared, indeed, to be justified by the monotonous style of Pope; but the monotony of Pope was relieved by his brilliant wit and sharp satire, whereas the writers of this dull period had neither wit nor satire. It was clear that a turning point in the history of English poetry was at hand. Persons of literary taste had begun to sigh for a new style, a style which should have less of this languor and smoothness, and much more of the old force and fire. The

recent style had been an undoubted failure. The minds of literary men had been turning to something new, when a champion of the cause arose. Cowper applied himself to the work with all his zeal and sincerity, and was well fitted for the task. He had all the qualities of a reformer,—a firm conviction that reform was needed, deep earnestness in the cause, strong will, indomitable patience, and commanding ability. According to Cowper's outline, the new style was to be austere, harsh, and rugged; it was to be devoid of meretricious ornament; there was to be no trace of that languor and smoothness which had characterised English poetry for thirty years; attention was to be given, not to mere verse-making and word-phrasing, but to sense and substance. Cowper, indeed, left this project unfinished; but the task was resumed and completed by a more remarkable man. It must, however, be admitted that in this work of revolution Byron had some able colleagues. Wordsworth, and Scott, and Coleridge contributed their share. These were able colleagues, no doubt, but they did not go the full length of a revolution. They produced verses of a very different kind from the weak and nerveless verses of their immediate predecessors, and restored solid matter where "airy nothing" had before prevailed. But it remained for Byron to breathe the spirit of reform. He was the great power of the movement, and left traces upon it deep and indelible. He it was that founded the new school, and his name it is that shall be handed down in literary history as the restorer of English poetry to its pristine energy and its pristine truth. It is, however, a curious fact that the part he took in this was an unwilling part. His taste was for the description of poetry of which everybody was growing tired. The masters of this style he praised and revered, and the masters of the old style he censured and despised. It is said that he preferred Pope's *Iliad* to the original work of the great Greek himself. It is said also that he held Shakespeare in no high esteem, and that he expressed contempt for Spenser's allegories. And still, notwithstanding his preference of the recent style to the old, he did not care to make the former his own. This certainly was an incon-

sistency between opinion and practice; but in this very inconsistency may be discovered the motive of his actions. Here was the spirit of revolution working in earnest. The point at which he aimed was the destruction of the effete and languid style, which had been in existence for a generation, and the introduction of another style in which, not harmonious sound nor fastidious phrase, but "solid power of understanding" would be the essential element; a style in which his mind would have full scope for its strength and fire, and in which all his powers would have boundless freedom. There was an appetite for something new, and Byron felt this. It was his ambition to acquire such a personality as England had never before witnessed in the history of her men of letters. His aim was to gain a unique character which would leave its impression upon the age, and perhaps mark an epoch in literature. For this object he strove with remarkable determination. He succeeded in disestablishing a school of poetry which had been in existence for many years, and in establishing a school which shall last as long as the English language. Byron, on this account, may be charged with sordid motives, and censured for his ambition, and for the desire of obtaining distinction by supplying the requisite article to popular taste; but, after all, a man without ambition is capable of little. Human flesh is weak, and requires a stimulus. Let a man but render service to his country, to science, or to literature, and his vanity, ambition, and other personal weaknesses may be excused.

That Lord Byron did grow into a leader, in a great intellectual movement, is certainly an astonishing fact. The training he had had in youth was not of a kind to qualify him for such a position. Whatever course a man's mind has been pursuing from his early years, that course will it follow to the end. There are few minds that can resist the influence of early prejudices and early customs, and there are few men that can make up, by subsequent industry, for a deficient education. The chasm remains unfilled for life. Lord Byron laboured under these disadvantages. His education had been fitful and incomplete. Up to the time that he was of age

to be sent to a public school, he had had little knowledge of anything except the Scriptures—his knowledge of the Old Testament, and in particular of the Psalms, appears to have been very extensive; and, even when he did enter a public school, he never applied himself with sufficient diligence to acquire full and accurate scholarship. He had no desire to enter into contests for literary honours; but, notwithstanding, before he left Harrow he had come through a wonderful course of discursive reading, and acquired a vast amount of varied information. It appears from a note in his diary that before his fifteenth year he had perused the chief works—some of them many times over—upon almost all the human sciences. He had read works on theology, philosophy, oratory, and poetry, not only those of our modern, but even those of the ancient writers; he had waded through as much history and biography as most other men would not have done in a lifetime; then, as for miscellaneous reading, it was limitless. His brilliant talents and retentive memory enabled him to turn to advantage this fragmentary knowledge. When he left Harrow and entered Cambridge, the old habit of fitful study still clung to him, and, during the time he spent at the university, his attendance was most irregular. And yet, after these shameful years, he took his degree. He had but a meagre knowledge of Latin, as bad a knowledge of French, and no knowledge whatever of Mathematics. The only language, besides English, which he was able to speak with ease was Italian; but in history—the history of every people and of every land—he was widely read. Such was the sum of Lord Byron's education. The sum was comparatively small; but the wonder is that it was not smaller, for, though Lord Byron could at times apply himself with great determination and great energy, still, in some of his early Satires he had nothing for his studies but contempt.

Nor was the formation of his moral character anything better than the formation of his mind. From the first he was, in the words of one of his tutors, "a wild mountain-colt," and could not be induced to submit to the discipline of the school, or to the advice of his tutor. He was a youth of violent temper, an invincible ring-leader, involved in every

dispute, and mixed up in every trouble. His masters could do nothing with him; his guardians lost sight of him; and, under the parent roof, his passions were provoked rather than checked. And thus his education formed no firm and steady qualities, provided nothing solid for the mind, but left his genius to work its way alone through every difficulty. It would scarcely seem that such a man had been destined to be the leader of a great intellectual movement.

Lord Byron's literary character was many sided. The satiric was one of his most marked features. In his earlier compositions, especially in his *Hours of Idleness*, he did not, indeed, exhibit precocious talent. But whilst these juvenile poems did not quite establish themselves in literature, they, at least, held out the hope of a distinguished career, and some of them were in themselves worthy of notice. But they met with a damning criticism, a criticism which they did not altogether deserve, and they never afterwards rose to popular favour. Byron took this failure ill, and, though he was silent, the remembrance of the severe attack made by the *Review* was fresh in his mind, and for two years he lived on the prospect of vengeance. At length the day of retribution arrived; his sleeping genius awoke, and he replied to his critics in a satire which shall live with the English language. For the first time his powers were put to a real test, and with unquestioned force he at once took rank as a distinguished satirist. His was not the satire of a merely genial critic. The gentle spirit that pervaded every line of the *Retaliation* was unknown to him. His object was to crush. He wanted a victim to demolish, not a friend to provoke. Nor were the keen touches of Pope in his line. Hard words, bitter blows, pitiless invective, unsparing ridicule—such were his weapons, and these he wielded without commiseration or pity. Witness his attacks on Moore and Jeffrey; witness, too, his *Vision* of the judgment of George III., and so much more of a piece which is scattered profusely over his writings. Indeed, the grand feature of his work seems to be the satiric. His greatest effort, the wild and reckless record of his most wayward hero, is a running commentary, one

prolonged satire, upon the manners and morals of society. And so, too, in almost every piece, passages will be found of a bitterly sarcastic nature, in which are expressed his ideas of men and things as they came to him upon the current of his thoughts. Let us mention some of his worst specimens. That passage in which he "flatters" men by pronouncing them to be "dogs," and that "Inscription" on the monument of a favourite "Newfoundland," are dreadful examples of what the poet's pen could do. It has been remarked that Byron was more of a misanthropist than a satirist. This we find it hard to believe. We admit that his language and tone of expression give colour and support to this opinion, but we deny that such a malignant element was compatible with that noble-heartedness, that kind, warm, generous nature of his, of which we have so many proofs. The large sums of money which he gave to distressed friends, the intimate terms upon which he lived with many amiable men, and the strong feelings with which in after life he met the companions of his early days, his heart panting with emotion and his eyes dimmed with tears, disprove the charge. The superficial reader will likely regard Byron as a misanthropist, but the reader who is in possession of his personal history will far more likely reject this idea. Hear himself on the matter—

"Still he beheld, nor mingled with the throng,
But viewed them not with misanthropic hate."

It seems to us that Byron's mental character has been in some respects strangely mis-judged. By some he is said to have been incapable of doing things otherwise than in fragments, these fragments themselves being nothing more than mere ebullitions of fancy, without any previous forethought or any adequate course of development. To that view our reading of Byron is somewhat in contradiction. We think that few poets have displayed a greater power of realisation, and we claim that this vivid faculty argues vigorous mental exercise, deep meditation, and the power of keeping the mind in fixed and steady gaze upon its object. We do not say that Byron could have previously thought out his subject

in its various details, and adopted some plan of execution. What we do say is, that when he took his subject in hand, and had fairly settled down to his work, his execution exhibits as much evidence of a meditative mind as that of those who have for days and weeks been thinking over their subject and furbishing their style. Many men, whose lives are irregular, whose thoughts upon ordinary subjects are scattered, and whose words carry no weight, may, when they betake themselves to writing, shake themselves free from these adverse entanglements, and, coming forth like the pure flame emerging from the smoke, write with truth and vigour, and with the calm force that arises from deep meditation and clear mental vision. Goldsmith, for example, talked like a "fool," but wrote like an "angel." Byron's external character, indeed, would not warrant the conclusion that he could be anything more than impulsive and reckless. His character, as far as men judged from his acts, was all wrong; and nobody, who had not had some knowledge of his genius, could think that he was capable for one moment of deep and serious thought. But of such he was capable at times, and of such he at times gave proof. What deep and solemn feeling, for instance, wells up from the heart of the despairing "Prisoner!" What a calm power of realisation is displayed in the description of Mazeppa's ride! As we read, are we not compelled to wonder at the manner in which the circumstances of such a perplexing situation are seized, and how the feelings of the sufferer are so realised and so minutely expressed? Passages in that poem, and many similar passages in various other poems, seem to us to be marvels of the power with which he could enter into a situation and grasp its details.

Many of his descriptions afford evidence of the same. Description was his "forte;" he himself has truly said so. His mode of making up the materials of these descriptions was peculiar. He no sooner found himself in a scene worth noting but he produced his pocket-book and took notes. Places of interest; beautiful scenery; remarkable points of history; local records; the tombs of distinguished men; the character of the people among whom he moved; their manners and customs;—anything in fact, that attracted his notice, and

that would add to his stock of information, was carefully noted and afterwards turned to advantage. Turned to advantage, did we say? For in some instances it is patent that passages in his poetry are nearly identical with passages in his diary. The *Shipwreck* is an example of this. His impressions of scenery were jotted down on the spot, and whatever sentiments and notions took possession of him at the moment were also faithfully recorded. In addition, he was frequently in the midst of danger, took part in insurrection, was shipwrecked, saw blood spilt, and witnessed wounds and agonies. These experiences cleared his vision, and his descriptions, in consequence, especially his sensational descriptions, savour of reality and life. He gives nothing but what he saw, and without having first laid his eyes upon the scene, he could scarcely have given anything. "I could not write upon anything without some personal experience and foundation." These are his own words, and they reveal the secret of that art by which he made his pictures live and breathe. If he had indulged his imagination, his descriptions would not be so effective. Instead of wrapping fanciful matter round his subject—a thing which lesser genius might be tempted to do, in order to gild and adorn—he simply described things as they really were, selected the leading features, touched them with a few firm strokes, and thus left a lasting effect. This quality of realisation, of depicting the reality, is one of Byron's most attractive features, and it outweighs most of his faults. Despite his slovenliness, despite his careless language, despite his unguarded rhythm, we must still feel the force and beauty of his vigorous and vivid descriptions. We would mention, as further examples of this descriptive power, those famous lines in which he compares the state of Greece to that of a corpse

"Before Decay's effacing fingers
Have swept the lines where beauty lingers."

also that remarkable passage on Waterloo, which is as realistic and detailed as if the writer were present when the "deep sound struck like a rising knell;" the "Ave Maria,"

too, in *Don Juan*, a most graceful specimen; the description of the Coliseum, and the gladiator's death; that very vivid incident, the death of Selim, which actually transports the reader to the "strand" where "His feet the foremost breakers lave;" Corsair life; the revolting reference to the "lean dogs" stripping a "Tartar's skull" under the walls of Corinth; the disposal of the body of Sir Ezzelin by the man with the "bent head" and the "hidden brow"—all these are incidents of a highly sensational nature, and engross the fancy and interest of the reader.

Another feature which adds greatly to Byron's descriptive poetry is the stream of sentiment which runs throughout. Sentiment when mingled with description acts as a flavour. Popular as was the poetry of Scott it fell, after a sharp but decisive struggle, below that of his sentimental rival. Scott himself saw the result, and candidly admitted that Byron had fairly beaten him. "I gave over writing romances," says Scott, "because Byron beat me. He has access to a stream of sentiment unknown to me." Dry facts and incidents when merely strung together cannot compete for popular favour with the same when adorned with the additional charm of glowing fancy. Byron indeed takes, as the basis of his description, the experience he derived from daily observation; but he no sooner strikes upon a subject that suggests a vein of sentiment but he stops, closes his eye to the external, looks within, penetrates to the discovered mine, and there works and labours till the last particle is extracted. Passages of this kind are abundant. We would ask the reader to open *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and see for himself. There is scarcely a page but is tinged with this sentiment. In inviting the reader to see for himself we would draw his attention to the poet's musings on *Solitude*, on the pleasure he derived from his contemplation of "Nature," on his sad reflection upon the "ruins of years," which Time had brought him; also to those sympathetic lines in which he foretells that "a far hour" would wreak and "pile on human heads the mountain of his curse;" that passage in which he declares his unfitness to "herd with man," and several other passages of a similar kind too numerous to mention.

In connection with this portion of the subject there is yet another characteristic worthy of notice. It is the amount of knowledge, of which he gives such abundant evidence,—knowledge historical, knowledge gleaned from travel, knowledge of men and things, manners, customs, places, local records, and local incidents. One would not expect so much from Byron; but he was an omnivorous reader, had an eye for observation, and a memory for the retention of large stores of information. The sympathetic reader, as he turns the pages of *Childe Harold*, cannot but feel glad that such a wayward soul could at times devote himself to such useful labour. The history which he gives of the places he mentions is most interesting, and the references, which he makes to the distinguished men whose names he introduces, prove him to have been intimately acquainted with their several careers. Nothing could be neater or happier than his lines on Tasso, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Gibbon. Nothing could be so full, and at the same time so concise, as the history, political and social, which he gives, in a few stanzas, of Venice. Of the latter class there are numerous examples. In this connection we would advert for a moment to the charge that is frequently made against Byron of being a plagiarist; that he copied from others, extracted their sentiments, and used their language; that his matter was not original; that he borrowed without limit and without shame. Does the charge mean that he took extracts from other writers, and inserted them into the body of his verse as the children of his own brain? If so, it is, except, perhaps, in a few instances, false. Does the charge mean that he simply sought for information and aid, for something that would touch and arouse his genius? If so, it is true. But, then, must not some of the great masters—Dryden, for instance, and even Shakespeare—be similarly convicted? The latter, the sovereign dramatist of England, cannot in most of his plays claim originality of plan. But still who will say that when the feeble designs of others had filtered through his brain, and had come forth coloured by his own fancy, and impressed by the mark of his own genius, he was yet but a plagiarist, that he stole the goods of

others, that he copied profusely, and that accordingly his reputation is at an end? Let the same stand for Byron.

We need not dwell long upon Byron as a dramatist. He could not claim that character. In point of fact he does not claim it, but rather disclaims it. "Were I capable of writing a play," he says, in the introduction to *Marino Faliero*, "which could be deemed stageworthy, success would give me no pleasure, and failure great pain." If it is the rule that an author is the worst judge of his own writings, Byron is certainly a notable exception. When Milton pronounced *Paradise Regained* to be superior to *Paradise Lost* he was wrong, and the world condemned him; but when Byron passed capital sentence upon his fame as a dramatist he was right, and the world has since acknowledged the justice of the sentence. He had just one success on the stage, or rather he has had just one success on the modern stage. *Werner* is sometimes produced on the boards by enterprising managers. But the cynical remark of a keen critic concerning this play will serve as a sample of what people in general think of all his plays. The critic said that if he were to cut a portion of the author's preface into lines, they would be as good as any in the play. The remark, indeed, is exaggerated. There are passages in Byron's plays which, as specimens of fine writing, may be ranked with any in the language. But he shows so much carelessness about his rhythm, he has so little regard for the peculiarities and difficulties of blank verse, that, in the face of his many faults, we need not wonder at the critic's cynicism. Byron was no dramatist. He has turned things, no doubt, into dramatic form; but there is no dramatic element, no essence of drama, beneath it. What he calls dramas are rather poems; what he calls dialogue is rather soliloquy. Byron was impulsive and sweeping, rushing off with an idea till it was quite exhausted, forgetting altogether the variety of the characters with whom he was dealing, taking one at a time, and keeping him alone in view so long as he had an idea to express or a word to say. A writer of that impulsive nature could not be a dramatist. A dramatist must be cool and calculating, must be able to weigh and discriminate, must know what to sup-

press and what to limit, and must not allow himself to be carried away by the overflowing fulness of his heart. The dramatist must also be given to the patient study of men, must know how to build up one character and how to build up another, must be able to see what features would be suitable and unsuitable for different persons under different circumstances. These restraints and limitations, this careful weighing and skilful discrimination, this balancing and suppressing, this patient delineation of feature, are matters which the dramatist must scrupulously attend to, and of which Byron was totally incapable. He had no capacity for variety; he could represent only one man and only one woman—a man after his own heart, a woman after his own ideal. The various representations he makes of different characters are but various phases of one and the same character; and these various phases of even this one character he could not portray in dramatic form. He simply gave them in analysis. He explained them, but did not represent them. For instance, he tells us much about Lara, but Lara's points of character he does not exhibit in action. In every one of his dramas, from beginning to end, he is prone to soliloquise; and whenever the temptation offers—and indeed these occasions are frequent—he breaks upon a strain of rhetoric, and falls into a reverie about the feelings of his heart. But even in his dramatic works there is one redeeming feature. We do not mean that it is of such a kind as to outweigh, or even to balance, his faults; for Byron's plays were damned, and they still lie under the stigma. But it is a feature of a prominent kind, and one which attracts notice. Byron was capable at times of deep pathos and intense feeling. The death of Medora, and the invocation to Astarte, and the scene between Cain and Adah, when the latter imagined that Cain was meditating injury to her infant, are passages full of pathos and tender sentiment. That dreadful soliloquy of Manfred standing on the cliff and nerving himself for the fatal plunge, and that interview with the Witch of the Alps, in which he declared that he “gnashed his teeth in darkness till returning morn,” and “prayed for madness as a blessing,”

and various other parts of *Manfred* and of *Cain*, afford evidence of that intense feeling which is at times so striking and so terrible.

But intensity is not the same as profundity. The former supposes passion ; and a passionate soul can be and is an intense soul. Byron, therefore, was unquestionably intense, for he was unquestionably passionate. The profound soul is the soul that moves in the sphere of deep and calm reflection. Wordsworth was a profound soul ; and Byron and he stand apart in striking contrast. On this point Byron has spoken his own condemnation : "I am like the tiger," he says. "If I miss the first spring, I go grumbling back to my jungle again ; but if I do it, it is crushing." And again : "I have written from the fulness of my mind, from passion, from impulse, from many motives ; but not 'for their sweet voices.' To withdraw myself from myself has been my sole, my entire, my sincere motive in scribbling at all." After this confession of his motives, it were surely ridiculous to speak of Byron's profundity. Impulsiveness and profundity are incompatible. He that writes from such motives cannot reach the thoughts that lie deep in the heart. Byron was, however, in a certain sense and to a certain extent a lover of nature. He took pleasure in all the joys which nature affords. He loved the summit of the mountain and the peak of the cliff, the rushing torrent, the pathless woods, the lonely shore, and "he could watch the stars till he had peopled them with beings bright as their own beams;" but still he was far from being a lover of nature in the sense that Shelley and Wordsworth were lovers of nature. He could not forget mankind and his fleshly surroundings, and allow himself to be absorbed in nature so as to become one with it : such a lover of nature was Shelley. Nor could he gaze for hours and days upon the face of nature, studying its lineaments, dwelling on its features, drinking in its sweetness, captivated by its wild charms, living under its spell, electrified and elevated by the lofty feelings with which it ravished the heart : such a lover was Wordsworth. Byron had no such love of nature as this. His admiration for its beauties was nothing more than that of the vulgar crowd.

But there is another point in which his want of profundity is still more apparent, and in which the difference between him and Wordsworth is still more marked. This point of contrast rests in the different criticism of life which each of them gives us. Wordsworth's criticism is universal; Byron's individual. Wordsworth entered upon a broad line, and took within his range the multitudinous duties of men—their mingled interests, their various circumstances, their mutual ties and obligations, and all that contributes to combine men together, to cement the elements of society, and to form a complete and perfect whole. Byron's line of criticism was as narrow as it could be. He undertook to represent the whims, irregularities, pleasures, passions, adventures, and misdemeanours, of a wayward individual, who was dead to every sense of virtue, on whose lip there was nothing but scorn, on whose brow there sat proud defiance, who was wretched at heart, and indifferent alike to all the laws of God and of man. Wordsworth's is a sense—

“Of joy in widest commonalty spread.”

Byron's is a sense of glaring egotism. His two greatest poems, *Childe Harold* and *Don Juan*, may be reckoned almost as histories of his personal career. It may, too, be said of his dramas that the characters are so many representations of himself. In *Childe Harold* he gives a sample of a jaded and satiated voluptuary; in *Don Juan* he details the voluptuary's sinful course. In the latter poem there is more of the spirit of the French Revolution than in the writings of any, or perhaps of all, of Byron's contemporaries. It is full of vigour, of animation, and of graphic power, but suffers in the eyes of a Christian public from its unchecked license, its immoral spirit, its deep disdain, its sinfulness, its impurity, and its shamelessness. We refrain from further criticism of it here. We shall only make this other remark, that many are agreed that, though the poem is dark, and gloomy, and polluted, there are golden veins running through it, which dazzle and enrich the minds of those who can be patient with its offences, and overlook its faults.

We shall now turn attention to an interesting dis-

cussion raised by some critics. It is a curious fact how extreme have been the estimates of Byron's literary character. They are either undiluted praise or unmeasured censure. Sir Walter Scott, for instance, in his criticism of *Cain* declares that "Byron has matched Milton on his own ground." On the other hand there are those who think that in Byron there is "a remarkable inability ever to lift himself into the region of real poetic art." Our opinion is quite at variance with these two exaggerated estimates. We think that the admiration of the one is quite too high, and that the minimising of the other sinks quite too low, and we imagine that most readers will be disposed to agree with us. Byron himself, indeed, seems inclined to think, with the latter, that his poetic work does not hold too high a value. We have his own words on the point. "My qualities," he says, "were much more oratorical than poetical; no one had the least notion that I should subside into poesy." These words, however, refer to a period when his powers were not fully developed. But having set watch whilst perusing our author, with the purpose of acquiring evidence on one side or the other, we felt that there was much evidence of great rhetorical power as well as of real poetic art. And we should say that the evidence of the former exceeded that of the latter, in quantity certainly, and perhaps also in worth. If Byron is to be adjudged a rhetorician, he doubtless holds rank as an undisputed master of the art. The same could not be said of his merit as a poet. Though his language is sometimes very beautiful and select; though much of his verse is as musical and felicitous as some of the best in the language; though his pictures are for the most part true to nature, and his criticism true to life; and though a lofty strain runs through every piece, and tender sentiment awakes his sympathies, and deep feeling stirs his heart, and though there is a charm flung over all and a glory crowns his work, still there is a want of felicity of expression, of perfection of language, of polish of style, of flow and music of measure, of seriousness and solemnity of subject, of faultless taste presiding over all to check abuses and fashion the whole into a thing of

beauty—qualities which are so apparent in the great poets but are not to be found in any remarkable degree in Byron. Rather he shows a disregard for word-selection and management, takes no thought of expressing his ideas to the best advantage, and is utterly indifferent to that mysterious form and that hidden charm which count for so much in poetry. Looking then at Byron's want of fine perception, looking at his slovenliness and carelessness, looking at the impatience and the passion with which he pours forth his verses, we think there is very much of the rhetorician in him, and would venture to say that many are of opinion now, as many have ever been, that he is much more of the rhetorician than the poet. We would further remark in this direction what often struck us about many portions of his work, that, if his verse were converted into prose, that is, if the bond of rhythm were removed, and the words placed in their natural position, we should have excellent and powerful narrative, devoid indeed of poetic lineaments, but full of the energy, eloquence, and splendour of potent rhetoric. The fourth canto of *Childe Harold*, we should say, affords an example of what we mean. Strike from that canto its poetic trappings, and you have prose, but prose of high degree. With many other passages in several parts of his writings the same transformation could be effected with similar results. Many would find it hard to say that the loose, rapid, rough, and strong-nerved eloquence of which there is so much in Byron is quite of the same kindred with that soft, deep, tender, fervid, verse, in which the masters of the art abound. Still there is in him one prominent feature which of itself is sufficient to condemn such critics as Scherer, who say that he is perfectly incapable of ever rising into the region of real poetic art. That feature is his appreciation of the beauties of nature, and of all that is beautiful in the moral order as well as the physical; for though Byron's characters are mostly of depraved minds and habits, still he admired virtue wherever he found it, and had words of praise for whatever goodness, sincerity, and honour he happened to find among men. There are two kinds of rhetoric, however, which require very different faculties, and which make

very different men. The orator of orators, Cicero, speaks of them. In one kind the eloquent man is he whose diction is elegant and delivery attractive, who can thus express himself with felicity on every subject, and win popular favour. In the other, eloquence is based on reason, and is found in that argumentative skill and power of reasoning, that conjunction of reason with imagination, which begets conviction and engenders sympathy. Byron's rhetoric was of the former class, for he had no argumentative skill, and no power of reasoning; "the moment he begins to reflect," says Goethe, "he is a child."

In looking over his letters we met with one in which he declares that there was something of paganism in him, something pagan which he could not manage to get rid of. Such a strange expression excited our curiosity, and tempted us to have an eye for what religious sentiments might occur in his verse. We came upon nothing of that hideous paganism of which he so inconsiderately accused himself. Byron was a sceptic, not a pagan. With regard to one important dogma—that of the immortality of the soul—he expresses himself very much after the fashion of some of the ancient philosophers. The similarity in this respect between him and Cicero is most striking. Cicero in a famous passage speaks of this subject in a dubious, hesitating, hypothetical manner, sometimes almost on the verge of admission, but then falling back and refusing to confess. The impression he leaves upon the reader is an impression of his bewilderment and anxiety. Byron, of course, does not deal with this subject in the same earnest and searching spirit; but it is interesting to note how many passages in his writings coincide in a multiplicity of details with that passage of the ancient sage.

On that question of immortality, as on many other questions, Byron is wavering and shifting. At times one would come to the conclusion that he had no doubt of the affirmative; at times, too, one would think that he had no doubt of the negative; but most frequently it is apparent that his mind was unsettled. Perhaps the distinction which some critics make has some value, that he held, indeed, that the

mind would live in a future world, but that the body would never rise from the tomb. But even this plausible distinction is mere conjecture. Nothing on this point can be fixed with certainty. He himself says, "I deny nothing, but doubt everything." If these words are sincere, he is a sceptic pure and simple; and moreover a sceptic he remained probably to the end. In a letter to Mr. Shepherd, after the death of Mrs. Shepherd, some short time before his demise, he speaks of this great question in the same dubious language.

With regard to a particular form of religion, he does not seem to have adopted one more than another. He professed equal indifference to all.

"Even gods must yield—religions take their turn;

"Twas Jove's—'tis Mahomet's—and other creeds

Will rise with other years, till man shall learn

Vainly his incense soars, his victim bleeds;

Poor child of doubt and death, whose hope is built on reeds."

It would be a fruitless search to look for many particular tenets or much religious feeling in his writings. He has styled a collection of his poems *Hebrew Melodies*; but as things sacred they are very insipid, contain little religious feeling, and are not in any true sense a body of sacred poetry. To class such productions as *The Vision of Belshazzar* among things sacred, and as a sample of religious poetry, is a travesty. It is in *Cain* that his thoughts on religion are more fully expressed. He raises difficulties about the goodness of God;—that all men were reduced to misery for the sin of one, to toiling, and tilling, and sweating; that the innocent were to suffer as well as the guilty, and harmless victims to expiate for deep-dyed criminals; that death was an inheritance imposed upon men for no fault of their own. These and similar notions find expression in *Cain*; but this is not the place to discuss them. The poor bewildered soul of this "child of Doubt and Death" was like a stormy sea of confusion, chaos, and horror.

Some of Byron's best poetry was inspired by politics. His politics, indeed, at no time assumed a regular shape, and it is only in a very limited sense that the name of politician can be applied to him at all. He went a good deal with the

spirit of the French Revolution, and traces of his feelings on that burning subject may be found in many passages. In his odes on Napoleon he shows much of "the sterner stuff" of which he was formed, of firm and uncompromising opposition to

" Those Pagod things of sabre sway,
With fronts of brass and feet of clay."

He worshipped Napoleon, but hated his ambition. He condemned the policy of war, when war meant the vindication of some tyrant's ambition; defended the policy of "equal rights and laws;" and sighed for that "communion of mankind" which was to arise and make despots "believe and tremble." Nor would he pay much homage to kingly thrones:

" Shall we who struck the Lion down, shall we
Pay the Wolf homage, proffering lowly gaze
And servile knees to thrones?"

In dealing with Byron's politics we must not omit a brief reference to his sympathy with Ireland. He has even embodied his kindly sentiments in verse, and in the *Vision of Judgment* has a few trenchant stanzas about George the Third for his refusing the law that would place Irish Catholics upon an equal footing with their Protestant fellow-countrymen. Some time before he had, in the House of Lords, pleaded the same cause with an eloquence that won the applause of the gilded senate.

But his attitude in politics was more clearly defined by his action towards Italy and Greece. Carried away by an enthusiasm too deep and warm, he very imprudently joined a secret society which had for its aim the freedom of the former country, and very narrowly escaped some trouble. He loved everything he saw in Italy—the soft language, the natural beauties, the sunlit scenery, the blushing vines, the lovely cities, the people and the people's manners. Many passages in *Childe Harold* and a few stanzas in *Beppo* are full of this admiration. Greece, however, was the dream of his later years, and his ambition to serve her ran high. He not only dreamt of restoring her freedom, and of building her up

into a solid nation, but he even entertained the notion that it might be possible, by enlisting Europe and America on her side, to extend her dominion till it should touch the limits of the proud empire of her ancient days. With this end in view he set himself with great earnestness to his gigantic task. This task he may have undertaken upon public grounds, but it would seem that there was in it likewise something of the sentimental and personal. He thirsted for glory. His vein of poetry was, perhaps, running out. He himself had declared a short time before that literature was not his vocation, and that "he would do something." Excitement was the breath of his being. New sensations were his delight. The glitter and renown of great and brilliant victories, the worship and adulation of an adoring populace, the applause and acclamations he was sure to win for his courageous action and generous sympathy, were to him as a lodestone, and he was attracted thereto by an irresistible charm. He was greatly checked, however, by the disadvantages under which he found the Greeks labouring. From heroes they had sunk into slaves. Long oppression had crushed their spirit; cruel laws and relentless tyranny had degraded them into a state of the most abject servility; they were divided into sections, and among these there were mutual disputes and petty warfare; so that, in order to gain conquest over their enemies, he had first to gain conquest over themselves. The task was difficult and almost hopeless, but he went on with a perseverance and a sternness that would have done credit to one of stronger resolution. He refers to this state of things in many passages, and bewails it greatly. His poetry on Greece is very beautiful, and he seems to have caught some of the old inspiration that hung so thickly round the hills of the Muses. But how the hopes of men are disappointed! In the very midst of the commotion, before one tittle of liberty was won for his darling Greece, he was struck down by disease, breathed his last at Missolonghi, and his dreams of greatness and his visions of empire were all extinguished in the grave.

We do not intend to recount the many points that might be cited in Byron's favour, points of merit in character and points of merit in his literary work. We shall say nothing

of his wonderful versatility, of his clearness of expression, of his intelligibility and the entire absence of the mysterious, of his rapidity in narrative, his intensity in sentiment, his energy and his pathos. To the eager student we would fain speak of that irrepressible strength, that uncowering sincerity, that "daring, dash, and grandiosity," with which he attacked sham, strove to break up the conventionality that was ruling England, and laboured to introduce a condition in which truth and candour would be the great factors in society. But he was fighting for a forlorn hope. He met with dire opposition, and was driven before the storm of abuse and violence that was raised against him. Well and bravely though he fought, he failed in the effort, and went down before the multitude, and sham, and conventionality, and hypocrisy, and falsehood, have lived after him, and still abound.

We have called attention to what we considered the best points in Byron's literary character. Whether these points are sufficient to commend him to the readers of the present age, and to awaken a lively interest in his writings, we shall leave it to others to say. The judgments that have been passed upon him are various. Master-minds differ about his merits as a poet. Some, like Carlyle, would advise the reader to close his Byron and open some more useful author; others, like Goethe, Sir Walter Scott, and Taine, would say that he was "the greatest genius of our century;" that "he has certainly matched Milton on his own ground;" that he alone among his own contemporaries "gets to the top of the poetic mountain." The criticisms are very different. Both the favourable and the unfavourable have distinguished supporters; but we should say that, in point both of number and of eminence, the supporters of the favourable criticism greatly preponderate.

M. A. MURPHY.

RELIQUIAE DOMINICAE.

THE TRUE CROSS—(CONTINUED).

WHAT has already been said¹ is quite enough to leave the authenticity of the Cross fully established. The fact of its discovery, and the religious veneration of the faithful for relics which would make them guard it with a special care, give it a kind of prescriptive right. In truth, anyone who, whilst he admits these, denies notwithstanding that the Cross has been preserved, takes upon himself thereby the duty of showing when, where, or under what circumstances it was lost. For this, besides other reasons, we will content ourselves with merely touching on a few of the things which it was intended to develop at length. So much will be useful in another way; it will satisfy our curiosity about the future vicissitudes of its history. Having read what has already been written, one will be inclined to look curiously onward, and wonder what became of the Cross after it was found, or how it came to be distributed over all the earth. St. Helena consigned one part of it to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem; another part she sent to Constantine, who, according to Socrates, had it enclosed in a statue of himself and placed on top of a porphyry column in the market-place of Constantinople; a third part she sent to Rome, or took it there herself, and had it placed in the new basilica of Santa Croce. All this is given on the authority of Rufinus, Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen, the Bollandists, and Benedict XIV., whose words the writer has now before him. The part left in Jerusalem was kept in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, formerly known by these different names—*Sanctæ Crucis*, *Golgotha*, *ἀνάστασις*, *martyrium*—in memory of the different associations connected with the site on which it was built. A custodian *σαυραφύλαξ* was specially appointed to look after it; and the office seems to have been one of importance, because St. Porphyry who was guardian in the beginning of the fifth century became Bishop of Gaza, and another named John, who died in the

¹ L.E.R., Vol. ix., p. 961, sqq., Nov. 1888.

early part of the sixth century, became Bishop of Jerusalem. St. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, says that it was shown to the public only at Easter time. But pilgrims were always admitted to see it. They came in great numbers after its discovery, and took away pieces of it and dust from the Holy Sepulchre, so that relics of it, as St. Cyril says, were soon distributed throughout the world. St. Paulinus says that he got a relic of it. St. Leo the Great received one from Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, in a letter in which he speaks of the Cross as "continually bearing witness to the people of Jerusalem of the Saviour's presence." Alcimur Avitus, Bishop of Vienne (died 523) asked Pope Symmachus for a recommendation to the Bishop of Jerusalem in order to secure a relic. According to St. Gregory of Tours, Queen Radegund obtained a relic of it through the mediation of the Emperor Justin the Younger, which she placed in a monastery at Poitiers. St. John Chrysostom describes, in one of his homilies, how in his time relics of it were usually kept in gold reliquaries, and frequently worn about the neck. That custom of wearing a relic of the True Cross about the neck has come down to the present day.

In the year A.D. 614, Chosroes, King of the Persians, laid siege to Jerusalem, took the Patriarch Zachary and a great number of Christians prisoners, pillaged the city, and carried into Persia the part of the True Cross which was left there by St. Helena. Thirteen years later Heracleus defeated Chosroes, and obtained the release of the prisoners who were taken at the siege of Jerusalem. The relic of the True Cross was also restored. It was taken back to Jerusalem and deposited again in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Mussulmans, now fast growing into a formidable power, threatened another invasion of Palestine, and Heracleus fearing lest the True Cross might fall into their hands had it removed to Constantinople four years after its restoration from the Persians. It was placed in the Church of St. Sophia, where it was solemnly venerated by the faithful on the last three days of Holy Week:—on Holy Thursday by the Emperor and laity; on Good Friday by the Empress and women of Constantinople; and on Holy

Saturday by the Bishop and clergy. It is of this relic that the Venerable Bede speaks as venerated in his time.¹ It must not, however, be understood that no part of the True Cross remained in Jerusalem in the meantime. There is positive evidence that a relic of it was left there, and continued to be venerated until the Conquest of Palestine by Saladin. Gunterus, a monk, who wrote a history of Constantinople in the beginning of the thirteenth century, says, that the "holy and venerable wood of the Cross which was moistened by the Blood of Christ," disappeared during the siege of Jerusalem, in 1187. The *Liber Pontificalis* mentions that Pope Sergius I. found a large relic of the True Cross with a very precious reliquary, enclosed in a silver box, hidden away in the sacristy of St. Peter's. He had it taken to the Lateran Basilica, where it was by his orders exposed for the veneration of the faithful on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Owing to the favour shown to the French by Clement VII. during the war between Francis I. and Charles V., Bourbon the General of the army of Charles marched on Rome in May, 1527. He himself was killed whilst scaling the walls, but his soldiers entered the city and avenged the death of the Constable by indiscriminate barbarity and plunder. They broke into the Lateran Basilica and, besides other valuables, they took away the silver and precious stones that formed the reliquary in which the True Cross was kept. The Pope had it placed in another reliquary and taken to the Pontifical sacristy in the Vatican. When the French entered Rome at the close of the last century,

¹ St. Paulinus, St. Gregory of Tours, and others, are witnesses that the rite called the "Adoration of the Cross" was celebrated in Jerusalem from the time of its discovery by St. Helena. The devotion was at once adopted by the Syriac, Coptic and Armenian Churches. The writer has at present before him a copy of the old Syriac rite used by the Church of Antioch, published in the last century, by Stephanus Borgia, from a codex in the Propaganda Library. That it was introduced into the Western Church very early the *Sacramentary* of Pope Gelasius published by Cardinal Thomasius, and the *Antiphonarium* of St. Gregory published by Mabillon are witnesses. It seems that in the beginning it was a cross and not a crucifix that was adored. It appears so from the words of the antiphon sung during the unveiling of the Cross on Good Friday; besides, it was the wood of the True Cross that was "adored" when the rite was first introduced.

they repeated, as is well known, the sacrilegious plunder of the soldiers of Bourbon. The candlesticks and other valuables of the Pontifical chapel disappeared; and although the relic of the True Cross was secured, it was not solemnly exposed for a number of years afterwards. Gregory XVI. had it again exposed for the first time in the Sixtine Chapel, on Good Friday, 1840. He then gave it in charge to the chapter of St. Peter's, and ordered it to be placed within one of the balconies under the cupola of the Church; it is that which is exposed for veneration on certain festivals at the present day.¹

It has been already said that St. Helena had part of the True Cross placed in the Church of St. Croce in Gerusalemme. According to Benedict XIV. the Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross had its origin in that church, in connection with the relic that was kept there. It afterwards came to be celebrated in the other churches of Rome, and at length spread throughout the Universal Church. When the French entered Rome in 1798, amongst the other shrines which they pillaged was the chapel in the Church of Santa Croce, where the True Cross was kept. They took away the precious reliquary that enclosed it, but left the relic. Some time afterwards they returned for the purpose of taking off the relic also, and would have succeeded but for the precaution taken by the Abbot of the Cistercians who had charge of the Church. It was kept in a simple reliquary until 1803. In that year one more worthy of the relic was made for it, and it is the one that holds it still. On the occasion of transferring the relic from the old reliquary into the new one, the Cardinal Vicar wrote an "authentic" which is still in the possession of the Cistercian Fathers under whose care the church is. It is as follows; and it will form a better and more fitting close to this imperfect vindication of one particular object in Catholic devotion than any proofs or words of the writer:—

"Julius Maria Tituli S. Mariae supra Minervam S. R. E. Presbyter Cardinalis De Somalia S. S. D. N. Papae Pii. VII. Vicarius in

¹ *Delle Feste di Gesù Cristo e della Beata Vergine Maria*, vol., ii. p. 155.

Spiritualibus Generalis, Romanaeque Curiae ejusque Districtus Judex Ordinarius, etc.

“Universis et singulis presentes literas inspecturis fidem facimus et attestamur, quod ad majorem Omnipotentis Dei gloriam, ejusque Unigeniti Filii D. N. J. C. sanctissimae et salutiferae crucis honorem et venerationem, nos ipsi recognovimus existentes in venerabili Basilica Sessoriana S. crucis in Hierusalem Urbis, et praecise in superiori cubiculo a parte dextra ingressuris dictam Ven. Basilicam, in quo custodiuntur omnes insigniores Reliquiae, et in proximo suggestu in Ecclesiam verso palam populo ostenduntur tria magna segmenta, seu particulas ex ligno S. Crucis D. S. N. J. C., quas reverenter ac devote collocavimus in magno et venustissimo pegmate aureo et argenteo, altitudinis palmorum quinque circiter, in forma crucis, lapillis pretiosis purpurinis in fimbriis ornatae atque affabre elaborato et sculpto, maximi ponderis auri, et argenti, et pretii, cujus basis intexta lapidibus sapphirinis sive lazuli a binis angelorum imaginibus argenteis, instrumenta Passionis ejusdem S. S. D. N. C. gestantium fulcitur; in parte anteriori tribus laminulis crystallinis, vulgo de monte; in postica aliis tribus crystallinis Boemiis concluso; in medio vero ejusdem crucis intus nostro magno sigillo munito, cooperta lamina argentea, easdemque insignes sacratissimas particulas positas, et inclusas in dicto magno pegmate Rdmo Patri D.D. Hieronymo Castiglia Abbati Monasterii Ordinis Cisterciensis ejusdem Ven. Basilicae Sessorianae S. Crucis in Hierusalem de more custodiendas tradidimus et consignavimus. In quorum fidem has literas testimoniales manu nostra subscriptas. nostroque sigillo firmatas per infra-scriptum S. Reliquiarum custodem expediri mandavimus.

“Romae ex aedibus nostrae residentiae Die XII. Mensis Septembris anno MDCCCIII.

“J. M., *Card., Vicarius, &c.*

“HYACINTHUS PONZETTI, *Custos.*”

M. O'RIORDAN.

THE LEAGUE OF THE CROSS.

MANY circumstances have recently combined to bring the League of the Cross and its work prominently before public notice. The magnificent demonstration, its annual *fête*, held in the month of August last in the Crystal Palace, London, in which more than twenty thousand people, young and old, and wearing the badges of membership, took part, and at which the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster spoke such

touching words may be set down as one. It was followed only a few weeks later by the Annual Convention, held this year at Birkenhead, to which came delegates, lay and clerical, from the three kingdoms to tell the good tidings of the rapid spread of the good work everywhere and of the blessings, material, social and religious, that invariably followed in its train. To this may be added the announcement that the next Convention would be held in our own midst; in a place surely of happy selection, in the heart of Tipperary, Father Mathew's native county, and in a town that bids fair to become historic for reunions of every kind that have for object the good of Ireland and its people. Last, but of more value than all are the words, the very striking words of blessing and commendation recently spoken by the head of the Church, Leo XIII.

But apart from any claims which may seem in some way adventitious, the subject must surely have an interest for very many readers of the RECORD. An organisation which has for object the repression of that which has often been described as the great evil of our day, and the worst scourge of our race, must have an interest for every priest; while, when we find that its blessed work has been chiefly among our own kith and kin at home and in other lands, the interest must be tenfold for Irish priests. There are many to whom the League of the Cross is as yet but a name, and though the present writer cannot claim any lengthened acquaintance with or special knowledge of it, he may be allowed, in the absence of those who could speak from a larger experience, to set down what a comparatively short acquaintance has taught him of its object, its work, and, above all, of its happy results.

With the thought of temperance and temperance societies there is one name that at once and instinctively recurs to our minds. The name of Father Mathew is still cherished among us; and the time has not yet come when we can speak of movements in this great cause without reference by comparison or contrast, as the case may be, with the glorious work of one who has won for all time the title of the Apostle of Temperance. We may, indeed, venture on such

contrasts, and seem to give, in some things, preference to later efforts; but it cannot thence be concluded that we would decry his earlier efforts or take from the honour that is his due. We may, for instance, say that while the League of the Cross and kindred associations rest entirely on religion and religious aids, his work rested a good deal on support that was assuredly largely human—personal influence, for instance, and the enthusiasm that everywhere attended him, the enthusiasm begotten of a high cause and of a great name. His war we should also compare to a crusade, suited mainly to conquer rather than to occupy the enemy's territory; while in the League of the Cross, with its splendid organisation, we recognise a system suited as well to hold as to conquer. But for any such defects we can easily find much by way of explanation; and when all is said we shall find ourselves bound to acknowledge that not alone did Father Mathew do a great work, but that perhaps he did it in the way best suited to his time and as well as the circumstances of his time would have permitted. He had a high mission, and he accomplished it with purest motive, with unselfish zeal, and with results wonderful and to a large extent abiding. Wherever throughout the world great efforts for the happiness of our fellow-men are prized, there the name of Father Mathew will ever be in honour, while the land of his birth will ever rank him with pride as one of her best and noblest sons.

For a long time before the establishment of the League of the Cross there had been in those countries several distinct temperance organisations. Indeed, since Father Mathew's time the good work had always been in some way kept on. In England the organisations in Liverpool, London, and Manchester were the principal; and it is to the union of those that we may trace the origin of the League of the Cross as we now find it. At its first Convention, held in London in 1875, a Central Executive or Council was appointed, with His Eminence Cardinal Manning as president; and at the Convention held at Manchester, the following year, the Union adopted for the first time a common name, "The League of the Cross and Crusade against Intemperance."

Within the limits of this paper it would be obviously impossible to enter into details as to its rules and organisation: it would be unnecessary as well, for such information can be found in the rules, which are published. Much will be found to be non-essential, and therefore subject to modification, according to local exigencies. But there are two points which are essential, two rules which may not be changed; and we will do best, therefore, by saying a few words on each. They are, first, the pledge; and, secondly, the practice of religion.

I. As to the first it may be observed:—

(a) that the pledge, which is substantially the same as Father Mathew's, is a *Teetotal* one, excluding all intoxicants without exception as to quality or quantity. It is found by experience that anything else is of little help as a cure for the habitual drunkard. The teetotal pledge then is in the words of Leo XIII., "a proper and truly efficacious remedy for the great evil."¹

(b) It is given to adults and to children, to the former for at least one year, and to the latter, very generally at present, after first Communion, till twenty-one years of age. The League is particularly anxious to receive children. They will form a nucleus for a branch in a parish: they will be preserved at once from the taste and the danger, and in many cases it may be presumed that when the term of their first pledge shall have expired they will be ready to rejoin if there be a branch at hand to receive them.

(c) The pledge is not a vow nor an oath, nor does it bind under the pain of mortal sin. It is merely a solemn resolution. It is a promise made to the priest and to the League of the Cross, "involving in itself no other obligation than that of a steadfast resolution openly declared, to abstain from all intoxicating drinks."² It is necessary to be thus explicit as we have it on authority that there was considerable difficulty felt at Rome on this

¹ Letter addressed to Archbishop Ireland, 27th March, 1887.

² Res. at Manchester Convention.

head before giving the sanction to which we have already referred.

(d) The pledge is not meant to be a substitute for religion or its duties. It is an aid and nothing more. In this it differs from that of Father Mathew, to which was attributed, at least by the people, some special virtue or almost magic power, a notion which led but too surely, as the event showed, to a reaction.

II. The second great fundamental point is the practice of religion. It is a religious association; not merely a social or philanthropic one. It looks upon drunkenness as a sin; it wars against it as a sin. It knows that sin can be overcome only by grace, that grace is from God alone, and comes only by the appointed channels, chief among which are the Sacraments. Hence it comes of necessity that such an association as the League of the Cross must lean mainly, nay it may be said, entirely on the practice of religion, and this means of course, first of all, the regular frequentation of the Sacraments. Nor is this all. There are prayers to be said, and indulgences to be gained; at one time we are gathered round the altar, at another we are warned against the heretical teaching that would make religion of temperance alone.

And this brings us to consider an objection that is sometimes raised against temperance movements. It is suggested by the false teaching of those outside the Church, and sometimes by the action of enthusiasts within its pale. They will not be satisfied to condemn the abuse of drink without condemning its use as well. The sin is found according to them not in drunkenness but in drink, and as a consequence they will not be content with abstaining themselves but they will insist on the duty of all men doing likewise. It is curious to trace, in a matter so apparently simple, the constant tendency of heresies to go to extremes. Not to go further back the Manicheans included intoxicating drinks in their evil principle. The earlier Gnostic sects, from some similar notion, forbade its use even in the administration of the Eucharist. The same idea constantly reappears for centuries, till at length the Albigensian heresy renews the old teaching of Manicheism. In our own days there are many evidences of

the same tendency on the part of those outside the Church. A body calling themselves the "Sons of Temperance," and another with the rather formidable name of "The Independent Order of Good Templars," both formed in America about the middle of this century, have been both condemned on this ground: the former by the Pope, and the latter by bishops both in England and Ireland. The same may be said of some of the modern sects, which are very zealous advocates in the cause of temperance. This too is in keeping with what we know of modern Protestantism. There must be some substitute for any fixed or certain body of doctrine, which we know is becoming gradually less and less. The substitute generally is something like the temperance rage; a social panacea or high project of philanthropy. Dogma yields its place to moral teaching; then the supernatural will soon have to disappear before the natural or rational; and the end is reached with, what we find to be practically the sum total of the teaching of some of our modern so-called Christian sects, some new phase of Deism or merely Natural Religion. Neither the Catholic Church, nor the temperance societies sanctioned by her know anything of such vagaries, and this would be a sufficient reply to the objection referred to. The position of the Church against this and all other false teaching was ever the same. Let me quote two passages: one from St. Bernard addressed to heretics of the twelfth century, the other from Cardinal Manning spoken only a few years ago. We cannot fail to see the striking similarity. St. Bernard, referring to the heretics of his time, says:—"They are heretics not because they abstain, but because they abstain *heretically*."¹ Cardinal Manning,² in words strikingly similar, says:—"I will go to my grave without tasting intoxicating drinks; but I repeat distinctly that any man that would say that the use of wine or any like thing is sinful, when it does not lead to drunkenness, *that man is a heretic* condemned by the Church. With that man I will never work."

It is only against such false principles and such heretical

¹ *Sermo in Cantica.*

² Address in 1875.

teaching that such objections as that referred to can have any force; but we may take occasion from them to show what is the exact position of Catholic Temperance Societies, and how that position can claim in every particular, the plainest Scriptural sanction. The League of the Cross finds a man to whom the use of intoxicants has become an occasion of sin; a man who cannot taste them without going to excess. To that man it says, that he is *bound* to take the pledge; but our Lord had said before:—"If thine eye scandalize thee pluck it out" (St. Mark, ix, 46). It finds another who has no temptation, for whom there is no danger "having no necessity," but who wishes to abstain to edify "a weaker brother" and it commends his action; but St. Paul had said before:—"It is good not to eat meat *and not to drink wine* nor anything whereby thy brother is offended or scandalized or made weak" (Rom. xiv. 21), and again:—"If meat scandalize my brother I will never eat flesh" (1 Cor. viii. 13.) Another is anxious to abstain though again "*non habens necessitatem*" in a spirit of penance and he is again commended according to the words:—"If any one will come after me let him *deny* himself." But the Church does not go so far, and no society sanctioned by her will dare to go so far, as to condemn drink, as evil in itself, or to lay down any general precept of abstinence; for it is remembered, among other things, that our Lord's first miracle was to change water into *wine*.

Thus far I have spoken only of the Pledge and the Practice of religion: there is much besides in the rules which must contribute also to the perseverance of the members. The regular meetings in the Church and the example of fellow-members; the watchful care of the Visitors—persons appointed to look after the interests of the society in their districts, and the prominent wearing of the Cross, serving at once to remind the wearer at the moment of temptation or weakness, and to warn off those who might otherwise do the tempter's work of pressing to drink. Where possible it is desirable to have a hall or reading-room, which should be made as bright and attractive as possible, where members could meet together and where at times suitable lectures and concerts could be given. The man who after a weary week's

work resists the attractions of the gin shop has a right to look for some attractions instead; and therefore what we may call the programme of the League includes reasonable amusements, both indoor and outdoor. There are some, however, which many would probably think might be too dearly purchased. Father Faber sufficiently indicates one of those when after speaking of excursions and cheap trips, he adds, in his own inimitable way:—"Many a ruin of modesty and innocence dates from a cheap trip and many a soul has been shipwrecked on the harmless river between London bridge to Rosherville."

But many will ask, what are the effects produced, where the League of the Cross has been established? "By their fruits you shall know them" is a good test surely for such a work; and to that test the League of the Cross can appeal with fullest confidence. Assuredly, God's blessing has rested on it; a blessing including "ut fructum feratis et fructus vester maneat." I have before me testimonies so strong, and from such various sources, that the difficulty is to make a selection. They come from various countries: the bishop's pastoral and the judge's charge; the voice of clergyman and statesman and magistrate are among them; and we may sum up their unanimous verdict by saying, that where the League of the Cross has been firmly established, and well worked it has, so to say, "renewed the face of the earth." The following is an extract from a letter of Cardinal Manning: "The League of the Cross has brought me many consolations in the happiness and Christian life of my people . . . What homes we should have had at this day, if the last generation had abstained from all intoxicating drinks."

Fr. Turner, S.J., St. Helen's, Lancashire, has a society 3,000 strong, and, in 1876, reports as follows:—

"A far larger and more regular attendance at our schools. A great increase in the frequentation of Holy Mass and the Sacraments. Prosperity, peace and comfort in families." Another priest on the English Mission reports that, in the space of a few years, there had been, in his parish, an increase in the number of Easter duties of 1,733 ! ! "I have known the Irish in America for over a quarter of a

century"—says Archbishop Ireland—"and I believe that if we took away intemperance Irishmen would stand out in such lustre and glory that they would be the admiration of the world." But it would be alike needless and impossible to multiply such testimonies. In an age like the present, which may well be called an age of organisation, when men seem taken by a veritable craze for combining, for every conceivable purpose, and when the powers of evil make such use of the same principle, why should we not organize in a cause that touches all our dearest interests and against an evil which organisation alone can combat with success? What interest is there which is not affected by, and therefore which is not concerned in this great cause? The results of a moral and of a religious kind for the individual and family are evident. Others, the social for instance, and even the national or political, are, if not as manifest, still as certain; and after an illustration for each, we will conclude a paper which, it is to be feared, is already too lengthened. An association for the social improvement of the working classes—perhaps the most powerful for that object in the world—has been formed in America, under the name of the "Knights of Labour." Two years ago it was required that all the officers should take the total abstinence pledge; and the president, himself a total abstainer, issued a circular in which he declared that neither organisation nor anything else would succeed in raising the social state of workers until they learned to abstain from intoxicating drink! We need not leave the same country to find our second illustration. The devotion of our exiled kith and kin in that and in other lands towards their native land, during those past ten years, in her struggles and her famines, might form a bright page in the history of any country in the world. Verily, "the greater Ireland" beyond the seas is our hope and our pride. But there is a dark side to the picture; there is the tear as well as the smile. When we think of the millions that have gone in those long years, when, in fancy, we go through the roll-call of the exiles, and find there is no answer, we know that the silence often means loss for faith and country. Whence the loss? How

far was drink—Ireland's curse and blight and shame abroad and at home—how far was drink the cause? “Oh, great God, had the Irish people in America been followers of Father Mathew, what a glorious record would we have had? If they had all followed his advice, what a people they would have been!”—are the fervent words of the great American prelate to whom I have already referred, one of the greatest friends at once of Ireland and of temperance. But glad tidings have lately come: the good work is being carried on wherever the exiles have gone. The League of the Cross, or kindred associations, are at work; the blessing of the Church is upon them, and we may hope to live to see the time when by means of the great temperance movements at home and abroad we shall have completed the shamrock of our virtues by adding to the faith of our sons and the purity of our daughters what shall be for us the crowning virtue of temperance.

JAMES HALPIN, C.C.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

THE “ORATIO IMPERATA.”

“(1) Please inform me where to find the authority for this prayer. It is not mentioned in the “*Rubricae Generales Missae*.”

“(2) Does it bind when a Priest says Mass, not for the people or a community, but, for instance, in his own Oratory?

“(3) Could the Bishop add it to the Commemorations of the Office as well as the Mass, seeing that these are supposed to accord?

“(4) Granting that we *must omit* it on Doubles of the First Class; that we *may omit* it on Doubles of the Second Class, and that we *may not omit* it on other days, what about such days when the Missal or Ordo says “*Unica Oratio*,” or, “*3^a Oratio non dicitur*,” is it thereby excluded?

“(5) Sometimes the Ordo says “*3^a Oratio Ecclesiae vel pro*

Papa," or, "3^a Oratio ad libitum," may I in these cases select the "Deus Omnium" (which happens to be the 'Oratio Imperata' in this Diocese) and thus fulfil the dual obligation or must I say it as a fourth prayer?"

"C.C."

1. The Rubrics of the Missal do not, it is true, expressly authorise bishops to order a special commemoration to be made in the Mass, but, on the other hand, they do not forbid them to do this. Neither did Pius V. in prohibiting any change to be introduced in the Missal, wish to deprive bishops of a right which they had always enjoyed. Besides, the Sacred Congregation of Rites in its decrees takes for granted again and again, that bishops can order, not only one, but several special commemorations, and that priests are equally as much bound to make the special commemorations ordered by a bishop, as they are to make the commemorations prescribed by the Rubrics themselves.

2. The *oratio imperata* must be said by all priests celebrating within the jurisdiction of the bishop by whom it is ordered, whether they celebrate in a public church or a private oratory, or whether they are seculars, or even regulars exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop.¹

3. A bishop can order a commemoration to be made in the office² just as in the Mass. We need hardly remind our correspondent, however, that an *oratio imperata* in the Office is not so common as it is in the Mass.

4. When the *Ordo* directs that only one prayer is to be said in the Mass the *oratio imperata* must be omitted. The days on which the Rubrics admit only one prayer in the Mass are Palm Sunday, and the Vigils of Pentecost, and the Nativity. When, however, the direction of the *Ordo* is that a third prayer is not to be said, the *oratio imperata* must not be omitted. The meaning of the direction given in the *Ordo* is that, instead of three prayers, the number prescribed for ordinary semi-doubles, etc., only two are to be said on the days on which this direction is given. Only two prayers are

¹ De Herdt, *Praxis Liturgica*, vol 1, n. 72, 3.

² See Suarez, *De Religione*, Tom. 2, lib. 4, cap. ii, 6.

said on the last four days within the octaves of Easter and Pentecost.¹

The *oratio imperata* can never supply the place of a prayer prescribed by the Rubrica. Hence on semi-doubles, etc., it must always be at least the fourth prayer. When, then, the third prayer is the prayer for the church *or* for the Pope, and the prayer for the Pope is the *oratio imperata* in a certain place, the celebrant in that place is not free to select the prayer for the Pope as the third prayer, but must say in the third place the prayer for the church, and add the prayer for the Pope as the *oratio imperata*. "Notandum" writes De Herdt,² "si imperata sit oratio *Ecclesiae* vel pro papa eo tempore, quo hae orationes in missis dicuntur semper dicendam esse utramque."

II.

REQUIEM MASSES.

"Would you kindly answer the following queries in the next number of the RECORD ?

(a) "Can there be *more than one private Mass* 'de Requiem,' *praesente Cadavere*. The Apostolic Indult of the 29th June, 1862, as referred to at page 81 in the chapter "De Eucharistia," in the Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Maynooth, would seem to imply that there cannot.

(b) "If the *dies depositionis defuncti*, or the occasion above referred to be a semi-double may not the priests, two or more as the case may be, who are invited to celebrate, exercise their privilege of saying private Requiem Masses from the '*Missa Quotidiana*' for the deceased, and if so would it be necessary to substitute for the prayer, *Deus qui inter Apostolicos etc.*, a prayer appropriate to the deceased which may be found among the '*Orationes diversae pro defunctis* ?

"A SUBSCRIBER."

(a) Our correspondent's inference, that, by virtue of the Indult to which he refers, only one Requiem Mass is permitted, is quite correct. But this, of course, holds only for the days on which the Indult is required to justify the celebration of a Requiem Mass. To the days on which the Rubrica permit ordinary private Requiem Masses, the Indult has

¹ *Rub. Missalis*, Tit. 9, 8.

² Vol 1, n. 72, 5.

nothing to say. Hence on simple Doubles and greater Doubles only one Requiem Mass, and that only *praesente cadavere* can be said. But (*b*) on semi-doubles and other days on which the Rubrics permit private Requiem Masses, each priest who may be present at a funeral can say a Requiem Mass for the soul of the deceased person whether the corpse be present or absent. On this occasion, however, the Mass said is not the *missa quotidiana*, but the *missa in die obitus*. This Mass should be said by each priest; only one prayer—the proper prayer for the deceased person—should be said, and, consequently the *Dies Irae* is to be read in the Mass.

III.

RULES REGARDING THE CELEBRATION OF MASS “IN ALIENA ECCLESIA.”

“Will you kindly give me your opinion or criticism of the enclosed statement of the liturgical question regarding the rules to be observed by priests celebrating in *aliena Ecclesia*?”

“Is it accurate and complete, and could a priest in practice safely adhere to it?”

“M. R.”

“SACERDOTES IN ALIENIS ECCLESIIS CELEBRANTES.—*General Principle*.—Priests, whether Seculars or Regulars, celebrating in *alienis Ecclesiis*, are always at liberty to conform to the Mass and colour of the vestment in agreement with the office of the church in which they celebrate, and on some occasions they are bound to do so.

“*General Rule*.—Color *alienae ecclesiae* ante omnia servandus est.

“*Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites*.—‘Sacerdotes etiam Regulares, diebus quibus propria officia recitant sub ritu duplici, celebrantes in alienis ecclesiis, quando peragitur festum cum solemnitate, et concursu Populi, debent celebrare Missas, conformando se ritui, et colori earundem Ecclesiarum, in aliis vero diebus possunt; sed quando prohibentur Missae votivae, vel Defunctorum, debent se uniformare saltem quoad colorem.’ (June 11th, 1701.)

“‘Recitantes officium de Martyre, et celebrantes in Ecclesia, ubi dicitur de Confessore, utrum debeant se conformare in colore illis Ecclesiis, etiamsi ibi nulla sit solemnitas? Responsum fuit affirmative, etiam quoad Missam quae non poterit celebrari de sancto Confessore, si color fuerit rubeus.’ (May 7th, 1740.)

“From those decrees it follows :—

“1. When the rite is a double of the first or second class, or a feast celebrated with solemnity *et concursu Populi* in *alienis Eccle-*

sus, priests are bound to conform to the Mass and colour of the vestment in *aliena ecclesia* in which they celebrate.

"2. On all feasts of a double rite, which exclude Votive Masses and Masses of the Dead, and which have a colour fixed and of precept, priests are bound to conform to the colour of the vestment, and to the Mass also *si color alienae ecclesiae aliter servari nequit* (for example, a priest cannot say the Mass of a Confessor in red vestments) *si vero color non obstat dicenda Missa officio divino celebrantis conveniens*.

"Si Missa cantatur in diebus Dominicis, etc., fieri debet secundum calendarium ecclesiae.

"Si celebrans habet officium de 'Beato,' illius Missam dicere nequit in aliena ecclesia sine speciali privilegio.

"3. '*In aliis vero diebus possunt*.'—On all feasts of a semi-double rite, and on feasts which do not exclude Votive Masses and Masses of the Dead, priests may conform to the Mass and colour of the church in which they celebrate.

"Lastly, priests, whether Seculars or Regulars, are always at liberty to conform to the Mass and colour, and can without scruple say all Masses, whether private or solemn, or of the Dead, according to the rite of the church in which they celebrate, generally, as we have seen, they are bound to do so. Thus a priest can carefully fulfil what is prescribed by the Rubric of the Missal, which says, '*Quoad fieri potest Missa cum officio conveniat*.'

"When a priest celebrates in a church of the Regulars, he must say the Mass of a saint *ex Missali Romano*. He cannot *nisi ex speciali indulto* say the *Missa propria de eo Sancto Regularibus concessa*. (See also *Decreta S.C.R.*, 23rd August, 1704, and 29th January, 1752.)

This extract seems, though our esteemed correspondent has not said so, to be taken from a little book on the ceremonies of the Mass. From this little book two leaves, containing the above extract, have been taken and forwarded to us by our correspondent. We are sorry he did not send the whole book, or, at least, mention the name of the author or publisher, or give the title of the book; for if every chapter has as many inaccuracies as the one before us, the sooner the book is brought under the notice of the proper authorities, the better will it be for the accurate observance of the ceremonies of which it treats.

In the "general principle" given above the writer makes two statements—first, priests celebrating in *alienis ecclesiis* are *always* at liberty to conform to the Mass and colour of the office of the church in which they celebrate; second, on

some occasions, they are bound to so conform. The latter statement is quite correct,¹ the former quite incorrect. Priests are not *always* at liberty to conform to the office of the church in which they celebrate, but on the contrary are as a *general rule*—to which the above sweeping “general principle” is merely an exception—bound to say the Mass in conformity with the office which they themselves celebrate “Régulièrement,” says Falise,² “quand on dit la messe dans une église étrangère, elle doit concorder avec l’office qu’on a récité.” Were it otherwise the words of the Rubrics of the Missal “Missa quotidie dicitur secundum ordinem officii,” and “Missa quoad fieri potest cum officio conveniat,” would be almost unmeaning. But, however clear and emphatic are these quotations from the Rubrics, however concise and definite the words of Falise, our statement is supported by evidence still more unequivocal and unmistakable. The Sacred Congregation of Rites,³ in reply to the question:—“Quae missa celebranda sit a sacrum facientibus in aliena Ecclesia vel oratorio privato?” replied, “Missam concordare debere cum officio quod quisque recitavit, dummodo cum colore ecclesiae in qua celebrat aptetur.”

By this decree of the Sacred Congregation is laid down the rule we have mentioned, which, as is evident, is the direct contradictory of the one contained in the “general principle” of the extract. A priest, then, celebrating in *aliena ecclesia*, cannot *always* conform to the office of that church. Notwithstanding the very positive and very general statement contrary to this, which the writer of the instructions we are examining makes in his “general principle,” he seems to have had a glimmering of what is right, for further on he says:—“Si vero color non obstat dicenda missa officio divino celebrantis conveniens.” If *dicenda* in this clause retains its old meaning, surely “*aliquando dicenda est missa officio celebrantis conveniens*” is a contradiction of “the

¹ See RECORD, August, 1888, p. 743, for various cases in which conformity with the office of the church in which a priest celebrates is obligatory. *Cérémonial Romain*, 2nde Partie, sect. 2, vii.
November 12, 1831. Gardellini, 4520-4969. 31.

celebrant is *always* at liberty to conform to the Mass of the church in which he celebrates."

So much for the "general principle." In support apparently of this principle, a decree of the Sacred Congregation is given, bearing date June 11, 1701. Referring to Gardellini's collection, we find a decree substantially agreeing with the first part of the decree cited; but the second part—in aliis vero diebus possunt—on which the whole fabric of error in the "principle" is built, is not, even in the most remote way, hinted at in the decree to which we are referred, nor, we believe, in any other authentic decree of the Sacred Congregation.

In the paragraph last but one of these unique instructions, the writer, without seeming to know the meaning of what he had before said, repeats that priests are "*always* at liberty, etc.," "and can without scruple say all Masses, whether private or solemn, or of the Dead, according to the rule of the church, etc." Now, so far is this from being true that a case may arise in which a priest would be obliged to abstain altogether on a certain day from celebrating in *aliena ecclesia* rather than conform to the office of the church.¹

Not the least remarkable sentence, perhaps, in these remarkable instructions is that in which the writer says that a priest by celebrating Mass in conformity, not with his own office, but with the office of the church in which he celebrates, "can *carefully fulfil* what is prescribed by the Rubric of the Missal, which says *quoad fieri potest missa cum officio conveniat!*"

Having examined this solution of the question regarding priests celebrating in *alienis ecclesiis*, we may say of it what the *Ephemerides Liturgicæ* of April last said of another and a similar solution of the same question, "*Facile est cuicunque vix in re liturgica edocto hanc solutionem imperfectam, erroneam et S.R.C. resolutionibus contrariam judicare.*"

D. O'LOAN.

¹ See Decree of the Sacred Congregation, Jan. 11, 1701, n. 3439. 1, 2

DOCUMENTS.

BRIEF INSTITUTING A NEW DECORATION IN MEMORY OF THE
SACERDOTAL JUBILEE OF HIS HOLINESS, POPE LEO XIII.

LEO PP. XIII.

AD FUTURAM REI MEMORIAM.

Quod singulari Dei concessu et munere adeo provecti sunt Nostrae aetatis anni, ut potuerit a Nobis quinquagesimus Sacerdotii natalis feliciter agi, id profecto Nos non tam Nostra, quam Ecclesiae atque hujus Apostolicae Sedis causa delectat. Faustitas enim ejus eventus plene cumulateque confirmat quam miro pietatis ardore quantaque voluntatem consensione soleant catholici homines Jesu Christi Vicarium colere et observare, utque difficultates rerum et temporum dirumpere aut perturbare nequeant officiorum et studiorum vicissitudinem, quae populis christianis cum Romano Pontifice intercedit. Siquidem ex omnibus orbis terrarum partibus, quacumque invecum est catholicum nomen, tot ac tam praeclarae amoris et obsequii significationes sunt Nobis exhibitae, ut instituti quodammodo visa sit inter populos voluntatis erga Nos et liberalitatis honesta certatio. De rebus sermo est, quas quidem norunt omnes, et quas Auctori bonorum omnium Deo Nos referimus acceptas. Caeterum nullum est pietatis testimonium, nullum officii genus, quod christiani homines, ea sibi oblata occasione, Nobis non detulerint. Revera neminem latet, ut multis in locis festus ille habitus atque actus sit dies, quo quinquagenariam Sacerdotii Nostri memoriam celebravimus: ut de vita et incolumitate Nostra, tamquam de publico bono, decretae sint gratiarum actiones et gratulationes: ut ad commemorationem auspici diei non pauca sint christianae plena charitatis opera instituta videlicet comparata calamitosis adjumenta, aperta perfugia puellis, quæ recepti in scholas, redempta a servitute mancipia. Testis vero est alma Urbs Nostra, quam ingens vis peregrinorum tot continenter menses huc confluxerit, qui haberent ad Nos aditum, et eximia erga Nos animi sensa coram profiterentur. Vidimus sane plurimos genere, sermone, moribus inter se dissimiles, non solum ab Europae regionibus, sed vel a dissitis Africae, Asiae, Americae et Oceaniae oris iter Romam conferre ejusdem omnes fidei et parvis observantiae testimonium Pontifici Maximo daturus. Res quidem cum valde per se mirabilis, tum Nobis, qui gentes universas una eademque charitate

complectimur, summopere jucunda. Verum sunt alia etiam officia quorum non excidet Nobis memoria et gratia: ea enim animo tam lubenti gratoque accepimus, quam obsequenti ac prono sunt delata. De donis nimirum loquimur muneribusque omnis generis, quae ex orbe terrarum fere universo catholici homines, quasi pietatis tributum, Nobis conferenda cura curaverunt. Sunt ea quidem et plurima numero et genere varia, propter dissimilitudinem locorum dissimilem rationem habentia; quorum alia divitias et artificia referunt naturae, alia opificum industriam prudentiamque artis testantur: multa vel materia vel opere valde sunt conspicua, multa contuentium animos vel ipsa peregrinitate delectant. Hujusmodi vero dona cum collecta sint et comportata ab omnibus orbis partibus, omnemque civium ordinem ita attingant ut pretiosis regum procerumque donariis proxima videantur munuscula pauperum. Nos non parvi referre duximus ad Apostolicae Sedis laudem ea omnia simul congerere, et in Nostris Vaticanis aedibus ad spectandum proponere. Quod quidem bene ac prospere cessasse, institutisque rebus excitum contigisse quem optabamus, et laetamur maxime, et gratias Deo, uti par est, plurimas agimus, et habemus. Sed libet Nobis animum Nostrum et memorem et gratum profiteri etiam viris iis, qui honorum Nobis habendorum fautores extitere. Etsi enim probe novimus ob faustitatem proximi eventus studium populorum alacrius fuisse, quam ut incitari oporteret, non sumus tamen nescii in instituendis sodalitatibus pia peregrinatione ad Nos adeuntibus, in muneribus perferendis, ordinandis, custodiendis, in omnibus denique amoris pietatisque officiis praestandis eorum virorum solertiam industriamque mirifice excelluisse. Iis vero se socias et administras addidisse scimus pias feminas, quae in ejusmodi voluntatis erga Nos significationibus impertiendis suas sibi partes deposcere voluerunt. Quibus e rebus placet Nobis, ut apud eos omnes cum eventus memoria, tum benevolentiae Nostrae maneat testimonium. Idcirco volumus, jubemus, ex argyrometallo, nec non ex auro argentoque confari insigne formam crucis habens, quod tamen quatuor interjectis liliis, efficiatur octogonon. Media in conjunctione numisma parvum extet, cujus in adversa parte nomen et imago Nostra effigatur; in aversa autem exprimat pontificale insigne, inscribaturque "Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice." Extremae vero partes crucis quae obversae sunt, ornentur cometa, qui una cum liliis insigne efficit gentis Nostrae; quae autem aversae, signentur "Prid. Kal. Jan. 1888." Hujusmodi honoris signo quod e taenia serica purpurei coloris linea alba flavaque ad utramque oram virgata dépendeat, merentium pectus sinistro latere decorari concedimus.

Omnibus vero et singulis, qui tali honore digni habiti fuerint, auspicem caelestium munerum Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris, die XVII Julii MDCCCLXXXVIII, Pontificatus Nostri Undecimo.

M. Card. LEDOCHOWSKI.

S. CONGREGATION OF INDULGENCES.

An indulgence of *fifty* days applicable to the faithful departed, is granted to the devout recital of the ejaculation, *Deus meus et omnia*.

Rescriptum quo conceditur Christifidelibus Indulgentia quinquaginta dierum, singulis vicibus, recitantibus jaculatoriam precem: Deus meus et omnia.

BME PATER,

Fr. Bruno a Vintia Procurator generalis Ordinis Minorum Capulorum instantibus ejusdem Ordinis alumnis, iis praesertim qui in Bavarica provincia degunt, ad pedes S. V. humiliter provolutus petit, ut aliquam Indulgentiam benigne concedere dignetur universis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus devote recitantibus jaculatoriam oratiunculam—*Deus meus et omnia*—quae et Seraphico Patri S. Francisco Assisiensi fuit valde familiaris, simulque opportuna et salutaris est ad excitandam in Christifidelibus ferventiorē erga Deum charitatem.

Quam gratiam, etc.

Ex Audientia SSmi diei 4 Maii 1888.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. universis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus, qualibet vice, corde saltem contrito ac devote recitantibus supradictam jaculatoriam precem, benigne concessit Indulgentiam quinquaginta dierum, defunctis quoque applicabilem. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 4 Maii 1888.

S. Card. VANNUTELLI, *Præf.*

L. ✠ S.

ALEXANDER, Episcopus Oensis, *Secret.*

S. CONGREGATION OF INDULGENCES.

SUMMARY.

Images made of *Carton-pierre* can be blessed and exposed for devotion.

Images made of *Carton-bois*, which is a more durable substance, can moreover be indulgenced.

VICENSIS.

Quum nuper Episcopus Conchensis a Sacra Rituum Congr. exquisivisset an imagines sacrae confectae ex materia vulgo nuncupata *carton-pierre* in excelsis cultui exponi possent, benedici sacrisque Indulgentiis ditari, eadem Sacra Rituum Congregatio sub die 17 januarii proxime elapsi ita rescripsit: *Quoad indulgentias, recurrendum ad S. Congregationem Indulgentiarum; quoad expositionem non obstaré.* Nunc vero Episcopus Vicensis huic Sacrae Indulgentiarum Congregationi humiliter sequens dubium resolvendum proponit: Num indulgentiae adnecti valeant sacris imaginibus ex alia materia confectis vulgo appellata *carton-madera* (*carton-bois*) quae solidior est alia supra memorata, imo praesefert duritiem ligno majorem.

Porro Sacra Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, re mature perpensa, praenunciato dubio respondit: *Affirmative.* Datum ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congreg. die 1^a Aprilis 1887.

Fr. THOMAS M. CARD. ZIGLIARA, *Præf.*

THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

SUMMARY.

One does not gain the Indulgence of the Little Office of the B. Virgin by reciting it in the vernacular.

SEBENICENSIS DE INDULGENTIIS ADNEXIS RECITATIONI PARVI OFFICII B. MARIAE VIRGINIS.

Postquam Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. ex Decreto *Urbis et Orbis*, per hanc S. Congregationem Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositam edito sub die 17 Novembris 1887, ad ferventiorum in Christiano populo fovendam pietatem ac devotionem erga Beatissimam Virginem, praeter illas jam concessas a S. Pio V. alias impertitus est Indulgentias Christifidelibus recitantibus parvum officium B. M. Virginis, uti illud prostat in Breviario Romano ab

eodem S. Pio V. recognito et approbato, huic S. Congregationi sequentia dubia dirimenda proposita fuerunt :

I. An Christifideles recitantes officium parvum B.M. Virginis, quod est precatio stricto sensu liturgica, in quodvis vulgare idioma versum, etiam cum approbatione ordinariorum, lucrentur Indulgentias a Summis Pontificibus adnexas recitationi ejusdem parvi Officii, uti innuere videntur plura decreta S. Congregationis Indulgentiarum, et illa praesertim edita sub die 30 Aprilis 1852, et sub die 29 Decembris 1864 ?

Et quatenus negative :

II. An expediat, praefatas Indulgentias extendere etiam ad recitationem ejusdem parvi Officii in quodcumque vulgare idioma versi ?

Porro S. Congregatio, re mature perpensa, auditoque unius ex consultoribus voto, rescribendum censuit :

Negative ad utrumque :

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis die 13 Septembris 1888.

SEBASTIANUS CARD. VANNUTELLI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ ALEXANDER, Episcopus Oensis, *Secretarius*.

DECREES OF THE S. CONGREGATION OF INDULGENCES.

SUMMARY.

1. Vocal prayer necessary to comply with the condition of "praying according to the intention of the Pope."
2. The prayers to be said are left to the choice of the individual, unless when special prayers are mentioned.

Quum inter pia opera, quae ad lucrandas Indulgentias praescribuntur, fere semper injungatur aliqua oratio ad mentem seu intentionem Summi Pontificis effundenda, hinc sequentium dubiorum solutio ab hac Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiarum et SS. Reliquiarum humiliter expostulatur ;

I. Cum ad lucrandas Indulgentias, sive plenarias, sive partiales, praescribitur ad mentem seu intentionem Summi Pontificis orare, sufficitne, ut nonnulli docent, orare mentaliter ?

Et quatenus negative.

II. An sit rejicienda opinio docens recitationem devotissimam etiam unius Pater et Ave cum Gloria Patri sufficere ad explendam

nouditionem orandi pro summi Pontificis intentione, vel potius admittenda opinio illorum qui requirunt recitationem quinque Pater et Ave, aut orationes aequivalentes?

Quibus dubiis Sacra Congregatio rescripsit :

Ad. I. Laudabile quidem est mentaliter orare, orationi tamen mentali aliqua semper adjungatur oratio vocalis.

Ad. II. Detur Decretum in una Briocensi sub die 29 Maii 1841 ad dubium III.¹

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis die 13 Septembris 1848.

SERAPHINUS CARD. VANNUCELLI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

ALEXANDER, Episcopus Oensis, *Secret.*

THE DOLOURS OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

SUMMARY.

A Plenary Indulgence granted to one who goes through the pious exercise in honour of the Dolours of the Blessed Virgin devoutly and with contrite heart every day in the month of September. The Indulgence, which is applicable to the souls in Purgatory, is attached to the day within the month of September on which the person, having confessed, goes to Holy Communion and prays for the intentions of the Pope.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Petrus Franciscus M. Testa, prior generalis Ord. Servorum Mariae, humiliter provolutus ad Pedes S. Vestrae exponit, ex benigno indulto s. m. Pii Papae IX, antecessoris vestri, concessam fuisse Indulgentiam tercentum dierum, lucranda quolibet die mensis Septembris, a fidelibus cunctis, qui corde saltem contrito ac devote pium peragant exercitium mense Septembri ad meditandos dolores B. Mariae Virg., quolibet utendo libro, dummodo approbato, qui agat de doloribus ejusdem B. Mariae Virginis. Nunc, eo consilio, ut fideles eo magis excitentur ad recolendos dolores SSmae Virginis Mariae

¹ Briocen. 29 Maii 1841.

Dubium III. An sufficiant quinque Pater et Ave, quae recitari solent ob adimplendam summi Pontificis intentionem, quando praescriptum est ut visitetur ecclesia vel altare, ibique fundantur preces, quemadmodum ex gr. pro lucranda Indulgentia plenaria praescriptum est associatis operis Propagationis Fidei?

Respon. ad III. Preces requisitae in indulgentiarum concessionibus ad adimplendam summi Pontificis intentionem, sunt ad *uniuscujusque fidelis libitum*, nisi peculiariter assignentur.

et ex hujusmodi pio atque utili exercitio, spiritualia illa charismata percipiant, quae illud parere solet animabus piis, Sanctitatem Vestram exorat, ut concedere dignetur Indulgentiam plenariam illis, qui praedicta ratione integro Septembri mense, Virginem perdolentem piis obsequiis sint prosequuti, semel lucrandam recensito mense, eo die, quo vere contriti, confessi atque sacra refecti Synaxi, preces effuderint juxta intentionem Sanctitatis Vestrae.

Quam gratiam, etc.

Ex Audientia SSmi diei 27 Januarii 1888.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus, qui modo super enunciato quolibet die mense integro Septembri Dolores B. M. Virginis sive publice sive privatim devote recoluerint petitam Plenariam Indulgentiam defunctis quoque applicabilem benigne concessit, lucrandam eo die, infra praedictum mensem uniuscujusque arbitrio eligendo, quo vere poenitentes, confessi sacram synaxim susceperint, et aliquo temporis spatio ad mentem Sanctitatis Suae pie oraverint. Praesenti *in perpetuum* valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 27 Januarii 1888.

CAJETANUS Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, *Praef.*

L. ✕ S.

ALEXANDER, Episcopus Oensis, *Secretarius.*

LETTER FROM DR. JAMES KEEFFE, BISHOP OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN, TO THE NUNCIO, APRIL 12TH, 1752.¹

Excellme. Dne. Non obsequii aut gratitudinis defectu evenit quod consecrationem meam in Epum. Kildariensem Excell^{mo}. V^{ro}. citius non notificaverim; sed defuit opportunitas. Munus illud recepi ab Ill^{lo}. Dm^o. Ossoriensi,² in civitate Wexfordiae, die 12 Martii ultime elapsi assistente sibi Ill^{lo}. D^o. Fernensi,³ cum duobus suis Vicariis Generalibus, aliis de clero. Solitam fidei professionem in Urbem transmittere satagam quantocitius fidum aliquem nuntium reperero. Interea tamen haereo qualiter me agere oporteat, cum in Bulla Electionis et Consecrationis meae nulla facta sit mentio Dioecesis Leighliniensis, nec consuetas facultates hactenus receperim. Monet quidem

¹ The Right Rev. M. Comerford, Coadjutor Bishop-Elect of Kildare, has kindly sent us this interesting document.

² James Dunne, Bishop of Ossory.

³ Dr. Nicholas Sweetman, Bishop of Ferns.

Agens noster in Curia de tali silentio nihil mirari, et ideo omissam fuisse dictam Dioecesim quia in Bullis trium praedecessorum meorum nominata non fuit; asseritque se hoc mihi significare de mandato Emin^{mi}. Cardinalis Corvini. Hoc mihi tamen sufficere non arbitror ut illam Dioecesim jure Ordinario administrare presumam; at fretus Excell^{to}. V^{co}. Litteris datis 6^{to} 7^{bris}. 1751, eidem Ecclesiae ut Vicarius Generalis Capituli providere pergam, donec ulteriora mandata ab Excell^{to}. V^{co}. aut a Sede Apostolica recepero. Interim in Dioecesim Kildariensem proficisci paro ut ejusdem Ecclesiae possessionem ineam, et quibusdam Parochiis provideam quae prae Parochorum infirma valetudine debita ope destitutae videntur.

Data qualibet occasione de illorum qualitatibus percunctatus sum quos mihi memoravit Excell^{to}. V^{co}. In hac inquisitione mihi met-ipsi nondum plene satisfeci, quod autem audivi indicabo, et si posthac me quidpiam errasse aut deceptum fuisse deprehendero, illud pariter opportuno tempore confitebor.

Mense elapso, occasione Bullae Pontificiae, Dublinium evocatus fui, ibique per integram faere hebdomadem opportunitatem habui non tantum a clericis sed etiam a laicis secreto sciscitandi qualiter se gererent ipsorum Parochi, aut quid de illis sentirent; et revera testor me nihil sinistrum sed e contra multa laudabilia de illis audivisse.

Imprimis igitur Dnus. Lincoln¹ mihi videtur quinquagesimum annum nondum attigisse. Non ille, sed Dnus. Reynolds, alter non infimae notae Parochus, archidiaconatum obtinet. Est tamen e gremio capituli, vir bene natus, moribus suavis, mitis ingenio, viduarum et orphanorum valde sollicitus (cujus et ipse, Dublinii agens, bis aut ter experimentum vidi), in super ovibus suis non mirus attentus, quibus per seipsum singulis Dominicis, divini verbi pabulum praebet.

Ferunt Dnum. Clinch a septuaginta annis non multum distare, licet illud ex ejus aspectu et firma valetudine minime conjiceretur. Est vir simplex et rectus, eximiae prudentiae, cujus illud satis est argumento quod non modo sub praesenti Archiepiscopo sed etiam praeterito, Vicarii Generalis dignitatem, sine ulla querela Spr. gesserit.

Est Dnus. Fitzsimmons² sexaginta circiter annos natus, vir omnium ore mxe. laudatus, qui a multis annis Ecclesiam Dubliniensem gravitate et prudentia sua praecipue moderatur, et quem pro

¹ Richard Lincoln was appointed co-adjutor, with right of succession, to Dr. John Linegar, in November, 1755; he succeeded to the See on the death of Dr. Linegar in 1757.

² Dr. Patrick Fitzsimons succeeded Dr. Lincoln as Archbishop of Dublin, in 1763.

futuro archiepo. universo clero summopere exceptari satis intelligo. Ex cleri supplicatione, vel forsan etiam dissidio ubi opus fuerit, melius dignoscetur quis Sede vacante dignior sit. Interim acip nullum esse in hac provincia Suffraganeum qui cum diotis viris pae tanta dignitate contendere possit, excepto Dno. Ossoriensi. Sed et ipse pedibus ita laborat et vicinam infirmitatem adeo pertimescit, ut certus sim ipsum tantum opus subire nolle.

Dnum. O'Daly nunquam novi, audio tamen ipsum septuaginta adminus annos esse natum, optima et perantiqua stirpe oriundum, praestanti ingenio praeditum, in lege civili (et vero simile etiam in lege canonica) valde peritum, et multa alia laude commendabilem; sed ferunt ipsum multa habere praedia conducta, et alere Boves et Oves universas. Nescio an virum Ecclesiasticum ita deceat mundanis negotiis adeo vacare.

Dnum. Phelan a multis annis familiarem, et in magna existimatione Spr. habui, illumque Episcopatu non indignum ducerem, ni suae Dioecesis clero nimiae ambitionis suspectus fuisset, et quod clandestinum fovisset plerasque discordias, quae sub nupero meo Decessore evenerant.

Dnum. Van Hacten penitus ignoro: in ipsius tamen merita, in cetera mihi commendata data opportunitate perquiram, et cum opus fuerit, Excell^{ms}. V^{ss}. renunciabo. Interim cum omni veneratione et iteratis gratiis subscribor. Excell^{ms}. D^{no}. Excell^{ms}. V^{ss}.

Endorsed: "To the No. Ap. 12, 1752."

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

PRAELECTIONES METAPHYSICAE SPECIALIS, QUAS IN COLLEGIO MAXIMO LOVANIENSI S.J. HABEBAT GUSTAVUS LAHOUSSE, E.S., NUNC IN EODEM COLLEGIO THEOLOGIAE DOGMATICAE LECTOR. VOL. III. THEOLOGIA NATURALIS. Lovanii: Car. Peeters, Via Namuroensi, 22.

THIS is the third volume of Père Lahousse's treatise on Philosophy. Theology is the goal of every science, but especially of Metaphysics. If Philosophy be the study of causes, every step in the course must lead to the first cause. Hence, we may expect to see Père Lahousse collect in this volume the fruits of the dry discussions of the preceding two.

Few subjects have been more fruitful of controversy in modern times than Natural Theology. An adequate treatment of the one question of the existence of God would take more than a lifetime; it would take as many lives as would be necessary to fathom the depths of every science. For the sciences are the armouries whence the champions of truth, as well as those of falsehood, must draw the weapons for defence and for attack. Hence, a controversialist who would maintain orthodox teaching against all comers, must be thoroughly acquainted with all the forms of modern scientific thought. What is rarer still, he must be sufficiently liberal-minded to look at things from his opponents' point of view; to face the difficulties as they really are, and not go tilting against the bogies of his own imagination, but engage with the adversaries one actually meets, who are not utterly lost to common sense.

Of the many interesting questions which form the subject matter of Natural Theology, the most absorbing are connected with the proofs of the existence of God. Père Lahousse's treatment of this question is very complete, occupying one-fourth of the whole volume.

I. The Metaphysical argument calls for no special comment; it is proposed in the usual forms; the difficulty drawn from the possibility of an infinite series is met in the usual way. It is not this proof, so much as the physical and moral arguments, that men concern themselves with at the present time. Rightly or wrongly, this seems to be the fact, at least, in these countries. Hence, it is to these arguments we turn with special interest.

II. 1°. Père Lahousse draws his first physical proof from the beginning of life in the world. He puts before us four conceivable theories: (1) That the first germ came to our earth from some other sphere, and so on through an infinite series; (2) that inorganic matter is only the remains of dead organisms; (3) that germs are, or were, spontaneously generated; (4) that they are the result of divine interference.

Père Lahousse refutes the first two hypotheses by referring to the commonly received theory of the origin of the universe, and of its evolution from a state of nebula through stages of intense heat. And, of course, every one sees that those hypotheses are exceedingly improbable. But, given the possibility of an infinite series, can we say that they are impossible? If not, we are landed once more in the metaphysical argument.

With regard to spontaneous generation, Père Lahousse expresses himself thus :—¹

“Generatio æquivoca seu spontanea hodie dum ab omnibus fere scientiarum peritis rejicitur.”

And he proves that scientists are right in this by an *a priori* argument, to the effect that inferior agents are incapable of producing effects superior in kind.

Both the assertion and the proof seem to be a little hazardous. For, passing over those scientists who still maintain that it has not been proved that spontaneous generation never occurs actually, we find the following statement of Mr. Huxley's :—²

“If it were given me to look beyond the abyss of geologically recorded time to the still more remote period when the earth was passing through physical and chemical conditions, which it can no more see again than a man can recall his infancy, I should expect to be a witness of the evolution of living protoplasm from not living matter.”

Surely Mr. Huxley is to be reckoned *inter scientiarum naturalium peritos*, and has a not insignificant following. What such a man says should be taken into account.

And as for the *a priori* argument, that no agent can be capable of producing an effect superior to itself in kind, one cannot help thinking (1) that this axiom did not commend itself to some of the most eminent of the schoolmen : and (2) that, as used in its present connection, it seems to restrict the divine power too much. For, if God can, as He does, endow inorganic matter with the power to produce substantial forms at all, is it so very certain that He cannot give it power to produce forms of living things ? And if He can, what becomes of the *a priori* argument against spontaneous generation ?

It will not, it is hoped, be thought that the present writer does not believe in the argument from the origin of life ; he does, but not in every form which it is made to assume.

2°. The second physical proof of our author is taken from the inception of order in the world. It may be better to give his own words :—³

“Efformatio progressiva ordinis hodie dum inter corpora coelestia et mundana vigetis, initium habuit. Ergo existit Deus, causa prima ordinis.”

There is ambiguity in that word “*hodie dum*.” No one thinks now that the present solar system had no beginning or shall not have an end. But the present solar system may be but one of a series of

¹ P. 59, n. 63.

² *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 239.

³ P. 60, n. 64.

such, ever collapsing bit by bit into chaos, ever readjusting itself bit by bit into cosmos. Père Lahousse proves, beyond doubt, that the present solar system must have an end and therefore a beginning; the same proof holds, of course, for every individual like system; but what if there were an infinite series of such? Thus once more we are brought back to the metaphysical argument.

3°. The third physical proof which Père Lahousse advances, is taken from the harmonious arrangement of the universe. This brings up the question of Evolution, as it is understood and advocated by the Atheists of our time. Many other theories are referred to in Père Lahousse's volume: as, indeed, may be necessary for the direction of German thought. With us it is different; the Atheists of the British Islands are either Evolutionists of the Darwinian school, or of little influence on the souls of men.

It must be acknowledged that the compiler of a text-book might well shrink from compressing this controversy into the few pages which his space allows. The most that could be hoped for is the reaffirmation in a few sentences of conclusions which had been already discussed, say in Cosmology. In this way the proof might be given without undue prolixity; but it were better not to touch it at all, than treat it as if it were independent of the Evolution controversy.

It appears, therefore, a defect in Père Lahousse's argument, that the Atheistic theory of Evolution does not get due prominence. It is not even mentioned expressly, but, at most, is refuted implicitly in the refutation of Epicurus.¹ Now the Evolution of modern Materialists may be but a new form of that old philosopher's system; but surely it has been supplied by Darwin with new weapons, which call for a new mode of defence.

Thus Père Lahousse's first argument proceeds on the assumption that it is more unlikely that the fair universe could be formed by chance, than that the *Aeneid* should be composed accidentally out of so many letters as it contains, or that a city should be built casually by a shower of stones and mortar. All this is undoubtedly true; but to those who have dabbled in Darwinism, it requires amplification. For it can scarcely be denied that there is much truth in Darwin's law of the survival of the fittest. What has to be done is, to show that this law based on chance alone, though producing many curious results, is utterly inadequate to form the universe. Père Lahousse has treated the matter pretty fully in his

¹ P. 68, n. 71.

Cosmology; all the more easily, then, could he have summarized his refutation in dealing with this argument from the order of the universe.

One other remark before leaving this third form of the Physical argument. The author comes back again to the infinite series.¹ This seems to make the physical proof depend on the metaphysical.

III. We may pass over what is called the moral argument—from the universal belief of mankind. But there is another kind of moral argument,—from our perception of the moral law,—which is stowed away in a note, and which is thought by many of our day to be worthy of a much more prominent place. Père Lahousse denies that we can have any knowledge of obligation, properly so called, without a previous knowledge of God, and asserts that it is only from knowledge of obligation in its strict sense that we can prove the existence of a supreme law-giver. Others think that a true teaching is embodied in the words of Franzelin:²

“Et enim, ex ipsa consideratione naturae rationalis ordinatae ad verum et bonum, et ex consideratione societatis humanae, facile intelligitur necessitas et existentia ordinis moralis, existentia ultimi finis in fruitione veri et boni, necessitas et existentia iurium et officiorum, cum istae sint relationes essentialis naturae rationalis, quae sine his contradictionem involveret. Atque relationes hae essentialis ultimo fundamento carerent, nisi existeret summum bonum, sanctus et iustus legislator, ac iudex supremus.”

This argument is growing in importance daily,—as the paths of science become more intricate, as people grow weary of the endeavour to find their way to the divine presence through the labyrinth of speculation. Rightly or wrongly many thoughtful men of our time base their conviction of God's existence, independently of supernatural evidence, on this form of the moral proof. The whole question should, perhaps, be fully discussed in a treatise on Ethics; it is too important to be passed over with two short paragraphs in a note.

IV. Those who took an interest in the late Dr. Ward's unhappily incomplete Philosophy of Theism, and who, perhaps, were puzzled as to the further development of his argument from necessary truths, will be glad to find in Père Lahousse's work the following question:³

“Quaeritur num, inspectis characteribus possibilium, mens demonstrare sibi valeat existentiam Dei.

“Affirmant S. Augustinus et Leibnizius. Contendunt solum ens infinite perfectum esse posse intelligibilium supereminens fundamentum. Inter modernos his subscripsit Kleutgen. Negat communior sententia.”

¹ P. 69.

² *De Deo Uno*; pp. 57–8. Compare the well-known passage in Cardinal Newman's *Grammar of Assent*, chap. v.

³ P. 96.

To this latter opinion Père Lahousse gives his adhesion, contending, at the same time, that when once the existence of God has been proved, it will follow that His essence is the basis of all truth.

Anything like a detailed criticism of the reasons given by both parties is out of the question in a short notice like this. The subject presents the usual difficulties that meet us at every step in the region of essence and possibility. If, on the one hand, we make truths too real, there is danger of Ontology and Pantheism; must we then conclude that they are mere negations?

Père Lahousse drops the following remark, which will serve to illustrate my meaning :¹

“In hac thesi non attenditur contingentia rei productae, sed possibilitas seu non-repugnantia diversis characteribus [immutabilitatis, infinitatis, necessitatis, &c.] instructa; quaeritur num ex eo quod non-repugnantia notarum sit infinita, &c., concludi possit ea requirere fundamentum quod sit actu infinitum, immutabile, &c.”

Is possibility, then, equivalent to non-repugnance? or is it rather a *convenientia notarum*? Are mathematical formulae mere negations of absurdities?

There are many other parts of Père Lahousse's volume which deserve notice; but I have already taken up too much space. The whole treatise is very suggestive; it is admirably arranged; it is a distinct advance towards what we want so much,—a course of Philosophy which shall take into account the various phases of modern scientific thought. If this notice is taken up with defects rather than perfections, this is due partly to the fact that perfections are so numerous in Père Lahousse's treatise, and partly, I suppose, to the facility with which we find fault with the productions of others.

WALTER M'DONALD.

MORES CATHOLICI; OR AGES OF FAITH. By Kenelm H. Digby. Volume the First. New York: P. O'Shea. 1888.

IN this age of much activity and little thought it is refreshing to find in the very metropolis of nineteenth-century restlessness a demand for such a book as Kenelm Digby's history of the *Ages of Faith*. The title page is itself sufficiently suggestive: *Mores Catholici* at the head; and at the foot, New York! By a strange coincidence the very next page we opened was where the

¹ P. 98.

contrast was drawn out with all the quaint earnestness of the author:—

“The streets of cities in the Middle Ages . . . were not a scene of constant commotion and bewildering activity, from the din and dust of wheels, like those of modern luxurious cities,

. . . where the noise
Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
And injury and outrage.

Men were taught, as in the time of St. Chrysostom, to walk through the streets of cities with the utmost modesty, having their eyes rather cast upon the ground than directing them from side to side, lest their enemy should take occasion to wound their soul. The inhabitants seemed employed, but not dissipated. Everything indicated that they had heard the holy warning, ‘potes cito fugare Jesum, et gratiam ejus perdere, si volueris ad exteriora declinare.’”

Fancy our New York friends reading those words after a stroll down Broadway! And it is our New York friends we must thank for having given us those words to read, and a great many more words as wise and as wholesome and as beautiful in this handsome volume which a New York publisher has just given to the Christian world. In a preface of much interest he has shewn how fully he appreciates the benefit he confers by his reprint of this monumental work. “No other work in our language,” writes he, “—we believe we may say with perfect truth, no other work in any language—presents so completely, so felicitously from every point of view, the claims of the Catholic Church to the veneration, love and obedience of every existing human being.” We do not think that any one will be inclined to doubt that verdict who devotes even one quiet hour to the pages of Kenelm Digby. It is, in its effect upon the mind, like an hour spent within some Gothic cathedral, whose lofty pillars and heavenward-springing lines seem to draw the soul up from the earth, and in whose sombre light, above those relic chambers of the past, still hovers the Spirit of Reverence, long driven from its every other haunt by the scoffing Spirit of the Age. We think that we can pay no higher tribute of praise to this incomparable work than to say that it is just the book for an over-worked priest to take up when he wishes to refresh his spirit and recreate his mind. Not that it is not a book for the student also; the libraries of Europe and of Asia, as the writer of the preface says, have been ransacked for its teeming erudition. But we confess that its learning has not been its chief attraction for us. A learned book, as such, acts as a mental stimulant: the *Mores Catholici* has been ever a most gentle sedative. The very plan of the work is soothing. Its lines are the Eight Beatitudes, and in this first of three volumes, the poor in spirit, the

meek, and they that mourn, again walk the earth. In the opening Book the Spirit of Christian Poverty and Humility is shown as the Spirit of the Ages of Faith. Fancy the halcyon days when humble Poverty was the Spirit of the Age!

"They were ages of humility, or of what the divine sentence terms poverty of spirit, in public and in private life, in the institutions of states, in philosophy and in education . . . it was, in reality, the spirit of the times, the spirit which governed the lives of individuals, and which from thence extended its influence even over the affairs of nations"—p. 161. God be with those times! we piously ejaculate; for surely the times and the spirit of the times are changed. But back to our volume, the second book of which shows with what gentle sway the meek in those ages of faith possessed the land. The chivalrous courtesies of Christianity, the high souled submission in Church and State, and the heaven blessed freedom that sprang from a meek obedience to meek rulers, alas! these are in the pages of the New York volume, but where else in all the world shall we find them? And then come pages of enchaining interest, telling of the peaceful cities of the meek, of their stately churches and simple homes, of the love for all that was beautiful in nature shown in the stones, in the images and shrines of their temples to God; telling too, of their meek delight in poetry and literature, of their quiet schools and gentle students, of the old world friendships when the meek possessed the land. A few pages further on and we are among the mediæval mourners who become they mourn as Christians are comforted. But we have said enough to show that the *Mores Catholici* of Kenelm Digby is no book of transient interest. It is the grandest record left us of those ages which men have called "dark" only that their light might shine the brighter. It is a mine of ecclesiastical knowledge, an interpreter of the all but forgotten language spoken by the stones of our ruined churches and by customs which are themselves the relics of a long departed age. Its pages will be for many a priest and many a Catholic layman the joy and refreshment they have been for us, bringing into the restless heart of this nineteenth century something of the peace and heaven-born love of those ages of faith.

We would venture a hope that the third volume may be furnished with a good index, which would make this work an invaluable Mediæval Cyclopedia; and we congratulate the spirited American publisher who by every attraction of type and paper and good out-put has commended this noble work to what we trust may prove a grateful and appreciative public.

ARTHUR BIAN.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

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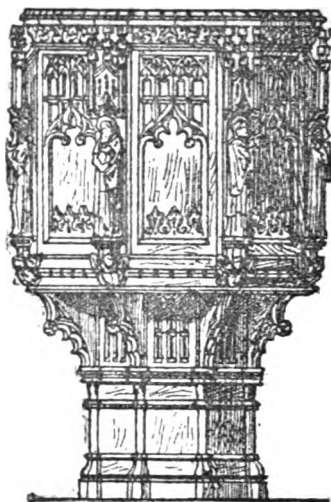
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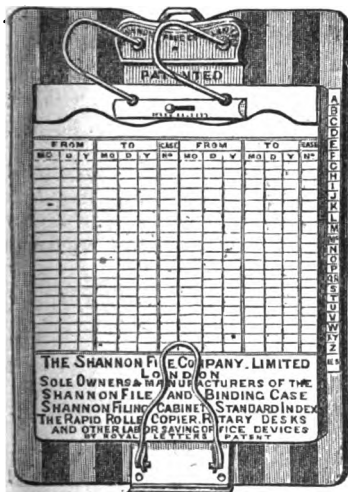
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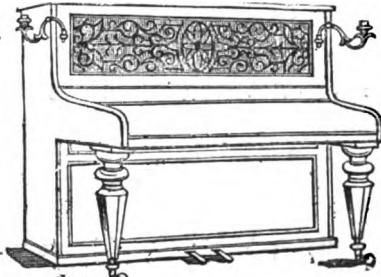
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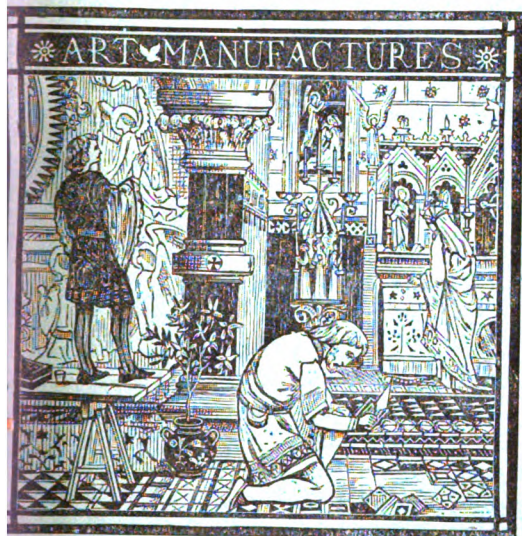
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